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INTRODUCTION

Iskander Gilyazov

The period from the second half of the 16–18th centuries was truly a turning point in the history of the Tatars. After the conquest of Turkic-Tatar states such as the Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates, the historic backdrop for the Tatars completely changed in a relatively short time; once a state-forming ethnos, they became vassals of the Russian Tsar, which obviously changed the economic, social and political life of the Tatars, as well as their ethnic identity.

In general, although this epoch was a massive historical tragedy for the Tatars, it helped to reveal their remarkable ability to be proactive, as well as to recover and adapt to new life conditions. Although during the 17–18th centuries the Tatars suffered from heavy pressure in economic, social, political and spiritual life, not only did they manage to come through this difficult time, but surprisingly emerged as one of the founding nations of the new Russia, who made an invaluable contribution to the development of the Russian state.

It is clear that the advance into the Volga Region, the Urals and Siberia was a great political success for Russia. The ambitions that Russia had cherished since the 10th century, since the reign of the enterprising Grand Princes of Kiev, Svyatoslav and Vladimir, were finally attained: The Volga River in its entirety was now a Russian river, that was fully possessed and controlled by Russia. From that time on, the Russian state not only obtained ample opportunity to exploit the natural resources of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions and do trade throughout the whole Volga Trade Route, but also the possibility to keep advancing eastwards, into the vast spaces of the Urals and Siberia.

Through the conquest of the Khanates of the Volga Region, Russia obtained many political and economic benefits. The years long military and political conflicts with the heirs of the powerful Golden Horde came to its end. The Muscovite state significantly strengthened its international influence. The conquest of the

new fertile lands (the 'land beneath the heavens', as an ideologue from the 16th century nobility, Ivan Peresvetov, once put it) allowed Russia to increase the treasury income and begin its extensive colonisation (development) of new territories and exploitation of new state subjects. Although quite a significant success, this also had another side. It was, perhaps, the Kazan conquest that prompted the Russian state to adopt the so-called extensive development strategy, develop the country through territorial expansion and the use of the fruits of colonisation, rather than to make the most out of the country's internal resources (e.g., improve existing economic practices) and develop its creative potential. This extensive model justified itself at first, but by the end of the 17th century Russia's general economic backwardness compared to its more developed European neighbours was already obvious.

Russia chose a very opportune moment to seize Kazan; at the time the country's major foreign enemies were either relatively weak or did not dare intervene to protect Kazan or Astrakhan. The only country to attempt to organise a campaign against Moscow to force it to restore the Tatar Khanates' independence was the Ottoman Empire. In 1569–1570 Russian-Turkish relations escalated for this exact reason; Turkey posed such a serious threat to Russia that Ivan the Terrible had to promise to give Astrakhan back its independence. However, this promise was never to be fulfilled—by the late 1570s—early 1580s. The Ottoman Empire had become so weak that it never again raised the question of the Volga Region.

One way or another, the Tatar Khanates of the Volga Region remained the part of Russia, and this fact may be considered major military and political success of the Russian State.

During the Soviet era, history was interpreted through the communist ideology and in accordance with the government political requirements. The evaluation of the accession (the term 'accession' was preferred over 'conquest') of the Kazan Khanate to Russia was

presented from the so-called historical perspective. It was not acceptable to speak of the negative consequences the annexation brought about; according to Soviet historiography, almost all non-Russian nations joined the Russian State voluntarily. The then Institute of History of the USSR had a whole department, whose primary function was to examine the history of nations within the Soviet Union. However, as it was impossible to deny the fact that Russia annexed Tatar through military actions; this led to the appearance of the notorious 'historical perspective'. All negative consequences were either hushed up or mentioned in passing.

Contemporary historical studies have often thoroughly reconsidered the stereotypes of the past. They introduce new approaches and new interpretations that are often the polar opposites of previously upheld ideas. Sometimes, it is just the polarity of historical interpretations that change, where white is replaced by black, and vice versa. There have also been historical events, however, that have required this kind of radical revision due to aspirations for maximal objectivity rather than ideological considerations. The annexation of the territories along the Middle Volga is clearly such an example.

The loss of the Kazan and other Khanates was a real historical tragedy for the Tatars, the consequences of it still affect the life of our nation to this day. Now we completely reject the Soviet view on the events in question. At the same time, if we want to be completely unbiased and treat our past with the due respect, it is very important for us to consider various viewpoints on the events of the 16th century.

Before starting the campaign against Kazan, Moscow declared that its purpose was to take revenge on the 'godless Mohammedans for spilling innocent Christian blood', so the ideological and political agenda played the most important role in this conflict. This position was supported, for instance, by the Metropolitan Makary, the chief Christian ideologist behind the Kazan campaign, who blessed the Russian army to accomplish this 'holy deed'. It was also repeatedly proclaimed by Ivan the Terrible himself. The same view was expressed in *The History of Kazan*. But in reality, Mos-

cow clearly sought political advancement and the destruction of the Kazan Khanate, as well as the control over the Volga Trade Route and accession of new fertile lands (no wonder the ideologue, Ivan Peresvetov, called the Middle Volga Region the 'land beneath the heavens'). This is why Ivan the Terrible's campaign and further measures taken by the new power could not bring anything new into the Tatars' economic environment except for a loss of the leading economic role in the region.

After the conquest, the land went into the ownership of Russian landlords and monasteries in the region. The initial steps taken by the Russian administration were admittedly quite cautious and lenient, only moving to occupy and settle in abandoned and vacant land, whose owners had either died or fled. With the strengthening of Russia's grip over the land, came ever more severe landownership policies. Russia had already seized the land subject to the yasak tax outright and land ownership was increasingly tied to the political and religious loyalties of the landowners. It is understandable that changes in land policy mostly affected and had the most significant consequences on Tatar land owners, who naturally tried to find a way out.

The situation was not too disastrous for the lowest stratum of rural populations, that is the bulk of yasak Tatars. At first, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, the yasak tariff was left unchanged, with the only exception that the yasak now had to be paid to the Russian Tsar in the same quantities as it had been paid to the 'Mohammedan Tsar'.

As an absolute monarchy began to take shape and grow in influence throughout the Russian State, so arose a general tendency towards the feudal exploitation of the working population. But if in the first decades after the conquest, protests of the local population stroved for national liberation (The Kazan War of 1552–57, The Cheremis Wars of the 1570s–80s), in the 17–18th centuries this protest already had a more social emphasis (this was especially apparent in the rebellions led by Stepan Razin and Yemelyan Pugachev). The negative economic consequences awaiting the rural population took a while to take their

toll. Furthermore, they did not have a specifically anti-Tatar thrust and on the whole were felt equally throughout Russia. These negative consequences therefore served to unite Tatar peasants with working populations of other nationalities who were suffering the same difficulties alongside them.

However the most interesting transformation was seen in Tatar trade. The radical and tragic changes in the political backdrop certainly had an effect on trade, which was initially struck by a state of shock and stagnation. The Volga River, Eastern Europe's main trade artery, was now under the complete control of the Russian state. It was hardly possible to properly develop foreign trade operations with other Islamic countries in the social and political environment of the time.

At that time and throughout the 17th century, we can observe that the Russian government favoured Tatar commerce which as a result experienced a rapid recovery in a new form, still based on the old tradition. It is not difficult to understand or explain such a move. The Muscovite state undoubtedly knew that international trade, which had developed over the centuries in the Middle Volga Region, was still thriving there. It was quite apt and pragmatic of the government to use this tradition in its own favour. In the 17–18th centuries, Tatar trade, including foreign trade, grew rather robustly within the Russian state. On the one hand, it brought profits to the Tatar merchants themselves, and on the other, provided the Russian state with goods and money and to some extent strengthened Russia's influence over the Islamic East (especially Middle Asia) thus paving the way for Russia's political expansion in this direction. This explains the adoption of a legislation supporting Tatar trade, the foundation of suburban Tatar trading settlements (*slobodas*), as well as the provision of Tatar tradesmen with a special status and the support sometimes afforded to Tatar traders in conflicts with Russian merchants. These conditions created fertile ground for Tatar trade to develop. Given the complicated environment, former land owners expressed a notable interest in trade, seeking a more profitable and less volatile occupation. When we say that the late

17–early 18th centuries saw the effectual disintegration of the Tatar feudal class, we should also mention the parallel rise of the Tatar merchant class, which brought broad economic prosperity to the Tatar population in the 18th century. It was Tatar merchants who contributed most to the formation of the manufacturing industry and prompted significant shifts in cultural and spiritual life in the latter half of the 18th century.

The economic consequences of the Russian conquest of the Kazan Khanate should therefore not all be seen in a categorical manner. Each demands its own specific explanation and differentiation.

When historical literature touches on the social consequences of the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, it usually puts most weight on the historical destiny of the Tatar feudal class of the 16–17th centuries. Throughout the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, service Tatars were placed in such artificial conditions that in order to survive, they were either forced to adopt Christianity, or gradually move away from the land and obtain a new social status. This is how the process, referred to in historiography as 'disintegration', went. This has been a popular topic among Russian historians for quite some time. For instance, famous Tatar historian Gaziz Gubaydullin also analysed it in his works. The disintegration of the Tatar ruling class resulted in a completely new social situation that seriously affected the priorities of the economic, social, cultural and religious development. The disappearance of the feudal class as a unified social organism led to a situation where merchants and entrepreneurs, rather than landowners, became the leading economic force; for want of other social ideologues, the Islamic clergy took on the role of controlling the nation's cultural development. It is clear that over the 16–17th centuries this significantly changed all aspects of the Tatars' spiritual culture.

These events have to a certain extent attracted and still attract the attention of historians. Meanwhile, the fact that Tatars lost an adequate city infrastructure as a result of the conquest of the Kazan Khanate still remains poorly researched.

It is known that after the events of 1552, most Tatars had to leave Kazan, the only large city of the Khanate. Kazan gradually became a city populated by Russians. Over the 16–17th centuries the majority of Tatars in the Middle Volga Region became peasants. This was clearly no coincidence, but the result of an intentional plan. According to Adam Olearius, a 17th century scholar, Tatars were prohibited to enter the territory of the Kazan Kremlin under pain of death. Tatars were also not allowed to settle in the city itself and its surrounding area, as well as along large rivers and strategically important roads. This was done in order to prevent Tatars from creating a solid opposition in the foreseeable future.

When discussing the Russian conquest of Kazan, most attention is usually paid to the Tatars losing their state sovereignty and having no possibility to ever restore it. Meanwhile, one of the most tragic consequences of the loss of sovereignty was the disappearance of the urban population and urban culture. This did indeed cause a great setback to the further existence of a Tatar nation within the Russian state. It is difficult to overstate the opportunities and environment that a city can provide for the adequate development of a nation. Tatars lost their urban infrastructure and turned into a rural nation practically overnight. Needless to say that rural infrastructure is unable to provide the conditions necessary for social, economic, and cultural development of a nation and its potential is much more limited compared to that of cities. This resulted in the one-sided and therefore delayed development in these areas of life for Tatars within the Russian state.

The Old Tatar Sloboda founded by personal order of Ivan the Terrible became the only relic of the Tatar urban tradition. It should be noted, however, that only 150 loyal Tatar families were allowed to settle there. The Sloboda was created out of motives of interest: the Tsar wanted to return the favour to those who had helped him conquer the Khanate. The Sloboda was located outside of the city (now it is almost in the centre of Kazan) and its inhabitants had a special status: they were not considered townspeople, but were referred to as the ‘trading

Tatars’ or ‘Tatars with the right to trade’. During the government reforms of Peter I, i.e. the early 18th century, the population of the slobodas was incorporated with the state peasants (although the right to trade was still afforded to them). Just a few hundred Tatars living in the Old Tatar Sloboda and in the New Tatar Sloboda founded in the mid-18th century, who can only conditionally be considered townspeople, was all that was left of the once flourishing Tatar urban culture. The progress of the Tatar culture was therefore defined for decades by socially active people with a rural background, who were mostly members of the Tatar clergy. But a countryman engaged in heavy manual labour hardly had much chance for cultural self-development.

The process of this infrastructure restoration was slow and complicated. The development of the Tatar economy, and above all, their trade and manufacturing industry, in the late 18th to the early 20th century, as well as general changes in the social and political situation in the country (especially after the bourgeois reforms of the 1860s–1870s) gradually led to the formation, despite the existing difficulties, of a certain Tatar population in most Russian cities. These Tatars were of various social status, including were merchants, burghers or meshchans, artisans and wage earners. By the early 20th century, powerful Tatar financiers, bankers and intelligentsia, i.e. doctors, teachers and writers, could be found in cities.

Available historical documents confirm that the events of the 16th century had a more tragic effect on social life than they did on the economy, and what is more important, influenced the course of the Tatar history for a very long time.

At the same time, when describing these events, it would be unfair to only consider the negative impact the Kazan conquest had on the life of Tatars. One should keep in mind that the economy in Russia at the time was generally more dynamic than that of Kazan, and so the annexation of the Middle Volga Region prompted the gradual merger of the Tatar population into the state-wide economy. The contact in the region between Tatars and other nations, primarily Russians, grew more active, especially in economic and cultural life, which

was beneficial to all the nations involved. Tatars played an important role in the events of the early 17th century, when the sovereignty of the Russian state was at stake. Despite multiple difficulties, Tatars managed to bring their economic and cultural life back into order. A certain portion of the Tatar service class managed to join the Russian ruling class. This volume, *The History of the Tatars*, is devoted to the one of the most complex and contradictory periods of the history of our people.

* * *

Prominent specialists in their fields from Kazan, Russia and worldwide contributed to the compilation of this volume. The structure and concept for research in this volume were developed with the assistance of the following doctors and candidates of historical sciences: R. Khakimov, I. Gilyazov, R. Salikhov, D. Iskhakov, F. Islaev, I. Zagidullin (doctors), I. Izmaylov, A. Nogmanov, D. Mustafina, B. Izmaylov (candidates).

The editorial board did their utmost to give this collective work a seamless and finished appearance without imposing any viewpoints or interpretations of the events and issues dis-

cussed. The present book is not by any means intended as a fully comprehensive analysis of all the problems related to the Tatar history of the period, as not all of them are adequately covered in historical sources or researched in related studies.

The editorial board hopes that this volume will contribute to further research into the history of the Tatar people in the period from the early 16th to 18th century and appreciates any constructive comments and suggestions for further research and publications.

The appendices were prepared by I. Gilyazov and D. Mustafina.

The search and initial selection of illustrative materials was carried out by S. Izmaylova, B. Izmaylov and G. Valeeva-Suleymanova. The final selection of illustrations and their arrangement by topic was carried out by B. Izmaylov.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

§1. Historiographical Review

Bakhtiyar Izmaylov

Any national or foreign research into Tatar history of the latter half of the 16th to 18th centuries inevitably has to touch upon the creation of the multinational Russian Empire. The latter subject goes so deep, presents so many research opportunities and is characterised by so many conceptual approaches and interpretations that it can be regarded the most complicated historical period in terms of historical study. The lengthy period of the conquest and subsequent accession of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia (the inhabitants of which varied in terms of their social, economic and cultural status) by the Russian Empire was a key step towards the creation of a Russian sovereignty and had an impact on the shaping of its specific social and multi-ethnic character. Along with several contemporary authors, we can assume that the modern Russian state emerged as a result of the conquest of the Middle Volga Region, while its political agenda was for a long time based on the concept of 'Moscow as the Third Rome'. The first stage of the formation of the Russian Empire has to be examined to aid the understanding of its further development in the period from the late 18th to the early 20th century.

The conquest of the Kazan Khanate and the whole Middle Volga Region has become one of the old and traditional subjects of Russian historical scholarship that has been occupying the minds of Russian historians since the mid-18th century. Before the revolution, historians paid the most attention to the conquest of the Kazan Region, in particular, to the successful siege of Kazan in 1552 and the following policies Russia implemented on the annexed territories, without actually talking about the consequences the conquest had for the non-Russian nations, including the Tatars. Among the first researchers to look at this subject were V. Tatishchev, A. Lyzlov, M. Shcherbatov, N. Karamzin and others [Tatishchev, 1994–1996; Lyzlov, 1990; Shcherbatov, 1789; Karamzin, 1989]. Frequently these were prominent states-

men and politicians seeking to justify the colonial ambitions of the Russian Empire in their works. They used history to support certain political claims and military actions.

These 'last chroniclers' studied the Russian conquest of the Turkic-Tatar states only to advance the new imperial ideology. The Kazan Khanate was the first large territory annexed by Russia, its conquest had, to a certain extent, a symbolic meaning for these historians, as the beginning of the advancement of Orthodox Russia into the Muslim East. The fundamental principles of this concept, that were touched upon in a few chronicles and works of historical journalism and became an integral part of the emerging imperial ideology, were exploited to justify and legitimise the conquest of the Volga Region in the eyes of the nation and other European powers. The absence of a critical approach in analysing the sources, primarily the Russian chronicles, to a large extent condemned historians of the 18th and 19th centuries to dependence on these sources' versions of events. Aristocratic historiography of the time was characterised by one feature: the subjects focused on by the researchers tend to be limited to matters of political history such as wars, diplomacy, and conquests, while the political, social and economic aspects of life were left almost completely ignored.

Scientific expeditions of the 18th century played a certain role in revising the history of the Russian Empire, not just within the narrow confines of the formation and development of the Muscovite state, but also of Russia as a powerful Eurasian Empire. In the 1720s, Mikhail Lomonosov initiated and devised a programme for a number of expeditions to remote regions of the country to be conducted by the leading researchers of the Academy of Sciences. These academic expeditions paved the way for the development of the imperial territory not only in terms of geography and economy, but also in terms of science.

The study of the history of Siberia is associated with the name of Gerhard Müller, a prominent scientist of German origin, who took part in the Great Northern Expedition of 1733–1743. He was the first to embark on the systematic study of the sources on Siberian history. In total, he analysed more than twenty archives of Siberian cities and private collections, compiled a unique collection of acts on the Siberian history of the 16–18th centuries, on the basis of which he identified as the most valuable Russian (including the Remezov chronicle or the Brief Siberian Kungur Chronicle), Mongol and Tatar manuscripts. Multiple originals and copies of the documents collected by Müller formed the basis for the collection known as the 'Müller Portfolios' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 199]. The result of many years of research, in 1750 the historian published the first volume of his seminal work 'The description of the Siberian Tsardom and all that happened within it since its inception and especially since its conquest by the Russian Empire and up to the present time' [Müller, 1750; 1937; 1941]. At the same time, Müller, coming from the perspective of West European science, also noted the horrific consequences Yermak's campaign and the subsequent colonisation of the region had for the Siberian peoples, which spurred much criticism from the Russian scientific community [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, pp. 4–5].

The first person to specifically address the history of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates was the first Russian associate of the Academy of Sciences and member of the First Orenburg Expedition (1734–1737) Pyotr Rychkov. He wrote works on archaeology, ethnography and history of the Volga Region, the Urals and the Caspian Sea Region [Rychkov, 1762; 1767b; 1774]. While on the Orenburg Expedition, which aimed to examine the region's natural resources, Rychkov compiled historical and geographic descriptions and accompanied them with historical references and commentaries. His book 'The experience of Kazan history of the Ancient and Middle Ages' was at a high academic standard for its time, using both Russian and Eastern sources. Although lacking in critical analysis of its sources, Pyotr Rych-

kov's works set an important milestone in the study of the history of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, and of the nations which joined the Russian state after their conquest.

The development of a scientific basis for historical scholarship, new publications, the critical approach to the analysis of sources, as well as the foundation of Kazan University in the first half of the 19th century gave a powerful impetus to the research into the provinces around the Volga-Ural Region and the peoples inhabiting them. Using conceptual approaches inherited from the historians of the 18th century, attempts were made to shed light on the most important aspects of the history of the city of Kazan and the conquest of the Kazan Khanate. A book written by associate professor of Russian philology at Kazan University Michail Rybushkin, 'A brief history of the city of Kazan', was published in 1834 [Rybushkin, 1834]. The first part of the book takes us from its foundation to its capture by Yemelyan Pugachev's rebel army.

'The History of Kazan' by doctor at a gunpowder plant Nikolay Bazhenov in three volumes would become a landmark publication in the study of Kazan history [Bazhenov, 1847]. The author is significantly more ambitious with the scope of his research, treating the history of the Volga Region in its entirety. The history of the Volga Region and the Kazan Khanate are still interpreted from the perspective of Russian history. As Bazhenov himself noted, he 'respected the history of the Russian state, preserving its historical essence and chronology' [Ibid, part 1, p. 3]. The historian states in his work that for his research he used both Tatar manuscripts and oral traditions, giving his own interpretations to any grey areas. However, Bazhenov's work and its narrative line give us reason to suppose that the author was more dependent on Russian chronicles and 'The History of Kazan'. His entire work, like its precursors, finds its roots in a chronicle of military and political events between Moscow and Kazan, in which the latter is presented as a conquerer and instigator of political conflicts and 'common sense called for its power to be weakened' [Ibid, part 1, p. 95]. Bazhenov characterised the Kazan War of 1552–1557 as popular, while

considering the violent suppression of unrest to be completely natural act: 'And who could have spared these treacherous and evil foes when, despite Russia's victory, none expressed obedience' [Ibid, part 2, p. 9].

The works of Rybushkin and Bazhenov continue the narrative of the Russian state's intention as a civilising mission. Clearly, the first works on the history of the Middle Volga Region in the 16–18th centuries showed that without a dramatic branching out in terms of sources and conceptual approaches, historians would remain reliant on the tales of the military and political history as told by the chronicles. Realising this and the awareness that the chronicle materials had been somewhat 'exhausted' held back the further study of this history.

Of all the works of the first half of the 19th century stand apart the ethnographic works of Karl Fuchs 'A brief history of the city of Kazan' (1817) and 'Kazan Tatars in terms of statistics and ethnography' (1844) [Fuchs, 1844; 1914; 2005]. These works contain recordings of oral traditions from peoples of the Volga Region which do reflect their historical past, albeit in a distorted form. Fuchs, brought up on classical German historiography, based his conclusions on Western European rationalist concepts and, although his books on Kazan are mostly based upon Russian chronicles, Tatar written sources and folklore, it was relatively free from national bias. His works cover the history of the Tatar population in the Kazan Region and contain detailed ethnographic essays. The most valuable of these are the notes he made about the number of Tatar inhabitants in Kazan at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries and their commercial and industrial activities.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the main routes to understanding the history of Russia and the place non-Russian nations (especially Tatars) had in it, were defined by the state-approved school which dominated historical scholarship of the time. Seeing the state as the main engine of historical progress, historians of this persuasion sought to glorify the country's acquisition of new land and the advancement of Russian civilisation. This fundamentally imperial concept not only demanded that authors treat the culture of non-Russian coun-

ties and communities who had fallen under the power of the Russian state with criticism, but also understate their contribution to the development of the empire. Russian historiography of this period still remained deeply indebted to the historical ideas and ideological assertions of 15–16th century Muscovite chronicles. These chronicles provided Russian historians with a ready-made conceptual framework for early Russian history. Nevertheless, this period was admittedly marked by an emerging interest towards the reasons and consequences of the accession of the nations of the Volga-Ural Region to the Russian state.

To some extent, an important landmark in the study of Russian history and the nations which became part of it was 'History of Russia since ancient times' (published 1851–1879) by Moscow University Professor Sergey Solovyov. One of the more prominent examples of the state-approved school in Russian historiography, Solovyov thought it impossible to understand the history of a nation without examining the history of its government. He proclaims the state to be the main driving force of social development [Ermolaev, 1965, p. 34]. Solovyov introduces two new elements into the concept of the state-approved narrative: the constant and relentless struggle between the Russian people and the nomadic tribes of the East ('the struggle between the forest and the steppe') and, as a consequence, the logical process of the Russian colonisation of the East European Plain and Siberia ('the advancement of the forest into the steppe') [Ibid]. The Turkic-Tatar states were perceived as an inevitable and unpleasant obstacle on Russia's way to glory and greatness. In his opinion, the conquest of the Kazan Khanate 'was a sacred and necessary feat conducted in order to protect Christianity from Islam' [Solovyov, 1960, p. 475].

The concept of the state-approved school was further developed in the works of one of Russia's greatest historians, Vasily Klyuchevsky. In his lectures, which became the basis for 'A Course of Russian history' (1904–1910), he developed Solovyov's opinion on the eternal opposition between Russia and peoples of the steppes. He attached a greater significance to the geographic element in the

historical process and, in comparison with his predecessors, put a greater emphasis on military confrontations with nomadic nations and the irreconcilable nature of 'the struggle between the forest and the steppe'. According to Klyuchevsky, up until the early 20th century, 'the History of Russia is the history of a country being colonised' [Klyuchevsky, 1987, vol. 1, p. 50], while the very process of colonisation is understood as 'the process of agricultural development and settlement in new territories' [Klyuchevsky, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 50–53]. Klyuchevsky pointed to the leading role of economic and political elements play in the process of colonisation and explained other aspects of society as being derived from them. He also recognised both grass-roots and state-led programmes for developing new lands. Most likely the very concept of the 'struggle between the Forest and the Steppe' which the scholar followed literally and consistently played a decisive role. He therefore wrote that after the conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates 'Russian agrarian labour [obtained] vast areas of wild fields and uncultivated black soils in the steppes... ' and emphasised that the struggle with nomads had a great historical significance for the destiny of European civilisation: 'The battles in the steppes that Rus waged protected the left flank of the European offensive. But this historical merit would cost Rus dearly... ' [Klyuchevsky, 1987, vol. 2, p. 284]. Another aspect of Klyuchevsky's concept was that the Russian state was viewed as specifically Russian. It was his opinion that during the process of merging and assimilation, a nation arises united initially by a spiritual unity, and 'when this feeling of national finds expression in political connections, in the unity of supreme power and the law', that is when the state emerges. [Klyuchevsky, 1987, vol. 1 p. 42]. He outlined the idea that the founding nations of the state are the basis for and makers of history, while other peoples who found themselves in the orbit of its influence, are mere targets for civilisation and colonisation. Such views are undoubtedly at the essence of his 'statist' ideas and, owing to the author's reputation, had a huge and defining influence on all historiography to follow, especially in terms of the understanding and evalu-

ation of the colonisation of the Middle Volga Region by the Russian population.

One particular example of this influence are the works of historian Nikolay Kostomarov. He also followed the idea of the Steppe as a negative influence (including Kazan) upon Russia. In his opinion, the struggle with nomads was the main reason preventing the development of a 'distinct social order of the people' in Russia. [Mavrodina, 1983, p. 19]. 'Rus was surrounded by foreign peoples,' wrote Kostomarov 'poised to interfere with its affairs. Hordes of nomadic steppe peoples of Asia, bent on robbery and destruction, came from the East like clouds, each darker than the next' [Ibid, p. 19]. In other words, the essence of the state-approved school was the view, derived from this concept, of the Kazan Khanate as a land of barbarians who lived by robbery and who would eternally undermine Russia. Yet one cannot help but notice the clear similarities with the Eastern Orthodox mythical narratives of the 15–16th centuries from which the former ultimately derive.

Russian historiography supported the idea that the Turkic-Tatar states inhibited the economic and political development of Russia and prevented Russian society and culture from developing. It was only after the annexation of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia that the Russian state entered its new stage developing and colonising the annexed territories.

Beginning from the latter half of the 19th century, new works appear which detail the process of colonising the Volga and Ural Regions. A landmark work of this period was a book written by a prominent member of the democratic school of Russian historiography, Nikolay Firsov [Firsov, 1869], in which a detailed analysis of the Russian legislation is used to reveal the social-economic situation of the peoples of the Middle Volga Region (the Tatars, Chuvash, Mari, Mordvins, Udmurts), their responsibilities and duties, the policy of Christianisation, and state-led and free colonisation. After Afanasy Shchapov, Firsov displayed the people as the driving force of historical process and developed the idea about a popular colonisation of the Middle and Lower Volga Region with minimal real state participation [Firsov, 1866, p. 69]. He paid particular

attention to the mutual influence between the Russian and non-Russian population as a result of colonisation. Firsov was one of the first to study the socio-economic consequences of the Russian colonisation. Unlike the majority of the state-approved historians, he explained the conquest of the Volga-Ural Region as driven by Russia's desire to exploit the conquered peoples. Apart from that, in his opinion, it was intensified Christianisation which prompted rebellions and uprisings among the local peoples of the Volga Region.

The international and inter-ethnic relations in the Middle Volga Region were covered in detailed for the first time in 1877, after the publication of two works by professor Georgy Peretyatkovich [Peretyatkovich, 1877; 1882]. Although these works were also written from the colonial perspective, for the latter half of the 19th century his works made a significant contribution to the study of the peoples of the Middle Volga. Influenced more by historiographic tradition than by his own data, Peretyatkovich wrote that 'it is unlikely that the Kazan Tatars engaged in agriculture eagerly or full-heartedly. Agriculture today among Kazan Tatars is still in poor shape, while their preferred and more successful activity is trade [Peretyatkovich, 1877, p. 123]. After the annexation of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, in the historian's opinion, the natural movement of ethnic Russians into the Volga Region continued [Ibid, p. 232].

Stepan Yeshevsky also addressed the topic of Russian colonisation in his lectures, which were published posthumously under the name 'Russian Colonisation of the North-East Region' [Yeshevsky, 1900a]. He examined the historical significance of the colonisation of the Volga Region and suggested that Russians had entered the area peacefully. The questions of the Russian colonisation of the Orenburg Krai were studied by historian and local lore specialist V. Vitevsky [Vitevsky, 1897]. In his comprehensive book 'I. Neplyuev and the Orenburg Krai in its former structure, before 1752', he observed not only the process of colonisation of Siberia, the Orenburg Expedition and construction of fortification lines, but also provided wide information on the ethnic-social image of the region, its economic activities, as

well as examined the course and consequences of the Tatar-Bashkir rebellions of 1735–1740, 1755–1756. The topic of the conquest of the Siberian Khanate and the colonisation of Siberia was also covered in the historical works of such scientists, as P. Slovtsov [Slovtsov, 1886], P. Nebolsin [Nebolsin, 1849], V. Andrievich [Andrievich, 1889], P. Butsinisky [Butsinisky, 1889], and a number of others.

With rare exceptions, pre-revolutionary historians were united in their interpretation of the annexation of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia—as a natural course of events and the colonisation movement of the Russian nation towards the East.

An important stage in the development of Russian historiography of the Volga Region and the Tatar nation was the 4th All-Russia Archaeological Congress, which was held in Kazan in 1877. At this event, it was decided to create the Community of Archeology, History and Ethnography at the Kazan University. Beginning its work in 1878, this Community undertook active efforts to examine the culture, history and ethnographic peculiarities of the nations of the Volga Region, the Urals and Siberia. During the period of the Community's work, there were collected and published valuable materials on public and family lifestyle, economic classes, religious convictions and folklore of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberian nations. D. Korsakov [Korsakov, 1889], N. Zagoskin [Zagoskin, 1891; 2005], M. Pinegin [Pinegin, 2005], N. Katanov [Katanov, 1895–1896; 1898; 1905], and others addressed the diverse historical events related to the history of the Tatar nation, national folklore and ethnography. We should especially mention the research of N. Zagoskin on the history of the Kazan Region during the Time of Troubles [Zagoskin, 1891]. The main conditions of N. Firsov's concept, in historical-ethnographic terms, were developed by I. Smirnov who published the monographs 'The Votyaks', 'The Mordvins', 'The Cheremises', 'The Permyaks' [Smirnov, 1889; 1890; 1891; 1895]. An important source material on the history of the Tatar service class was published in the research of academician V. Velyaminov-Zernov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863; 1864; 1864a; 1866; 1887].

The study of Islam, Eastern languages and ethnography of non-Russian nations, policy-making and consequences of Christianisation was connected to the Kazan missionary oriental studies of the latter half of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, and activities of the Kazan Spiritual Academy. The works of well-known scientists-missionaries P. Znamensky [Znamensky, 1910], E. Malov [Malov, 1878; 1885], Ya. Koblov, 1908; 1916], A. Mozharovsky [Mozharovsky, 1880] primarily inform us about the policy-making conducted by Russia and the Orthodox Church, in respect of the Muslims and other non-Orthodox nations, but at the same time, they contain unique data on the history and ethnography of the Volga Region nations. The book written by church historian A. Mozharovsky became an important piece of research on the history of the Tatar nation in the 16–18th centuries. In it, he observed the role of the Orthodox Church and its hierarchs in the enlightenment and Christianisation of the nations of the Volga-Ural Region, beginning with the conquest of the Kazan Khanate [Mozharovsky, 1880]. The research of professor and Orthodox missionary E. Malov is devoted to the history of the Christianisation office in the 18th century. In order to conduct this research, he gathered multiple sources and analyzed the stages and results of the functioning of this organisation in the Volga Region [Malov, 1878].

Missionaries were assigned the leading role in the colonisation and Christianisation of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, while success in the development of new lands depended on the cooperation between the state officials and the Orthodox Church. Thus, the well-known church historian P. Znamensky noted: 'The conquest of the Kazan Khanate, which paved the Church's way to the fathomless East—was as important for the Orthodox Church, as had been the discovery of America for the Western Church.' [Znamensky, 1888, p. 460].

Tatar historiography, with its own traditions, appears simultaneously with scientific works of Russian scientists of the last quarter of the 19th century. K. Nasyri, Sh. Marjani, G. Akhmerov, Kh. Atlasi, R. Fakhreddin, and others described the history of the Kazan Ta-

tars mainly relying upon Turkic folklore and written Arabic historical documents, as well as national genealogy-shejere, works by Eastern authors and, partly, upon the works of Russian historians and chronicles.

We should also emphasise the works of outstanding Tatar apostle K. Nasyri, who collected and published unique folklore and ethnographic material on the history of the Tatar nation [Nasyrov, 1889; Nasyri, 1977].

Sh. Marjani, who was the founder of Tatar historical science, created a range of valuable works on the history of the Bulgar and Kazan Khanates, the most significant of which is considered to be 'Mustafad al-akhbar fi akhwali Kazan wa Bulgar' [Märcani, 1989]. When working on the history of the local region, Marjani relied upon writings of Russian historians and Russian chronicles, but in order to restore a number of events, he turned to a huge amount of primary sources: ancient coins, yarliqs, oral and written traditions, inscriptions on grave-stones, shejere, legends and fables. An especially important role for the examination of the Tatar history of the 18th century was played by the data of Sh. Marjani, collected about the activities of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly, as well as his description of biographies of the most authoritative representatives of the Tatar community. In a loose sense, this work becomes a key to the understanding of the past of the Tatar nation, as it was written by almost a contemporary of these events, who remembered some important details, which help us understand the structure of the Tatar nation and spiritual quests of that time.

The publications of Kh. Atlasi present invaluable material for the history of the Tatar nation. Relying on sources of mixed character, he investigated the history of the Kazan and Siberian Khanates, almost laying a foundation of the Tatar viewpoint on political events of these Khanates, upon the reasons of their conquest and the consequences [Atlasi, 1993; 2005].

If we evaluate the achievements of the national historiography of the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries, we can acknowledge its undeniable successes, the main of which, in our opinion, is the very formation of the Tatar historical discipline. Despite the weak

conceptual basis, the absence of a fundamental analysis of social and economic factors, as well as the weakness of the source base, these scientists managed to prepare a basis for transition into an essentially new level of research. Besides this, works of Tatar scientists covered numerous plots related to the Tatar history, which were not reflected in the Russian historiography of that time.

In the 1920s, the national historiography passed through a sharp and painful crisis. The social Revolution of 1917, the Civil War and the creation of the new Soviet statehood, based on communistic ideology, required changes in understanding of the past. The right of nations to self-identification was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks, the formation of national-territorial autonomies and national republics became of high significance, as they spurred an interest in the history of certain nations of the Soviet state, and its re-evaluation in the context of national-liberation and class struggles. There occurred a massive rise of scientific interest, not only towards general problems of scientific cognition, but also, in particular, towards the ethnic history of the Tatars. This period was, first of all, connected with the change of conceptual bases of the national historical science, and the establishment of Marxist methodology in research works of historians.

The first who applied this new ideology in his practice was the Marxist historian, professor and academician M. Pokrovsky. He voiced sharp criticism of the concepts of the Russian historical process, developed by pre-revolutionary historians, and first of all—by representatives of the 'state school'. In particular, he was against the basic theory of the 'state school'—'the struggle between the forest and the steppe', and crisscrossed all the researchers who somehow included or mentioned this theory in their works: B. Chicherin, S. Solovyov, and V. Klyuchevsky. The main conclusion, which he formulated, was that the struggle between 'the forest' and 'the steppe' did not take place in Russia. He connected the inception of this theory in the works of a whole generation of Russian scientists, with their attempts to 'prove that the Russian state was not created by the establishment and was not a tool for oppressing

the other national masses', and therefore tried to exclude elements of the class struggle from the historical discourse, thus substituting them with assertions that the state 'represented common interests of the whole nation, without any class differentiation' proving it by examples of struggles against a foreign enemy [Pokrovsky, 1933, pp. 108–109].

The historiosophic foundation for his works, as well as for the works of his contemporaries, became the social-economic approach based upon the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, with an exaggerated attention to material factors and interests, which became defining, in respect of the political and cultural spheres. He emphasised that Russia was not a 'national state', but was divided by class barriers, where each layer of the society had its own interests and political position [Pokrovsky, 1933, pp. 168–205]. He was also fond of sociological schemes—the theories of 'trading capital' and attempted to prove the existence of different 'parties' in the Medieval society—'the boyars', 'the nobles', 'the traders', etc. This approach, which started being actively implemented in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, allowed historians to pass from studying the facts of the political history, to understanding of functioning mechanisms of the society. In the meantime, following V. Lenin's works, M. Pokrovsky developed the perception of Russia as 'the prison of nations', whose aggressive colonial policy-making formed the basis of the development of the Russian state (see: [Pokrovsky, 1933, pp. 226–235]). The anti-imperial and international pathos of his works lay in reconsideration of the history of the formation of the empire and the nations that were a part of it. Pokrovsky's views had a great impact upon many historians of the 1920–1930s and opened a new direction in the national historiography.

Historians who were engaged in the study of the history of the Volga Region, could not help responding to these new tendencies, especially because many of these points, in particular, the issues of 'colonisation', had been in the focus of their interests for quite a long time. In the 1920s, the works by N. Firsov were published, in which he attempted to cover the history of the Tatar nation, without any prejudice, and al-

so to disengage himself from the approaches of the former 'state school' [Firsov, 1921; 1926].

In the introduction he wrote for 'Readings of the History of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions', published in 1921, N. Firsov reveals the political background of his work, related to the 'issue of self-identification of nations and on the autonomy of certain parts of Russia', noting that 'the true right for political autonomy may only be given by the past of the region, its history' [Firsov, 1921, p. 3]. However, for him, the knowledge of the Tatar history was not the goal in and of itself, but represented a necessary addition to the history of the unity—that is, Soviet Russia. [This was done] 'not for the sake of this very part and those political goals that were set for it, but for the sake of the unity, to which this part belongs. In this particular case—to better know Russia which, though consisting of diverse parts, represents a historically formed unity,' N. Firsov wrote [Ibid]. In his work, N. Firsov outlined the importance of studying the history of the Volga Region and its annexation to the Russian state, since this event crucially influenced the development of the whole of Eastern Europe.

In accordance with the theory of trading capital, N. Firsov connected the fall of the Kazan Khanate with economic decline. At the decisive stage of the struggle between the two trading capitals, two factors played a great role, giving advantage to Moscow: significant human resources and military superiority. 'Independent commercial Kazan,' N. Firsov concluded, 'ceased to exist, despite that enthusiasm, which the Muslim clergy managed to build up in its protectors in the dying minutes: gunpowder, and the scientific knowledge of how it was to be used, appeared to be stronger than religion in international war' [Ibid, pp. 23–24].

N. Firsov observed all nations, including the Russians, as a single mass of people with common goals and views, who were exploited by the state. In accordance with this thesis, he interpreted the national uprisings of the 17–18th centuries as revolutions, a kind of 'precursors' of the October 1917 events.

The issues of the colonisation of the Volga Region of the 16–17th centuries, and the history of the Mordvin people, were covered

in research work of professor A. Geraklitov [Geraklitov, 1923; 1926; 1931].

A special landmark in the study of the Kazan Khanate, and its annexation to Russia, became the publication in 1923 of the fundamental work by M. Khudyakov [Khudyakov, 1990], which became the first detailed and monolithic description of the whole Tatar state in the Middle Ages. This research was published in the years when Marxist ideas were already implemented into historical science, which allowed M. Khudyakov, having applied them, to present a new conceptual model of the history of the Kazan Khanate and its conquest.

In accordance with this model, Khudyakov connected the fall of the Kazan Khanate with economic reasons: '... the reason for the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, from the side of Russia, was rooted exactly in economic, trading relations: one state sought control over the market, goods and capitals of another state, and this struggle was won by the stronger side' [Ibid, p. 240]. He suggests viewing the very struggle between the Russian and Kazan people, in the context of the lengthy struggle for the Volga Region, in which the history of the Kazan Khanate was only one of the stages of this struggle. In Khudyakov's opinion, the Kazan Khanate did not manage to withstand the economic competition, due to several reasons: firstly, throughout its whole existence, the Kazan Khanate occupied one and the same territory, while the Russian state was incessantly widening itself, therefore increasing its industrial potential; secondly, Moscow cut Kazan off from the fur market in the North, and now played a crucial role in trading with it; thirdly, the conservative oligarchical system added to the weakening of the state, as it had never sufficiently developed the city's military capabilities [Ibid, p. 243]. Khudyakov looked for the reasons of such big differences in development in the racial peculiarities of the Slavic and Tatar populations: 'the reasons for stagnation could be exclusively biological, and may be explained by racial features of the Bulgarian Tatars', while 'the formed nationality of the Great Russians developed its activities quite intensively', the population of the Kazan Khanate experienced stagnation, which was inherent

in all the 'Asian East' [Ibid, p. 224]. In comparison with the majority of researchers, M. Khudyakov also noticed horrific consequences of the conquest of the Khanate for the Tatar and other nations.

That time marks the appearance of a galaxy of eminent Tatar historians, such as Gaziz Gubaydullin, Ali Rakhim, Akdes Kurat, and others, whose names are connected to the new stage of formation of Tatar historical thought. The greatest Tatar historian of the 1920–1930s is justly considered to be G. Gubaydullin, the first professional Tatar historian and a university professor. Undoubtedly, G. Gubaydullin, influenced by his teacher—professor N. Firsov, observed history in the context of the theory of trading capital, following the new school of national historiography [Gubaydullin, 1926; 1930; Gaziz; 1994].

For G. Gubaydullin, the methodological bases of the theory of trading capital became that foundation upon which he built the concept of the formation and development of the Tatar nation. As the historian himself wrote: 'The history of all nations is defined by economic life. It is the root of many, if not all, events of life. Therefore, historical studies have to be accompanied by a research of economic development' [Gaziz, 1994, p. 20]. The new methodology allowed the scientists to get rid of the weakness of the conceptual basis, which had been characteristic of Tatar historiography, as well as to fill in the gap in the fundamental analysis of the role of social and economic factors in Tatar history. The analysis of the history of the Tatar nation, undertaken by G. Gubaydullin, was carried out on the basis of a renewed approach, which took into account methodological positions, elaborated by the historical science of the first third of the 20th century, which relied upon a wide involvement of archive materials. At the end of the day, this allowed creating a more complex and full-fledged picture of the past of the Tatars.

In accordance with the theory of trading capital, G. Gubaydullin considered trade routes to have played a huge role in history. Within this concept, the key significance belonged to the perception of the Middle Volga Region as a place of crossing trade routes between Europe

and Asia, which predestined the appearance of a strong Tatar trading class. The largest states of Eastern Europe, beginning from the Khazar Khaganate and finishing with the Russian Empire, would lead to a permanent struggle to obtain control over this key trading point. At the end of the day, the degree of the development and activity of the trading class defined the economic prosperity of each state.

G. Gubaydullin's concept represented the Tatar trading class as a kind of driving force, a core of the future nation. If throughout the 17–18th centuries, there were formed conditions for consolidation of the Tatar nation, by the end of the 18th century, the Tatar ethnos of a feudal type was transformed into an ethnos belonging to the bourgeois society. The Tatar people had their own peculiarities during this process. In particular, the Tatar bourgeoisie was, first of all, recruited from the serving Tatars, thus the former borrowed a whole range of social values, diverse political, ideological and cultural traditions inherent in this class.

In his research, G. Gubaydullin outlines four stages of the formation of the Tatar trading class. The Kazan historian observed the conquest as an additional impetus, rather than an obstacle to the development of the Tatar trading class. Owing to this, the Tatar feudal class, ruined in the 17th century, strengthens the new Tatar social trading element, to be more exact—the 'trading nobility', which obtains a new title—'serving trading Tatars' [Gubaydullin, 1925, p. 87]. The formation of the trading class was finished by the 18th century, when domination of the trading capital and development of manufacturing facilities among Tatars were on their rise.

G. Gubaydullin was one of the first to examine the issue of participation of non-Russian nations in national developments of the 17–18th centuries [Gäziz, 1923; 1923a; Gubaydullin, 1930]. In his concept, the Tatar-Bashir rebellions of the first half of the 18th century, to a greater extent, were represented as the result of a struggle between feudalism and trading capitalism, and not as a national-liberation war.

The works of N. Firsov, M. Khudyakov and G. Gubaydullin affirmed M. Pokrovsky's concept of the 'absolute evil' the aggressive policy

of the Russian state, acting in the interests of the ruling classes. The very peoples (Russians, Tatars, etc.) were presented as a mass suppressed by colonisation.

Representative works of Tatar historiography of that period include ones by well-known Turkic-Tatar historians Akdes Nimet Kurat [Kurat, 1954; 1966] and GAbdulla Battal-Taymas [Battal-Taymas, 1966], whose works, despite being published much later, after the authors emigrated, are naturally connected to the works of Tatar scientists of the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries. In this respect, the works of Akdes Kurat are quite exemplary, and reflect the whole tendency of investigation of the history of the Tatar nation, in the context of the world-wide and Turk-wide history. Undoubtedly, the historical works of Kh. Atlasi and G. Akhmerov had a serious influence upon A. Kurat's perception of the key stages of the development of the Tatar nation. It is no coincidence that in his article 'The Kazan Khanate', he wrote a dedication to 'The History of Kazan' by Khadi Atlasi. The bibliography, which A. Kurat used in his works, provides evidence that even living in Turkey, he continued to keep an eye out for newly-published works, which touched the topic of the Kazan Khanate. In the meantime, since he did not have an opportunity to be always in touch with his colleagues from Russia, he had to rely on the most significant works on this topic, in particular, on the research carried out by M. Khudyakov.

During the first decades of the Soviet state, there were written the first works on the history of Tatar literature and enlightenment. In 1923, published was the work 'Essay on the history of education and literature of the Volga Tatars' by Jamal Validi, which covered the issues of education, culture and literature of the Tatar nation [Validov, 1923]. In the middle of the 1920s, G. Gubaydullin and G. Rakhim published a collaborative work on the history of Tatar literature [Räxim, Gäziz, 1924].

In the 1930s, Soviet historians prepared a series of materials on histories of certain republics: in the 1930s, there was published the 'Materials on the History of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic'; 1932 saw the publications of the 'Materials on the History

of the Uzbek, Tajik and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics', 'Materials on the history of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic' [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki (Materials of the TASSR), 1932]; in 1936 was published the 'Materials on the history of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki (Materials on the history of the Bashkir ASSR), 1936], and in 1937 was published 'The History of Tataria in Documents and Materials' [Istoriya, 1937]. Publication of documents on the history of a certain region—under the conditions of repressions in respect of the scientific intelligentsia, destruction of 'Pokrovsky's school' and absence of a united ideologically adjusted publication 'Essays on the History of the USSR'—was almost the only means of development of historical science in the republics, without making generalised conclusions. In the introduction to the materials on the history of Tataria, it was noted that the peoples of the Middle Volga Region did not have their own written history, and the published collection of works was to somehow fill in this gap. Here it was also mentioned that the 'annexing-colonisational policy that tsarism conducted, considered the nations of the Soviet Union to be only objects of conquest and exploitation, portraying them as barbarians, who had awaited the 'civilisational' activities of tsarism, not acknowledging them the right to their own history' [Istoriya, 1937, p. 3]. Publication of the materials, which included a large amount of archive documents, became an important stage in the coverage of the history of the Tatar nation and the Middle Volga Region in the 16–18th centuries. Unfortunately, this movement, as well as the artistic quest of national historians were interrupted by political repressions and the victory of the former approaches of the 'state school' in their Soviet version.

The first step on this path became the order to create a schoolbook on civil history of the USSR. On January 27, 1936, the central newspapers of the country published documents on the reform of historical education and remarks of Stalin, Kirov and Zhdanov on the concept

of 'The History of the USSR'. These contained the basic parameters, in accordance with which, it was obligatory to describe the history of the Russian state. First of all, it had to describe the country's progressive development from feudalism to socialism, from disunity to the 'National Great Russian State'. On August 22, 1937, the jury of the government committee on the schoolbook of USSR history criticised the term 'the absolute evil' and replaced it by the term 'the least evil'. Since that time, the annexation of the territories and nations, including the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, to the Russian state was observed as 'the least evil', in comparison with the danger of being absorbed by Persia, Turkey and other states. In particular, historians S. Bakhrushin and K. Bazilevich noted the progressiveness of the creation of the multi-national state [Bakhrushin, 1942; 1949; Bazilevich, 1952]. I. Smirnov noted that the annexation of the Middle Volga Region was a desperate measure of the Russian state to protect itself from dangers coming from the side of Turkey [Smirnov, 1948, p. 18]. In other words, there were restored the former imperial approaches, with some variations, like the ritual phrases about internationalism.

At the same time, there were formed collectives for the creation of histories of various republics. One of the first attempts in Soviet times to write the history of the Middle Volga Region and the Tatar nation became the work 'Essays on the history of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Social Republic', as a preparatory writing before the creation of a full-fledged history of the republic. Work on this began immediately after the creation of the Tatar Institute for Language, Literature and History in 1939. The war and absence of professional historians somehow hampered its development, but during the war years, scientists-historians of the USSR Academy of Sciences, led by B. Grekov and S. Bakhrushin, who were evacuated, became involved in this work. By 1944, the main essays were prepared by Kazan historians, in particular, by N. Kalinin and Kh. Gimadi, together with scientists from Moscow—A. Smirnov, B. Grekov, and S. Bakhrushin. In that work, the interpretation of the main events of the Tatar history was radically changed, compared to the works of the

1920s: there was emphasised the Bulgarian basis of the Tatar nation, criticised was the expansionist policy-making of the Mongols and the Golden Horde Khans, there was also told about the imminence and progressiveness of the Volga Region's annexation to Russia. However, in the autumn of 1944, these preparatory materials were criticised and condemned. Soon after that, there emerged a symbolic—both for the historical science and all the humanitarian sphere of Tataria—provision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks 'About the condition and measures of improvement of the mass political and ideological work in the Tatar party organisation', dated August 9, 1944 (for more details see: [Izmaylov, 1996a; Leushin, 1996]). There was defined a whole range of mistakes in the coverage of Tatar history and Tatar literature. In accordance with this approach, major sections of the history were cardinally revised, and some of them were excluded.

'The History of the Tatar ASSR' published in 1951 gave governing principles for the interpretation of various periods of history. For instance, the history of the Kazan Khanate and the period of the 16–18th centuries were covered in the book in a narrow regional aspect, in the context of a class struggle and the progressive character of the conquest of the Middle Volga Region by the Russian state. The most important plot of this period was the joint social struggle of the nations inhabiting the region, led by the Russian nation, against tsarism. Soon after Stalin's death, this schoolbook was withdrawn from usage (in March 1953), since it ceased to respond to the new line of the Communist Party. In the conditions of the beginning struggle of the new party administration against 'Stalin's cult of personality', a great number of quotes from this work were considered as 'ideological mistakes'. Its corrected (that is, not containing references to Stalin, but generally left the same) variant appeared in 1955. If we take into consideration the time when 'The History of the Tatar ASSR' appeared, it described the history of the class struggle, rather than the history of the Tatar nation. In the opinion of the authors, since its very foundation, Kazan was doomed to con-

quest by the quickly developing Russian state. Besides this, the conquest itself was shown as a progressive move, supported by the population, and the only way forward for the Kazan Khanate: 'the annexation of Kazan to the Russian state was of a huge historical-progressive significance' [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 158]. If earlier, the conquest of the Kazan Khanate had been considered as an 'absolute evil', now the talk was not about the seizure, but about the progressive character of the annexation. According to the theory of the so-called 'least evil', the annexation of the Kazan Khanate by Moscow protected the peoples of the Middle Volga Region from the 'danger of being absorbed by the tyrannical and barbarian Turkish feudalism, which could have driven back the development of its productive forces and culture for many centuries' [Ibid]. Through this annexation, Russia struck a serious blow at Turkey's expansionist goals, as it had intended to spread its power throughout the Caucasus, the Volga Region and Central Asia.

In the opinion of this book's authors, the Russian and non-Russian nations were quick to establish household, economic and cultural linkages, which spurred worries and discomfort among the 'Russian and Tatar feudal upper classes'. What is characteristic is that the rebellions of the latter half of the 16th century were evaluated in the schoolbook as a 'reactionary national movement', as a counter to peasant uprisings and rebellions of the masses in the 17–18th centuries, directed against 'the oppressors' [Ibid]. 'The History of the Tatar ASSR' of 1955 started a whole epoch of analogous publications (1960, 1968, 1973, 1980). The most important plot of that period was the joint social struggle of nations of that region, led by the Russian people against tsarism in the 17–18th centuries. That work was not only a book on history for universities, but also, in accordance with Soviet traditions, established a definite norm in the interpretation of the past and set accents of an ideological character. Such kind of works appeared in the 1950s almost in all autonomous republics of the Volga-Ural Region, and their interpretation was quite identical, except for some peculiarities of the local history.

Within this framework, in the 1940–1950s, there emerged historical works on certain historical issues of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia in the 16–17th centuries. In this sense, the most demonstrative are the works by Kh. Gimadi [Gimadi, 1955, p. 5], V. Shunkov [Shunkov, 1946], A. Grigoryev [Grigoryev, 1948], N. Kalinin [Kalinin, 1955], S. Bakhrushin [Bakhrushin, 1955], K. Nayakshin [Nayakshin, 1955], A. Preobrazhensky [Preobrazhensky, 1956], A. Usmanov [Usmanov, 1960], and others. They usually talked about the righteousness and progressive meaning of the annexation of this region's nations, though they also unveiled specifics of the Russification policy and Christianisation in the region.

The given concept found a detailed reflection in the works of scientists of autonomous republics in the 1960–1980s. They emphasised and provided additional theses about the danger of Turkish enslavement of the Middle Volga Region, about the voluntary joining of the nations to Russia and about the progressiveness of the consequences of this move for the non-Russian nations of the Volga-Ural Region [Tikhomirov, 1958; 1962; 1973; Ayplatov, 1967a; 425-letie dobrovol'nogo (425th anniversary of the voluntary), 1977; 400 let vmeste (400 years together), 1958; Safargaliev, 1964]. The claim of an undoubted progressiveness of the creation of a multi-national state, in order to fight external enemies, led to the fact that the negative sides of the annexation were either not observed, or were denied. In accordance with the Party and government provisions, historians of the autonomous Volga republics started to pay closer attention to the examination of the historical development of nations after their annexation, as well as began to comprehensively cover the significance of their joining to Russia. It became 'fashionable' to speak of a 'great friendship of nations' at celebrations and scientific conferences held in honour of one or another 'voluntary' annexation. The thesis about the voluntary joining was presented in the works of V. Dimitriev in a hypertrophied form. He revealed high political awareness among Chuvash peasants, who had established a military-political union with the Russian state [Dimitriev, 1976, p. 16]. In the

works of Tatar historians, the thesis about the voluntary entry, which was inapplicable to the Kazan Khanate, was substituted by the idea of a progressive character of the annexation [Alishev, 1990, pp. 14–15]. In addition, all nations of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia were observed in the context of a class struggle against the tsarist government, which conducted the policy of Christianisation, national oppression and cruel exploitation of multinational peasantry. Other aspects of the history of the 16–18th centuries, such as conservation of the caste-social system, increase of negative consequences of the establishment of serfdom, as well as retarded economic and political development of the country were out of the focus of historians.

In the meantime, in the 1960–1980s, new conditions were created for widening of the diapason of historical research and sophistication of subject matters of scientific research, related to inclusion of new sources into science. The object of historian's attention became new directions and topics, while the ideological dictates were somehow weakened. However, we should emphasise that the priorities were still given to social-economic processes, agrarian history, class struggle, problems of resettlement and interaction of nations—all against the backdrop of the dominating ideology of 'state internationalism'.

Since the end of the 1960s, researchers started paying special attention to the scrupulous analysis of the ethnic history of nations of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, as well as their social-economic and cultural development in the 16–18th centuries [Ayplatov, 1966; 1967b; Busygin, 1966; Ivanov, 1967; Grishkina, 1977; Kozlova, 1978; Mokshin, 1977; Preobrazhensky, 1972; Sepeev, 1975, Tarasov, 1983, etc.]. The work by U. Rakhmatullin considers the formation of non-Bashkir population in Bashkiria in the 17–18th centuries [Rakhmatullin, 1988]. At the same time, works on the ethnic history of the Tatar nation and its ethnic-territorial groups were published [Tatary, 1967; Mukhamedova, 1972; Mukhametshin, 1977; Valeev, 1980; Tomilov, 1981].

The works of researchers continued to contain the thesis of a progressive character of the entry into Russia, of the processes of formation

of nations and their social-economic life. The attempt of Tatar scientist S. Alishev was one of those rare efforts to overcome the accepted in historiography ideological dogmas about the peaceful entry of the Volga Region. He observed this problem as a complicated process which combined stages of peace and unrest [Alishev, 1971; Alishev, 1975; Alishev, 1990]. However, his views remained in the periphery of the mainstream of the historical quest of Soviet scientists, and did not manage to create a stable tradition, since they were insufficiently sound in terms of historiography and were generally inconsistent.

One of the most developed directions in the 1960–1980s became the study of the social-economic and political history of the Middle Volga Region and Siberia. The development of the Russian agriculture in the Middle Volga Region and the land-immunity policy-making of the Russian state were examined by the well-known Soviet historian S. Kashtanov [Kashtanov, 1970a]. He noted in his work that the state land policy was conducted in favour of the service class and the church—the state's major pillars in the Middle Volga Region.

A significant role in the research of Russian policy-making in the Volga Region, in particular, in respect of non-Russian nations, was played by the works of Chuvash historian V. Dmitriev [Dmitriev, 1959; 1974; 1977; 1982; 1983; Chuvashia, 1986]. In his works, he also touched on the questions of the formation of the governing system in the Volga Region and means of pacifying the region by the tsarist government.

The study of the governance system in the Kazan Krai in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, its evolution and specifics was carried out by professor I. Ermolaev, who in 1982 published his fundamental monograph on this topic [Ermolaev, 1982]. The monograph became a noticeable event in the historiography of the Middle Volga Region and until today, it has been unequaled in this field.

The traditional topics of the Soviet historiography included the history of class formation in Russia. Despite a great number of generalised works on the history of peasantry and the service class, these questions were scarcely

studied at the regional level before the 1960s. A great contribution to the study of the class structure of the Tatar society were made by historians E. Chernyshev, R. Stepanov, S. Alishev, and Kh. Khasanov. Kazan historian Ye. Chernyshev, on the basis of a wide range of sources, observed the Tatar agriculture and the social structure of a Tatar village in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries [Chernyshev, 1963]. One of the first to address the topic of the status and evolution of the service and yasak classes of the Tatars was historian R. Stepanov [Stepanov, 1964]. Unfortunately, the history of the Tatar service class did not evolve into a separate school of historical research, and the number of works on this topic remained low. Subsequently, the issue was addressed by S. Alishev in his publications [Alishev, 1984; 1990]. Feudal land ownership and social categories of population in Kazan uyezd in the latter half of the 17th century obtained detailed coverage in the thesis research of D. Mustafin [Mustafin, 1985]. We should also note the work of E. Lipakov on the Kazan service corporation, Russian at its core, which covered the period of the 16–first half of the 17th centuries [Lipakov, 1989].

I. Gilyazov's thesis work became an important contribution to the study of the Tatar peasantry of the second half of the 18th century [Gilyazov, 1982].

A conceptual understanding of the specifics of development of capitalism in Tatar society was suggested by Kh. Khasanov [Khasanov, 1977]. Having taken G. Gubaydullin's theory of trading capital as its basis, he supplied it with a great number of archive materials and reconsidered it in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about nations and national relations. Kh. Khasanov devoted special attention to the premises of the formation and development of the Tatar bourgeoisie and the emergence of the manufacturing industry in the 18th century.

By the end of the 1950s, through the efforts of a whole range of scientists (V. Malyshev, M. Tikhomirov, D. Likhachev, and others) historiography received momentum as a special historical-philological discipline, while activities in the field of archeography were carried out throughout the whole country. This was encouraged by the creation in 1956 of the Archeo-

graphical Commission of the Russian Academy of Sciences and its regional branches and affiliates, as well as the publication of the 'Archeographic Yearbook'. Since the 1960s, complex works on the identification and publication of Arabographic Turkic written sources from the 16–18th centuries were started. A significant role in the development of contemporary Tatar source studies was played by M. Usmanov, under the direction of whom archaeological expeditions were organised from 1964 to 1989, in order to gather manuscripts in the Turkic and other oriental languages. During that time, a colossal work on the identification of written sources on the history and literature of the Tatar nation was carried out in library archives and diverse cities which were then introduced into scientific circulation. The materials obtained through archeographic expeditions provided the basis for a whole range of M. Usmanov's publications, including the monograph 'Tatar historical sources of the 17–18th centuries' [Usmanov, 1972]. M. Usmanov's students—Z. Minnullin [Minnullin, 1988] and R. Shaikhiev [Shaikhiev, 1990]—continued to study Tatar historical sources. An important meaning for the study of the social-economic history of the Kazan region was the publication of the text of the *Piscovaja kniga* from 1602–1603 carried out by R. Stepanov [*Piscovaja kniga* of Kazan uyezd, 1978].

At the same time, study of the traditional direction for the Soviet historiography—such as the class struggle, the highest form of which was considered to be peasant wars, spontaneous rebellions and 'uprisings'—was continued [Andrushchenko, 1969; *Krest'yanskije vojny*, 1974; Mavrodin, 1974; Smirnov, 1974; Buganov, 1976; 1977]. Soviet historians saw class antagonism between national masses (regardless of their ethnic-confessional affiliation) and the feudal upper class as the reason of all national rebellions of the 17–18th centuries. Besides this, in this classic struggle, the Russian nation, as the most progressive, played the leading role. The history of participation of the Volga-Ural peoples in national rebellions of the 17–18th centuries was widely covered in the works of A. Chuloshnikov, N. Romanov, I. Akmanov, N. Kulbakhtin [Chuloshnikov,

1936; 1940; Romanov, 1958; Akmanov, 1968; 1977; 1978; 1987; Kulbakhtin, 1984], as well as in sources—in particular those devoted to the rebellion led by Yemelyan Pugachev [Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1972; Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1973; Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1974; Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1975; Dokumenty' stavki, 1975; Ovchinnikov, 1980; Vozzvaniya, 1988]. The participation of Tatars in the Pugachev rebellion was observed in detail in S. Alishev's publications [Alishev, 1967; 1968; 1973; 1976].

During this period, a significant breakthrough was seen in the study of the Tatar culture and written history of the Tatar nation of the Volga-Ural Region in the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries. M. Ahmetzyanov's research work on hand-written sources and shejeres played an important role in broadening of the source study [Ahmetzyanov, 1981; 1991a]. The priority in studying Arabographic print publications in Turkic languages belongs to the well-known bibliographer A. Karimullin, the author of fundamental works on the history of Tatar book-printing [Karimullin, 1971; 1992]. He was the first to observe the history of the Tatar script and hand-written books, which prompted the emergence of the first print publications in the Tatar language. Besides this, A. Karimullin elaborated the concept of the 'national book'. F. Khisamova's works are devoted to studying the initial stage of formation of the Tatar literary language's official business style, Tatar official-business documents of the 17–18th centuries, as well as linguistics of Tatar documents [Khisamova, 1981; 1990]. In 1960–1970, the first Doctor of Art History in the Volga Region, F. Valeev, set a framework of the Tatar Art Studies [Valeev, 1969]. Traditions of Tatar architecture and its stylistic peculiarities were studied by N. Khalitov, who used Kazan as an example [Khalitov, 1989].

The value of Soviet research work on Tatar history of the 16–18th centuries lies in the fact that Soviet historians managed to gather significant factual material, as well as to thoroughly examine social-economic processes in the Volga-Ural Region.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the historical science in post-Soviet space experienced pro-

found changes. A full-fledged dialog with the Western science led to developing new methods of historical knowledge. As a result of a radical review of the methodological grounds that national historical science had been based upon, there appeared an opportunity to fill in many blank spaces in historiography, and address those topics which were either banned, or appeared to be outside of the framework of Soviet historiography. Pluralism in the methodologies used, caused widening of problematics in research work on the history of the Tatar nation in the latter half of the 16–18th centuries, which in turn set a task in front of historians to study archival materials in a detailed way, as well as to search for new sources. In the 1990s, Tatarstan's historians managed to structurally review a range of key problems in the ethnic-political history of the Tatar nation and its statehood. The ideological schemes which dominated in the Soviet times were rejected, which allowed the unveiling of difficult issues in Tatar history.

A quick turn in the study of the Turkic-Tatar Khanates, and consequences of their conquests, both for these countries and for Russia itself, was seen. At the turn of the 20–21st centuries, an interest in Russian historical science to the study of Middle-Age Turkic-Tatar states was vivid (the Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian Khanates and the Nogai Horde), while questions of annexation of peoples and territories to Russia emerged [Trepavlov, 2002; 2004; 2007a; 2012; Khoroshkevich, 2003; Zaytsev, 2004; 2006; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005; Iskhakov, 2006; 2009; Matveev, Tataurov, 2012; Bakhtin, 2012, Rakhimzyanov, 2009; Ähmätcanov, 2002; 2009, et al.] The main trend became an emphasis on studying the Turkic-Tatar states, not as 'obstacles' on the way of the Russian expansionist state, but as active participants in international relations of the 15–16th centuries, with their own foreign-policy interests and peculiarities of interaction with other countries.

An attempt to review pre-revolutionary and Soviet historiographic traditions, in respect of the annexation of certain nations or regions to Russia, led in the 1990–2000s to a sharp discussion among historians on this issue (see,

for example: [Prisoedinenie Srednego Povolzhia (Accession of the Middle Volga region to the Russian state), 2003; Tatarsky Narod (The Tatar Nation), 2003]). Meanwhile, a certain political bias was created, as jubilees of 'voluntary annexations' were renewed. They were celebrated in several Russian republics and districts (Bashkiria and Adygea held this kind of event in 2007; Buryatia—in 2011, etc.). Meanwhile, 'The Day of Remembrance and Grief of the Tatar Nation'—which was of an opposite character—was held annually on October 12 by Tatar public organisations on the occasion of Ivan the Terrible's seizure of Kazan in 1552. In the Russian historiography, evaluations of the character of the Volga-Ural Region's annexation was divided in the same polar way, beginning with a sharp condemnation of the Kazan Khanate's seizure (see, for example: [Imamov, 1994; Alishev, 1999]) and finishing by the traditional views that some nations joined the country voluntarily (see, for example: [Ayplatov, 1996; Dimitriev, 2001]). In the meantime, a number of works emphasised both complexity and ambiguousness of the process of the Kazan Krai's conquest. With that, the territorial expansion of the Russian state was explained by a desperate move for the sake of defence [Bakhtin, 2001; Svechnikov, 2002]. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 2000s, the interpretations of the annexation started being reconsidered in favour of a more complicated approach, which observed the way that nations perceived their submission to Russia and the power of the Tsar [Trepavlov, 2007].

In the 1990s, a wide circle of Russian historians obtained access to the achievements of Western historiography on the issue of the annexation of nations to the Russian state. The priority in the study of these problematics belongs to the Russian studies developed in the USA. The research conducted by US historian J. Pelenski is of a special interest, because he examined the question of how the Moscow establishment of the 16th century elaborated the ideology of the Muscovite state in general, and the diverse ideological reasons for the annexation of the Kazan Khanate in particular. In his opinion, the conquest of the Middle Volga

and Russian Tsars' imperial policy-making of 'land collection' turned the Muscovite national state into a multi-national one [Pelenski, 1967, 1974]. It is also important to mention the work of a professor of the State University of New York at Binghamton—A. Donnelly, published in the Russian language in 1995. It was devoted to the annexation of Bashkiria to Russia and mechanisms of governing that region [Donnelly, 1995]. The book of M. Romaniello, dedicated to the formation of the Russian Empire in the 16–17th centuries and the way this process was influenced by Kazan's conquest of 1552, refers to the latest research work in this field [Romaniello, 2012].

European historians also addressed the problems of interactions between the Moscow and Kazan states in the 16–17th centuries, and the development of the Russian Empire [Keenan, 1965; Nolde, 1952; Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 1972; Kappeler, 1982; Kappeler, 1996]. Among Western researchers, we should mention the Swiss historian A. Kappeler, whose works on Russian history, formation of national identity and uprisings of peoples who were part of Russia, laid the conceptual basis for interpretation of the history of the Russian Empire of the 17–18th centuries in European historical science. A. Kappeler observed the process of formation of the Russian Empire as an attempt to organise and govern a poly-ethnic space. In A. Kappeler's opinion, the seizure of the Kazan Khanate paved a way for the Muscovite state to turn into a 'multi-religious and poly-ethnic empire' [Kappeler, 1996, p. 23; 2004, pp. 54–112]. In the meantime, the very process of turning into a multi-national empire was complicated and ambiguous, which may somehow be explained by the search for optimal mechanisms of integration of each annexed foreign-nation region.

At the modern stage, when narrow regional Soviet approaches used to examine the Tatar nation (in particular, the concept of the Bulgar-Tatar succession) proved their incapacity, a necessity to grasp a wider picture of the past of the Tatar nation emerged. A weighty significance for understanding of the Tatar history in the second half of the 16–18th centuries is acquired by the examination of resettlement

and formation of ethnic-territorial groups of the Tatars, their numbers and social structure. This topic changed its ethnographic character, which implied a more static picture of lifestyles of local communities, to turn into a matter of historical problematics that observed development of ethnographic groups of the Tatar nation over time, showing interactions between peoples. The key role in the development of historical demography of the Tatar nation, examination of settlement and formation of Tatar ethnic territorial groups, including the Kryashens, was played by fundamental works of the well-known ethnologist and historian D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 1990; 1990b; 1992; 1993; 1993a; 1994; 1995; 1997b; 1998; 2014].

An important achievement in the study of problems of Tatar settlement in the Orenburg Region belongs to Orenburg historian D. Denisov [Denisov, 2004; 2005]. Kazan scientist G. Fayzrahmanov, who based his works upon archaeological, written and other sources, prepared a monograph on the political and ethnic history of the Western-Siberian Tatars, starting from the time of the ancient Turkic population and until the beginning of the 20th century.

The problem of studying the Tatar society's social structure is closely connected to the study of the formation of ethnic-territorial groups. The Tatar service class and merchant class—insufficiently studied in Soviet times—became an object of careful studies. The class of serving Tatars deserves special interest, as its representatives played an important role in the formation of the Russian state in the 17–18th centuries and were bearers of diverse political, ideological and cultural traditions, which in many ways influenced the formation of the Tatar nation. The modern historiography of the Tatar service class developed the following aspects, with different degree of depth: the history of the formation of this class, number and legal status of its representatives, regions of living, characteristics of land ownership and economy, the character of service and national service obligations [Grishin, 1995; Gilyazov, 1995; 2000; 2005; 2009; Iskhakov, 1998; Amerkhanova, 1998; Amerkhanova, 2010; Nogmanov, 2002; Hamamoto, 2004; Gabdullin, 2006; Belyakov, 2009; Belyakov, 2011; Tykhinskikh,

2010; Rakhimzyanov, 2009; Gallyamov, 2001; Kadyrov, 2010; Senyutkin, 2001; Akchurin, 2011; Sabitov, Akchurin, 2013, etc.]. Nevertheless, despite the existing abundance of works on this topic, it is necessary to suggest that the study of the Tatar service class is still at its early stage of formation, and demands further complex analysis.

Works of such historians as R. Khayrutdinov, I. Gabdullin, I. Enikeev, S. Dumin, A. Belyakov, G. Dvoenosova, etc. are devoted to the formation of the Tatar noble class and its peculiarities [Khayrutdinov, 1997; Gabdullin, 2006; Enikeev, 1999; Dumin, 1988; 1994; Belyakov, 2011; Dvoenosova, 2001]. In 2010, Kazan hosted the All-Russia conference 'Tatar murzas and nobles: history and modern era', which, among other things, touched upon the issues of formation of Tatar noble families in the 16–18th centuries [Tatarskie murzy', 2010].

In the 1990s, there emerged a significant interest in Russia towards the merchant class and its brightest trade-manufacturing dynasties. The role and the defining meaning of Tatar entrepreneurship in the Tatar society of the 19th century predestined the interest of researchers to the process of its formation in the latter half of the 18th century. L. Sverdlova, R. Salikhov, R. Khayrutdinov, I. Fayzrahmanov, M. Hamamoto, N. Andreeva, G. Zinnyatova, B. Izmaylov and others addressed the topics of Tatar merchants and their trade-manufacturing activities [Sverdlova, 1991; 1998; Salikhov, 2004; Salikhov, Khayrutdinov, 2005; 2010; Hamamoto, 2011; Andreeva, 2006; Zinnyatova, 2010; Fayzrahmanov, 2013; Izmaylov, 2009a; 2012].

The study of the structure and inner organisation of the system of local governance of state peasants in Kazan guberniya at the end of the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries was observed by R. Khayrutdinov. Of particular interest is the author's focus on the system of governance of the Tatar population, and first of all—the state peasants [Khayrutdinov, 2002].

At the beginning of the 1990s and up until the present time, there has remained a strong interest in the conceptual problems of the formation of the Tatar nation, especially towards the period of the 17–18th centuries [Iskhakov,

1995a; 1997b; 1998; Khabutdinov, 2001; 2008, etc.]. The key and defining works on the study of the development and transformation of the Tatar nation became the works of well-known Tatar historian D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 1995a; 1997b; 1998; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007a]. According to his concept, throughout the 17–18th centuries, there was formed a social structure of the Volga-Ural Tatars; there also appeared the prerequisites of 'institutionalisation of influence channels of some social groups upon the whole society (Tatar society.—*B.I.*)' [Iskhakov, 1997b, pp. 69–70]. According to D. Iskhakov, the period from the 18–beginning of 19th centuries became one of the most crucial for the formation of the Tatar nation.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Islam in Russia was perceived as an inseparable part of Russian culture and society. Islam in the Russian Empire of the 17–18th centuries, its social-political role, the government's policy-making in respect of the religion, inter-faith relations, the development of religious institutions and a whole range of other aspects, were studied in detail in the works of contemporary scientists [Islam, 2006; Islam and the Muslim culture, 2006; Azamatov, 1996; 2000; Arapov, 2001; 2004; Khabutdinov, 2001; 2003; 2008; 2010; Yuzeev, 2001; Islaev, 2001; 2004; Mukhametshin, 2003; Zagidullin, 2007; Orenburgskoe magometanskoe duzovnoe sobranie (Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly), 2011; 2007; Adygamov, 2005; Idiyatullina, 2005; Frank, 2008; Kemper, 2013; Faizov, 1995; Faizov, 1999; Nabiev, 2002].

During the last several years, though not without serious influence of the political environment, the study of empires turned into one of the most dynamically developing streams of historical science, while the very concept 'empire' was strongly consolidated in contemporary scientific literature of the humanitarian branch [Rossiyskaya imperiya, 2004; Rossiyskaya imperiya, 2005; Novaya imperskaya istoriya, 2004; Imperskie i natsional'nye modeli, 2007, and others]. This direction portrays the space of the Russian Empire not in the opinionated formula of 'the prison of nations', but as a field on which there were developed relations between the centre and peripheries, and

formed were peculiarities of the governance of national regions and outskirts. In this conceptualisation, the restoration of diverse forms of interaction between the imperial authorities and local communities allows us to realise how Russia, which initially had been formed as a mono-confessional state, gradually obtained the features of an empire with the single socio-cultural space and a heterogeneous administrative structure. The Volga-Ural Region occupies a special place in the creation and formation of the Russian Empire. The issues of inclusion of certain norms of the Islamic law into the system of Russian legislation and jurisdiction, realisation of Muslims' religious rights in civil institutions and the army, interaction between the power and national elites, evolution of the Russian national policy-making—all found their reflection in the national historiography, but while new sources are attracted, earlier unknown facts on this subject are revealed [Nogmanov, 2002; Ibneeva, 2006; Tikhonov, 2008; Volga-Ural'skiy region, 2011, etc.].

Since the beginning of the 1990s, diverse aspects of the spiritual and material culture of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia were studied in the works of N. Khalitov, G. Valeeva-Suleymanova, F. Khisamova, Kh. Minnegulov, M. Farkhshatov, M. Ahmetzyanov, Ya.I. Khanbikov and others. [Khalitov, 1991; 2012; Valeeva-Suleymanova, Shageeva, 1990; Khisamova, 2012; Minnegulov, 1993; Farkhshatov, 1991; 1996; Ahmetzyanov, 1996].

In general, we should note that the examination of the past of the Tatar nation in the period of the late Middle Ages and the early Modern history (16–18th centuries) passed a significant way from original descriptions and the idea of it being an object of the impact of the tsarist rule, to understanding of the inherent value of Tatar history as one of the actors in the poly-ethnic Russian Empire. During that time, several concepts were changed: from those giving reasons for the necessity to annex the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, finishing with the theories demonstrating the complexity and tragedy of the processes of the conquest and colonisation of these regions, which did not always have a progressive impact upon the non-Russian nations. During the last decades, the source base

for historical research work was increased, and a whole range of new strategies for studying of narrative practices appeared, which show the multi-dimensionality and diversity of events and phenomena of the past. All this provides an opportunity to present the history of the Tatar

nation in a more complex and voluminous way, not as some kind of a regional event, but as a full-fledged part of the all-national history of Russia; and to define the Tatar nation, not only as a rightful part of our country, but a nation belonging to whole of Eurasia.

§2. 16–17th Century Sources

Dina Mustafina, Ilyas Mustakimov

The reconstruction of the historical past of the Tatars in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries is not an easy task, because spatially, they were quite 'split' in this period. In the middle of the 16th century, Tatar ethno-confessional groups inhabited, or were parts of a series of political organisms—the Muscovite state, the Nogai Horde, the Siberian and Crimean Khanates, the Ottoman Empire and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Therefore, it is wrong to restrict the identification of sources only to the territorial bounds of the Volga-Ural Region and even to the Russian state. After all, the liquidation of the Crimean Khanate, the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and annexation to Russia of a significant part of Ottoman territories with Tatar populations only occurred at the end of the 18–beginning of the 20th centuries, and some of the Budjak Tatars have never been a part of Russia. In recent years, publications appeared in Iran and Afghanistan about representatives of ethnic groups calling themselves Tatars. However due to the lack of currently reliable information on the history of these ethnic groups, the Tatars of Iran and Afghanistan are not considered in this work.

In Russian historiography up to the 1980s, a predominant point of view existed that the ruin of the Kazan Palace Prikaz and assembly (prikaz) houses (chambers) in the provinces—that is, in Volga, Ural and Siberian uyezds, led to the total disappearance of the source material reflecting the past of the Tatars in the 16–beginning of 18th centuries. Research work carried out in the last decades has proven that this is not the case. The case is that the sys-

tem of records management established in the Russian state by the middle of the 16th century resulted in some kinds of 'replication' of the document material, copying in order to pass the documents from one Prikaz to another, because each of the Prikazes was in charge of a certain field of public administration. The Domestic [Pomestny] Prikaz was in charge of, for instance, provision of servicemen with salaries, and the Order-in-charge [Razryadny] Prikaz was in charge of organisation and control of their service. Since the object of their attention was one and the same class, it is obvious that they had to share information to fulfill their functional tasks. Prikazes, which were of a territorial nature, including the Kazan Palace Prikaz, wielded absolute authority in the assigned territory. Therefore, all other Prikazes, in order to perform their duties, had to request the necessary information from this territorial Prikaz, or to receive its permission for the gathering of certain information. Having completed this work, a copy of the compiled documents was necessarily passed to the designated Prikaz. This means that the materials, which are of interest to us, could be kept in the archives of a wide variety of Prikazes. This is actually confirmed by the practice of archival searches, and science already knows about many of the sources on the history of the Volga-Ural Region kept in the archives of Razryadny [Order-in-charge], Pomestny [Domestic], Votchinnny [Estate] and other Prikazes. Of course, among the surviving documents, there are the documents of government interest, and different documents related to the proof of the feudal rights of the Orthodox Church to the land and the peasants.

Written sources in the Russian language were traditionally engaged in the research of the history of the Tatars in the period of gradual integration of post-Horde Khanates into the new political entity—the Russian state—and development in a different spatial system. Indeed, information about the socio-political, economic and ideological processes, occurring in the regions of compact residence of the Tatar population, is reflected in the Russian official and unofficial chronicles, historical works and chronographs, legal, and official documents. It is quite natural that the results of the functioning of the state bodies and management system in the centralised Russian state would be documented primarily in the Russian language. However, the Tatar language, in relation to records management in the post-Horde states and to the sphere of international contacts with the Kalmyks, the Mongols and, apparently, the Manchus, and with the countries of the Orient, had not been displaced.

Of course the loss by the post-Horde Khanates of their political independence and the transformation of part of the Tatars into some of the Russian ethno-confessional communities (or groups) had led to the fact that these yurts ceased to be the subject of official inter-state contacts, and their population ceased to be the object of interest of foreign geographers and travelers. However, in the writings of medieval historians and geographers, in the notes and the works of West European and Eastern authors, created in various languages, there is interesting material on the history and narratives of contemporary authors on the state of the various ethnic groups of the Tatar people, and the authors of these narratives also reflected the perception of the Tatars by other ethnic groups.

It should be recalled, in this regard, the longstanding tradition of creating the baits, dastans and other creations of folklore, preserved and handed down through the collective memory of the people, and also the tradition of creating Shejeres (genealogies), continuing to the present day. And in general, the fact that the concept of 'source' is not limited to written materials, and that it is much wider and varied, although as we come closer to our days, it is ex-

actly the specified type of sources that become predominant over all the other types. However, this does mean that it is necessary to ignore or underestimate the value of the discovered epigraphic and written material monuments, the language data, ethnographic information, and other records, to recreate a complex picture of the past. However it is impossible to cover and characterise the entire range of the surviving sources within the framework of a short essay, therefore, we confine ourselves to a general overview of the most significant written monuments of the surviving written and graphic heritage, presenting the Tatars, not only in time, but also in space.

* * *

The known collection of sources on the history of the Tatars in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries may be sub-divided with the help of several different principles of classification. Sources can be divided into published and unpublished materials, depending on the extent of their popularity and dissemination. Tatar, Russian, Ottoman, Persian, Polish, German, English, Dutch, Chinese, and other sources are differentiated on the basis of the language of the texts. According to the typological classification of sources, the following divisions can be made: a) narrative documents (chronicles, historico-geographical and historical works); b) cartographic documents; c) legal documents; d) acts in the narrow sense of the word; e) administrative records including materials of special documentation.

The majority of documents that remain from the middle and latter half of the 16–17th centuries are narrative materials, that is, first of all, Russian chronicles and chronographs. Almost in each narration, the events of which coincide with the events of the period under review, it is possible to find direct or indirect accounts about the Tatars. The following materials are to be evaluated as the most informative: *Letopisnyj svod 1518 goda* (The Chronicle svod of 1518) // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 28 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28), *Letopisec nachala carstva carya i velikogo knyazya Ioanna Vasil'evicha Vseya Russii* ('The Chronicler of the Beginning

of the Reign of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasil'evich') // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 29 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29), Patriarshaya or Nikonovskaya letopis' and Carstvennaya kniga (the Patriarch or Nikon Chronicle and the Tsar Book) // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 13 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13), 'Istoriya o Kazanskom carstve (Kazanskij letopisej)' ('The History of the Kazan Tsardom (Kazan chronicler)') // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 19 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19); Dubrovina, 1989, L'vovskaya letopis' (the Lvov Chronicle) // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 20, chast' 2 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, part 2), 'Novyj letopisej' ('The New Chronicler') // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 14 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14), the excerpt from the Russian Chronicle of 7060 complementing the Second Sofia Chronicle // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 6 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6), Ustyuzhskij letopisnyj svod (the Ustug Chronicle svod) // Ustug Chronicle, 1950; Serbina, 1946, pp. 239–270; Azbelev, 1960, pp. 270–287, Ustyuzhskie i Vologodskie letopisi 16–17 vv. (the Ustug and Vologda Chronicles of the 16–17th cc.) // *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 37 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37), Sinodik Ermakovy'm kazakam, Stroganovskaya, Esipovskaya, Remezovskaya i Kungerskaya letopis', Sibirskij letopisnyj svod (the burial prayer list for the Yermak's Cossacks, the Stroganov, Esipov, Remezov and Kungur Chronicles, the Siberian Chronicle) // *Sibirskie letopisi*, 1907 (Siberian Chronicles, 1907); *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 36 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36); Dvoreczkaya, 1957, pp. 467–482 and others (see bibliography: [Tikhomirov, 1960; Kazakevich, 1976, pp. 294–356; Dergacheva-Skop, 1965; Dergacheva-Skop, Alekseev, 2006; Romodanovskaya, 2002; Kloss, 1980; Past to the Future, 1992]). The presentation of political events in chronological order in the 17th century is 'enriched' by the appearance of texts such as razrjadnaja [cadastre] records, ambassador's documents, folklore materials, literary works, etc. The inclusion of documents

and literary works in the chronicles was connected with a desire to ascertain the scope of known information, and is evidence of the constant focus of chroniclers on depicting the external relations of the Russian state.

A special category of narrative sources is made up of various kinds of travel notes, the informative potential of which has not been used in full in relation to the history of the Tatar people. Most of the authors were Europeans (diplomats, politicians, Catholic prelates, merchants, and various soldiers of fortune in the Russian service), and only a small number were Ottoman subjects. The focus of the 16th century authors was on two active participants in the geopolitical processes in Eastern Europe: the Russian State and the Crimean Khanate, knowledge about which was especially important for rulers of Western states. Of course, the Europeans in Russia were not interested in the ethno-confessional groupings of the Tatars as such; rather, they were mentioned in relation to the external or internal political situation in the country: when describing the trade route to the East, or recording what an embassy saw on the way to an Eastern country through Russia. The Crimean Khanate and its people were the objects of particular attention by the authors, being both a neighbouring state which represented a military threat, as well as a territory in the Turkish Sultan's zone of influence. The Azov Tatars were mentioned in relation to the geopolitical value of Azov and the struggle for the right to possess this strategic point.

The most well-known and valuable source description of the mysterious Muscovy is in the 'Notes on Muscovite Affairs' by German Baron S. Herberstein, who visited Russia in 1517 and 1526 with instructions from the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Maximilian I and Archduke Ferdinand, and who provided the educated classes of European society with historico-geographical, socio-political and ethnological information about Russia and its neighbours (see more: [Herberstein, 1988]). These notes are worth mentioning because many foreigners, who visited Russia later, were charmed by the work in spite of its limitations, and did not bother to extend or clarify the information that it imparted. A separate chapter

of the work, which was quite impartial for its time and was based on sources available to the author, such as the stories of knowledgeable people (including the Grand Prince, Prince S. Kurbsky, Ambassador G. Istoma and others) and the authors own observations, is devoted to the history, status, historical figures, morals and customs of different ethno-confessional Tatar communities.

Another set of notes that is worth mentioning is 'On Customs of the Tatars, Lithuanians and Muscovites' («De moribus tartarorum, lituanorum et moscorum») written in the years 1548–1551¹ by Michaln Lituanus, the ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Crimean Khanate. They serve as a valuable source for comparing and collating the traditions and customs of the ethnic groups caught in the middle of the most important events in the struggle for political supremacy between the remnants of the Ulus of Jochi. The attention of the author of this historico-ethnographic work was focused on the Crimean Tatars. M. Lituanus expressed admiration towards their military campaigns, strategy and battle tactics, organisation of river crossings, endurance, temperance, justice, and other virtues attributed to the Tatars. In short, he presented Crimean behaviours and the moral practices of the Khanate population as being exemplary. At the same time he regarded the Crimean Tatars as the main enemy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, for their ability to field an army of 30 thousand warriors and achieve victory through their stratagem and cunning. It is interesting that Lituanus mentioned the self-identification

of the Tatars, who considered themselves to be part of the Scythian tribe. He presented the Tatars as an ethnic community divided into 'hordes' or 'peoples' who lacked unity and were always at war with each other. According to the observations of Lituanus, the union of the Perekop, Belgorod and Dobruja Tatars was opposed by all the others—the Crimean Nogais, the trans-Volga Nogais, and the Astrakhan, Kazan, and 'Kazakh' Tatars supported by Shaybani Khan (Bukhara and Samarkand).

Among the works of the European salesmen containing information about the Tatars one must mention the notes of Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1610(?))—the second after R. Chancellor, the envoy of English Queen Mary Tudor and later of Elizabeth I to the government of Ivan IV. The aim of his arrival was to reach an agreement with the Tsar about British trade routes to the Eastern countries—Iran, China, Central Asia and India. He collected his travel notes and observations about geography and the state of the Russian people and their neighbours into his work 'Journey' based on notes compiled in 1557, 1561, 1566 and 1571, and during a trip to Iran and Central Asia in 1558–1559 and in 1562–1564.² He also compiled one of the first maps of Muscovy, which included the locations of settlements, drainage patterns, marks about lands and peoples, and indicated the boundaries of regions with a dotted line. In his notes he reflected on the most significant

¹ M. Litvin's treatise was written in the Latin language; scholarship is only acquainted with fragments of it. They were published in 1615 in Basel. Separate parts of the notes related to the Lithuanians' ethnogeny, and the ethnographic characteristics of the Tatars were reproduced in 1626, 1627, 1630, and 1642. The work's first translation into Russian, completed by S. Shestakov, was published by N. Kalachov in 1854. In 1929 the treatise was published in the Lithuanian language, translated by Jonynas. In 1994 the Russian translation, completed by V. Matuzova with commentaries by S. Dumin, Yu. Mytsyk, I. Starostina, M. Usmanov, and A. Khoroshkevich, was published in a series of foreign notes about Ruthenia and Russia. For more details, see: [Michalo Lituanus, 1994].

² For the first time A. Jenkinson's notes were published in the English language in 1589 as part of the collection 'The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation... for the Last 1500 Years' finalised for publication by Richard Hakluyt. They were also included in the first volume of the three-volume edition published in a single binding in 1599–1600: [Hakluyt, 1599]. Then they materialised in the five-volume edition of 'Hakluyt's collection of the early voyages, travels, and discoveries of the English nation. A new edition, with additions. 5 vols. London, 1809–12' published in 1809–1812. They were issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1886 [Early Voyages, 1886]. Printed in 1903–1905 [Hakluyt, 1903]; as part of a 10-volume edition, it was published in 1927–1928 in London and New York. The Russian translation of the part of notes about Jenkinson's travels to Russia in 1571–1572 was completed by S. Seredonin [Seredonin, 1884, pp. 73–91]. Fragments of earlier notes were translated and published by Yu. Gotye [Jenkinson, 1937; Jenkinson, 1938].

events in the history of the different ethno-confessional groups of the Tatars (Kazan, Nogai, Crimean), and outlined their occupations and the state of their trade, with a focus on imports and exports. What stands out in his work is his evidence about the Nogai and Astrakhan Tatars who died from starvation, the selling of the survivors into slavery, and the fact that the Kazan Khanate was included into the territory of the Muscovite State on his map, while the Astrakhan Khanate was not. It is possible that this was due to the relative uncertainty about the future of the peripheral land.

Among the best-known and most frequently used works by historians is the 'Description of Tartary' by Marcin Broniowski (died in the beginning of the 17th century) who was sent to the Crimea as an Ambassador of the Polish King Stephen Báthory to the Khan Mehmed II Giray. The work is essentially a physical-geographical description of the peninsula including extensive historical and ethnographic information pertaining to the 100 years preceding the author's stay in the Khanate in 1578–1579 (for Russian translations see: [Moskovskij telegraf, 1826; Broniowski, 1867; Broniowski, 2005]). The author supplemented his personal observations with information from ancient geographical surveys, first of all from 'Geography' by Strabo, as well as written documents and epigraphic inscriptions of non-extant works from the 16th century. Along with information about orography, hydrography, natural resources, the animal world, and the climate, the work describes cities with their topographic objects, structural and governmental features, the procedure for electing khans, their origins, education, daily life and lifestyle. The work also mentions the procedures for raising an army, the organisation of campaigns, war tactics, the stipulation of rewards for soldiers, the sale of prisoners, and the division of the Tatars into ethnic groups. One must also note mentions of the payments granted to the Khanate by neighbouring states, which is evidence of the political and military status of Crimea.

In 1588–1589, Queen Elizabeth's plenipotentiary Giles Fletcher (ab. 1549–1611) stayed in Russia ([Fletcher, 1905; Fletcher, 1906; Anglijskie, 1937; Travelling through Muscovy,

1991; Fletcher, 2002; Karatsuba, 2007, pp. 53–68]). He was entrusted with the task of resolving the conflict with the Anglo-Muscovy Company (Muscovy Trading Company), which occurred through the fault of one of its members. He failed in his mission, but was able to compile the opus "Of the Russe Common Wealth" which covers the physico-geographical outline of Russia including the Volga region, its class and administrative arrangements, spatial layout, occupations, and the morals and social structure of the population, including the Tatar population. He regarded the Crimean and Nogai Tatars, the Cheremis, the Mordovians, the Circassians, and 'Schelkals' (evidently the Kumyks) as being part of the Tatar population.

Most of the foreigners who were in the Tsar's service in the latter half of the 16th century—including the Livonians Johann Taube and Eilhard Kruse, the Westphalian Heinrich von Staden, Jacob Ulfeldt and others—could not overcome the negative charisma and policy of Ivan IV, which became the main theme in their works [Poslanie Ioganna, 1922; Staden, 1925; Staden, 2008; Jacob Ulfeldt, 2002; Sibir' v izvestiyax (Siberia in works), 1941]. Information about the ethnic groups inhabiting Russia is limited to notes about their lifestyles, occupations and to the relationship of post-Horde states among themselves and with Russia. Typically these authors only mention the Tatars in reference to a change in the Tsar's domestic policy (the campaign of the Crimean Khan to Moscow in 1571).

The same scarcity of references can be found in the writings of witnesses and active participants in the events during the Time of Troubles: they are only mentioned in the context of the death of False Dmitry II and the role of the Nogai Tatars in the event. However, the notes of that period—'The State of the Russian Empire' by Jacques Margerie, a Frenchman who was in the Russian service [Margeret, 1859; Russia, 1982; Margeret, 2007], and the diaries and memoirs of adventurer Conrad Bussow from Germany [Bussow, 1961; Bussow, 1998] known as the 'Moscow Chronicle'—are interesting for portraying the historical conditions surrounding the inclusion of former Khanates into another political

body. Exceptions to this rule are the writings of the nobleman Peter Petreius de Erlesunda (1570–1622) [Petreius, 1857; Petreius, 1976; Petreius, 1997], to whom the Swedish King successively set the task of gathering information in order to take advantage of the difficult situation in Russia during the Time of Troubles. His long stay in the country (from 1601 to 1604, in 1607, 1608, from 1609 to 1610, in 1612 and in 1613) contributed to the accumulation of a significant volume of information about Russia, which he compiled first in his book 'A Reliable and Truthful Report' and then in the book 'A Story about the Grand Principality of Moscow, the Origin of Great Princes, Recent Unrest Performed there by Three False Dmitrys, and about Moscow Laws, Morals, Government, Faith and Rituals, which was collected, described and published by P. Petreius de Erlesunda in Leipzig in 1620.' In addition to his own reports, Petreius used the materials of Russian chronicles, diplomatic acts, and much of what he learned from Isaac Massa, Maxim Baer, Conrad Busow. The value of his works is determined not only by his interest in political events in Russia and the defensive capacity of cities, etc., but also by the way he presented the customs, morals, clothes and way of life of the Volga, Nogai and Crimean Tatars.

A whole line of works written by Western authors in the 17th century appeared as a result of the tireless effort of Europeans to bring their trading capital to Muscovy and through Muscovy to the East. Among such works is the 'Brief about the Beginning and Origin of Modern Wars and Unrest in Muscovy Occurred Before 1610' by the Dutch merchant Isaac Massa (circa 1587–1635) [Massa, 1937; Massa, 1997; Massa, 2007, pp. 424–431]. I. Massa picked the wrong time for achieving his goal and had to stay in Russia from 1601 until 1609, but he successfully accomplished his task of intelligence gathering. In spite of difficult circumstances, he managed to gain an understanding of the foreign policy successes and political development of the Muscovite state from the reign of Ivan IV to the reign of Vasily Shuyskiy. The most interesting aspect of his work is his perception of the development and esca-

lation of relations between Moscow and the post-Horde states—the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, and the Great Nogai Horde, which lost their independence. Also notable are his descriptions of the attempts of the population of the Kazan Khanate (during the 'Cheremis wars') and the Crimean Khan (campaigns in 1555, 1571) to recover lost ground, and the division of forces during the Astrakhan campaign in 1569.

Among the travel notes of foreigners, the most thorough and informative are the notes of the German traveler and scholar Adam Olearius (1603–1671), compiled in the book 'Description of Travel to Muscovy and through Muscovy to Persia and back' [Olearius, 1861; Olearius, 1906; Olearius, 2003]. He visited Russia as a member of the Schleswig-Holstein Embassy to Moscow in 1633–1634 and to Iran (Persia) in 1635–1639. Olearius visited Kazan and Astrakhan on his way to Persia in 1636 and on the way back in 1638. Being conscientious and observant by nature, he gave a comprehensive picture of the political and social situation in Russia as a whole, and in the Volga region in particular. His collection of information about the history, geography, toponymy, and ethnography of the lands he traveled through was compiled with an eye for practical relevance, and therefore included maps and nature sketches. It is noteworthy that Olearius differentiated the Crimean Tatars (or Perekop) and the Kasimov, Kazan, Cheremis, Nogai, Trans-Volga, Bulgar, Kalmyk, Circassian and Dagestan Tatars. He described the history of the conquest of the Tatar Khanates, presented Astrakhan as the capital of the Nogai Tataria, and mentioned the facts of daily life, customs, and clothing that distinguished them from each other. His book became a kind of guide for those set on repeating his path to Persia in the coming years. It was an example for the Dutch sailmaker Jan Jansen Struys from the Netherlands (Struys, 1630–1694), who visited Russia twice (1668–1673 and 1675–1676) and crossed it from Novgorod to Astrakhan. In his narration about the history, lifestyle, social relationships and ethnographic peculiarities of the Tatar population of the entire Lower Volga Region, and the role of the Volga cities in domestic and transit

trade with the East, Struys adhered to the outline of notes set by A. Olearius [Struys, 1935].

Those who searched for a low-cost and safe road to Persia were not limited to representatives of commercial capital, but also included the rulers of European states who were interested in an alliance with Persia against the Ottoman Empire. The travel notes of Stephan Kakasch (died in 1613) and Georg Tektander (died in 1614) were related to the fulfillment of this task, and were the outcome of their assignment to consolidate such an alliance with the Persian Shah Abbas on behalf of Rudolf II [Kakasch, Tektander, 1896]. The route taken by the delegation started in Prague and passed through Silesia, Poland, Mazovia, and Lithuania to Moscow, and later to Kazan and down the Volga River to Astrakhan, etc. It is curious that the ambassadors arrived in Kazan after four months from the beginning of their journey (December 24, 1602), spending 16 days on the road from Kazan to Astrakhan through Samara, Saratov, and Tsaritsyn along the Volga River. Their notes are interesting for several reasons, including descriptions of fortifications: a double ring of fortifications in Kazan, dilapidated wooden fortress walls and the ancient Tatar monuments and tombs in Astrakhan, and descriptions of the different lifestyles of the Astrakhan Tatars who were settled and nomadic. Having limited their descriptions of the settled Tatars with information about their salt-works, the authors of the notes presented their observations about the natural-geographical and climatic features of the steppes adjacent to Astrakhan, including the prevailing modes of survival, nomadic life, movements, and the character of trade of the Nogai Tatars.

Mentions of the Nogai Tatars unexpectedly appear in the journal notes of the Krakow nobleman Stanisław Niemojewski (circa 1560–1620) [Zapiski Nemoevskogo, 1907; Zapiski Nemoevskogo, 2006]. Being in Russia as a trustee of the Swedish princess Anna, the sister of Sigismund III, with the task of selling some of her jewelry to False Dmitry I, Niemojewski stayed there by force of circumstance for three years (since April 18, 1606 till October 2, 1608), and spent his time keeping records of what he saw and heard. Owing to his desire

to return home as soon as possible, there is an extant narration of his meeting with the Romanov-serving Tatar Mirza El, the son of the Nogai Bey Yusuf, who had been sent to Russia in 1564 by his uncle Ismail. It covers the involvement of the Nogai mirzas in military campaigns, their sustained losses, their forced detention in Russia, and also the resettlement of the Nogais on the Don.

Among the notes of the Europeans who entered the army (Russian or Polish), there are two major informative works. The first one is the 'Description of Ukraine' written by a French military engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan (1595–1685) who was involved in the construction of fortifications in the *Rech Pospolita* (1632–1648) [Opisanie Ukrainy' (Description of Ukraine), 1896, pp. 289–388; Guillaume Le Vasseur, 2004]. In this work he shared his impressions about the inhabitants of the Crimean Khanate, and described their governmental arrangements, cities, lifestyle, appearance, clothing, food, and customs, as well as the peculiarities of their war tactics and their weapons.

The second work is 'The Diaries' of Patrick Gordon, a British subject who was in the Russian service in 1661–1664 [Patrick Gordon, 2001; Patrick Gordon, 2002; Patrick Gordon, 2005; Patrick Gordon, 2009]. The value of this work as a source is doubtless due to its geographical and chronological breadth, accuracy in the presentation of events, the awareness, observations, and impartiality of the author, as well as its use of texts from official and private letters, certificates of service, interstate agreements, regiment lists, petitions, invoices, drawings of the Chyhyryn fortress, etc. These daily records compiled into six volumes recreate the geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe in the latter half of the 17th century, and the historical conditions in which the Polish-Lithuanian and Crimean Tatars existed. The chapters about the military campaigns (wars with Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1655–1660, the Chyhyryn and Azov campaigns) describe the peculiarities of strategy and tactics of the Crimean Tatars in the course of military actions, and provide information on the procedures of prisoner exchanges and about certain historical fig-

ures. The source is invaluable for understanding the political situation in Russia, the causes and nature of social conflicts, including those with the participation of the Volga-Ural Tatars. It contains information about the spatial organisation, population size, military skills, armaments, and beliefs of the Cis-Ural 'Bashkir' Tatars (see also the analysis of the diary of Patrick Gordon: [Brickner, 1878]).

Certain works of European authors bring attention to stories about social conflicts with the participation of Tatars. Thus, the essay by Jacob Reutenfels 'Tales about Muscovy Told to his Highness Duke of Tuscany Cosimo III' written in about 1676 is remarkable for disclosing the participation of the peoples of the Volga-Ural Region in the peasant war led by Stepan Razin (the essay was first published in 1680 in Latin in Padua, and in 1906 in Russian. See: [Reutenfels, 1906]). In contrast, the accounts on the geography, political structure, and economy of the Russian state, including in the Middle and Lower Volga Region, are not original. 'The Diary' of Johann-Georg Korb (1672–1741), the secretary of the Austrian envoy Guarient, about his stay in Russia in 1698–1699 is noteworthy for mentioning the campaign of the Crimeans near Azov, the rebellion of the *strelety* sent to the city and their bringing the Crimean Tatars to their side (the records were published in Latin in 1700–1701 in Vienna, and in Russian in 1867, 1906, 1997. See: [Dnevnik poezdki (Diary of the trip), 1867; Korb Johann Georg, 1906; Korb Johann Georg, 1997]).

Special mention should be given to the 'Description of the Black Sea and Tartary' by the monk Emiddio Dortelli d'Ascoli written in 1634 [Opisanie Chernogo morya (Description of the Black Sea), 1902, pp. 91–134]. His works are mainly based on personal observations collected in a span of ten years, so, in addition to information of a physico-geographical, ethnographic, administrative-territorial, socio-economic, tax-paying, and military-strategic character, there is also an attempt to systematise and interpret the information. The author gives his interpretation of the etymology of the term 'Tatars', notes their division into the Crimean (old residents) and the Nogai (later incomers)

Tatars, speaks about their tolerance, hospitality, the natural disasters that affected their quality of life and population size, and mentions the balneological properties of the Crimean land.

Finally one must mention the diaries of Eberhard Isbrand Ides (1657–1707(?)), a Danish citizen of Dutch descent who was known in the Russian service under the name of Elizarij, son of Elizaij [Isbrand Ides, 1967; Ides, 2010]. He headed the government Embassy of Peter I in China (1692–1695.). It was organised with the aim of establishing trade relations with China and clarifying the fate of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. His diary, 'Journey from Russia to China', became the first essay about the unknown Russian regions in Europe, and contains valuable information on the geography, history, and ethnography of the Urals and Siberia, including a interesting information about 'the Ufa and Bashkir Tatars'.

There is a lot of information to be found in work of a Dutchman, Cornelius de Bruyn (1652–after 1711) 'Journey through Muscovy' [Cornelius de Bruyn, 1873; Cornelius de Bruyn, 1989]. He commenced his journey in July 1701 from Amsterdam. Passing through Arkhangelsk, Moscow and further along the Volga River, in early spring he travelled down to Astrakhan in the second week of April, 1703. Then he crossed the border and journeyed through Iran and Eastern India and visited the Islands of Ceylon and Java. Four years later returned to Holland, in early October, 1708. Apart from historical and ethnographic sketches, he left more than three hundred (320) priceless drawings and paintings, based on his own observations.

The collection of travel notes by the Eastern (Muslim) authors containing information about the Tatars and used by these researches is small. If one ignores the single mention of the Nogais contained in the notes of the naval commander Seydi Ali Reis, who was returning from Samarkand and Bukhara to Istanbul in late winter–early spring 1556 through the Nogai nomad camps [Seydi Ali Reis, 1999, pp. 137–139], and recalls the tradition of referring Paul of Aleppo, who wrote 'The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch' to the Ottoman authors [Krachkovsky, 2004; p. 687, etc.], and

the mainly geographic character of the work by the Ottoman encyclopedist of the 17th century—Mustafa bin Abdulla Kâtip Çelebi (Haji Khalifa) named 'Jihan-nüma' ('The Mirror of the World') [Kâtip Çelebi, 1732, pp. 375–376; Jihan-nüma, 1973], then there is one of the few works that belongs in this category, namely the work of the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682(?)) 'Seyahat-name' ('Book of Travels') ([Evliya Çelebi, 1961; 1979; 1983; 1999; 2008], for the source value of the written monument see: [Grigoryev, 1974; Grigoryev, Frolova, 1968]).

At the same time the information they contain in common expands our understanding of the past.¹ Seydi Ali's essay, for example, makes one think about the reasons for the contemptuous and cautious attitude to nomads who did not consider it shameful to rob their co-religionists [Mustakimov, 2008, p. 15]. It is also significant that Paul of Aleppo visited the Muscovite state twice, accompanying his father Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch, and wrote his notes about the first stay in the country in Arabic. Their way to Russia ran through the territories of Moldova and Ukraine, and, of course, they had to come across both the Christians and the Muslims—the Crimean Tatars; they all provided him with information. These encounters, along with his own observations, enabled him to understand in depth the Crimean-Moscow and the Crimean-Cossack relations, provided his information on the Crimean and the Kasimov Tatars and on the christening of Kasimov Tsarevich Sayyid Burhan ibn Arislan, whose mother Fatima Sultan was from the clan of the Sayyids [Murkos, 1898].

Interesting facts on the history and geography of the Tatar yurts can be found in the above mentioned work by Haji Khalifa (1600–1657). In particular, he mentioned the appeal of the Kazan Tatars to Sultan Selim II (1566–1574) for assistance in the fight against the 'Muscovite disbelievers' and noted the tactical ploy

they suggested: to dig a channel to join the Don and the Volga Rivers (see: [Mustakimov, 2008, p. 11]). His bio-bibliographic dictionary 'Kiyas-hf az-zunun' or 'The Removal of Doubt from the Names of Books and the Arts' also became widely known and has not lost its scientific value these days. It lists the titles of nearly 14,500 books in various Eastern languages (Arabic, Persian, Ottoman and Turkic-Tatar) by 8,000 authors, indicating the years of their death and in some cases other biographical information [Krymsky, 1902, pp. 950–951].

Information about the Tatars is given in the 2nd, 7th and 8th volumes of the above mentioned 10 volume work by the Ottoman author Evliya Çelebi. The traveller visited the Northern Caucasus and the regions of the Volga, the Don and the Black Sea, along with Crimea twice: in 1641–1642 and in 1666–1667. The first voyage was made after his appointment as Kethüda to Trabzon Wali Omar Pasha. After his returning to Izmit, Çelebi was sent to Trabzon on 19 August 1640. His route there ran along the southern shore of the Black Sea via coastal cities and fortresses. In Trabzon, he managed to join the Embassy to Megrelia which was probably gathered due to the organisation of the campaign against Azov. On his way back, having reached Gonia, Çelebi joined the Janissaries heading for Anapa to the position of the Turkish troops assembling for the campaign against Azov. From Azov he went to Bakhchysaray where he spent the winter of 1641, then journeying through Balaklava, having survived a shipwreck and a long illness, he reached Istanbul in the latter half of October 1643.

His second journey through the territory populated by the Tatars began in 1665–1666 as a member of Embassy to Austria headed by Fazyl Ahmed Pasha. Having experience of travelling around the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Holland, Denmark and Sweden, along with experience gained by participating in several military campaigns, Çelebi received permission from the Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray IV to pass through Perekop to the territory of the Crimean Khanate. The overthrow of the Khan in the spring of 1666 led to the continuation of his

¹ To make the picture complete, we should mention the existence of the hagiographical work dated to 1573, 'Jaddat al-Ashikin,' written by Sharif ad-Din Khusain Sharifi, in which he narrates about the Nogais ('Uzbeks'), the Astrakhan, and Crimean Khanates. See: [Muminov, 2012].

journey to the East and the North-East together with the disgraced Khan. Having crossed the Kerch Strait he came to the Taman Peninsula, then from the fortress of Taman, through Kabardia, he made his way to Dagestan. Having passed Azerbaijan and Northern Iran, and having crossed the Caspian Sea in the autumn of 1666, Çelebi reached Astrakhan and then Kazan, Alaty, and apparently arrived in Mozhaysk. Then, passing through the Don Region, he arrived in Azov in winter, thence came to the South, visited some of the Circassian and the Nogai areas, and through the lands of the Hatuqwai, Zhaney and Shegak people, he returned to the fortress of Taman, from where he crossed the frozen Kerch Strait and, via the Crimean Peninsula, reached Bakhchysaray. He made his way to Perekop and, in the spring of 1667, set off for Istanbul via Ukrainian lands and the fortress of Izmail.

Despite the presence of some arrogance in relation to other ethnic groups, the information contained in this extraordinary man's notes is impartial, accurate and revealing. He left detailed and definitely unique information about the historical geography, history, culture and life of the Budjak, Crimean, Lithuanian, Astrakhan and the Kazan Tatars, although it was not duly appreciated. Particularly noteworthy is his description of the cities, containing topographical and historical data, descriptions of fortifications and religious buildings, external appearance, way of life, dwellings, household items, weapons, clothing, food and customs, in addition to folklore of different Crimeans and neighbouring tribes and peoples. He shares interesting observations about the character of relationship between the Crimean Khanate and the Nogai Tatars, about the Khan's control of the steppe nomad camps of such Nogai clans as the Adils, Shaidaks, and Ormits and related life system (payment of the tributes for cattle grazing by the Nogais, delivery of oil, honey, cattle, sheep, lambs and captives to Crimea), about the existence of different ethnoconfessional groups defined by the term 'Tatars', about the ethnogenesis of the Crimean Tatars.

Another group of the narrative sources is the historical works. Due to specific reasons, the traditions of creating historical works of

the Tatars who became a part of the Russian state began to fade, and it took time to give them the fresh impetus needed for rebirth. However this standstill can be compensated, to some extent, by the works of the Ottoman and Crimean authors (for manuscripts collected in the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences see: [Dmitrieva, 1975; Dmitrieva, 2002; Istanbul Kutuphaneleri, 1944]).

This is a selection of them. First, is 'The History of Khan Sahib Giray' ('Tarih-i Sâhib-gârây Khan') by Badr ad-Din Muhammad bin Mohammad Kaysuni-Zadeh Nidai-Effendi, better known as Remmal Hoja [Tarich-i Sahib, 1973; Zaytsev, 2005, pp. 48–87; Zaytsev, 2009, pp. 69–83; Zaytsev, 2009a, pp. 66–67]. The author's personality and his interests, the motivation of the compilation of chronicles, the source basis, distinctive features, style and content of the work by Remmal Hoja were carefully studied by a number of scientists—V. Smirnov, Z. Abrakhamovich, Sh. Muhamedyarov, V. Ostapchuk, I. Zaytsev, and others. This work, based on the author's own data, official documents, Fateh-name and Zafer-name was written in 1551–1553 and was a eulogy to the deceased Khan. With all the inaccuracy in dating events, this written monument is a valuable source of information about the Crimean politics, military activities and lifestyle of the Khanate population, its geographical conditions, etc. It helps to understand the background and the causes of the Crimean campaigns to Moscow in 1541 and to Astrakhan and the Nogai Horde in 1546, the continuity in the political line of the relationship of Crimea with other yurts, Moscow and Istanbul. Furthermore, from this point of view it is indispensable for the examination of different processes which were continued and developed in the 16–17th centuries. In addition this work is one of the links of historiographical tradition in post-Horde space, which determine the way of its subsequent evolution.

To study the history of the Crimean Khanate ruling establishment, one can use the work by Emir Abu Muhammad Mustafa al-Janabi (died in 999/1590–1591) called 'The chronicle of al-Janabi' or 'A gift from a smart man and

an offering from an educated man' written in Arabic. Unfortunately, knowledge of this work is restricted to the extracts published by V. Velyaminov-Zernov and V. Tiesenhausen [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, pp. 374–376; Abu Muhammad, 1884, pp. 238–239] and the latter's mentions of the presence of information about the Crimean rulers.

Concise information about Kuchum Khan and the Siberian Yurt can be found in the essay by the Ottoman historian of the 16th century Seyfi Çelebi called 'Tawarikh' ('Chronicle') the extract of which was published by T. Sultanov [Sultanov, 2005, pp. 254–278].

One should mention the work by the Ottoman author Abdulla bin Rizwan called 'Tawarikh-i Desht-i Qipchaq' ('Chronicles of Desht-i Qipchaq') dated back to the reign of Murad IV (1623–1640), but not earlier than 1638 (the critical text of this chronicle was published by A. Zajaczkowski [Zajaczkowski, 1966; Zajaczkowski, 1969]). It is written in accordance with the traditions, taking into account the works of his predecessors, and has a complex structure: it includes the introduction, the description of Desht-i Qipchaq, the genealogy of Chinggisids and a short excursion into the history of Crimea from the times of Khan Hacı Giray, and the conclusion. The source value of this work can be explained by the fact that its author witnessed the described events as he was a son of the governor of Kaffa. He witnessed the military organisation of the Crimean Tatars, their military skill, the most striking internal political events of the early 17th century (in describing which he shows his attitude to the Crimean people as a whole): his perception of the power struggle between Mehmed Giray and Jani Beg Giray [Zajaczkowski, 1966, pp. 18–19; Turan, 1984].

The best-known work is the work by ulama Sayyid Muhammad Riza (died in 1755/56) named 'Seven Planets in the Narratives of the Tatar Kings' ('As-sab' as-siyar fi akhbar-i muluk-i tatar'), completed in 1737 [Kazem-Beg, 1832; Seytyagyaev, 2002]. This work with its complex structure is based on a wide range of sources (the works of Arabic, Persian and Turkish historians, plus unrevealed writings of Crimean historians). After a brief introduction,

Muhammad Riza describes the creation of the world, then gives a brief summary of the history of Desht-i Qipchaq, the Mongol Empire, the Golden Horde, and the Crimean Khanate. The narration of the Crimean Khanate is a concise history of the seven Crimean Khans reign. It begins with the story of Khan Mengli Giray I and ends with the events of the middle of the 18th century during the reign of Mengli Giray II (from 871/1466 till 1150/1737). The author's main task was to prove the succession of the Girays' political power from the Golden Horde Khans. For that purpose he describes the genealogy of Khan Mengli Giray, tells about the Khans who followed an independent or parallel to the Ottoman Sultan political course, and explains the reason for succession crises and decline of the Crimean Khanate. The source value of this written monument does not restrict itself to the study of the political events, it contains information about the internal life of the khanate, the relationships within the Khan's family, about the life and the morals of the Crimean society, as well as ethnographic material about the peoples with whom Crimea had various contacts. In the latter half of the 18th century this work was revised and formed the basis of a 'Brief History of the Crimean Khanate.' Both variants were in the Ottoman-Turkish language (for more details, see: [Smirnov, 2005, p. 35; Zaytsev, 2009, pp. 97–127]).

Finally, there is 'Tarikh-i Islam-Giray' ('The History of Khan Islam Giray III') by servant of the khan chancellery Kyrymly Hajji Mehmed Senai written in 1648–1651 in the Ottoman-Turkish language ([Hadzy, 1971; Senai, 1998], for characteristic of the source, see [Zaytsev, 2009, pp. 127–132]). After a brief introduction Senai tells about the appointments to high positions following the reign of Khan Islam Giray and mentions the stability in Crimea, Circassia, and the Nogai Horde during his reign. He describes the military events during the reign of this Khan (1644–1654): raids upon Northern Caucasus (Circassia), Russian outskirts and Azov; the participation in alliance with the forces of B. Khmel'nitsky during the war against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and introduces the genealogy of the Khan. The source gives the opportunity

to represent the state structure of the Khanate, social stratification, features of military organisation and troop masses. It describes conflicts that took place and the way they were resolved, he also reflects on the relationship of Crimea with the Ottoman state and the desire of the Khan to bring to the attention of European states the news about his victories. This written monument is interesting due to its form of presentation and the thoroughness with which it presents the dates and military routes, not to mention poetic inclusions.

Description of the representatives of the Crimean Khans' dynasty, plus the character of the relationship of the Ottoman rulers with the Crimean and other states of Eurasia can be found in a number of written monuments awaiting careful research: in the work by Hüseyin Hezarfen 'Telhisü'l-Beyan fi Kavanin-i Ali Osman' ('Memorandum on the Rules of the House of Osman') [Hezarfen, 1998; Oreshkova, 1990, pp. 228–305; Kashchenko, Lotakov, 2010, pp. 11–18], in the notes about the events of 1684–1703 written in the early 18th century by Dervish Mehmed Giray ibn Mubarek Giray, a brother of Khan Murad Giray (1678–1683) and a cousin of Khan Saadet Giray III Krivoi (1691) (for description and characteristics, see: [Zaytsev, 2009, pp. 153–154]), in written monuments devoted to the history of the Ottoman state, in the work by the Ottoman historian of the late 17–early 18th centuries Mehmed Fundyky named 'Silâhdâr History' covering the time period from 1655 till 1720 [Silâhdâr, 1928], in the work by the Crimean chronicler Abd al-Ghaffar Qirimi 'Umdat al-Akhbar al-Moutabar' (or 'Umdat al-Akhbar fi tarikh at-Tatar') completed in 1157/1744¹, in the chronicle of the Crimean Khanate history 'Gül-bün-i Khanan' ('The Rose Bush of the Crimean Khans') written by another representative of the khan family sultan Halim Giray (for this work, see [Zaytsev, 2009, p. 183–186]).

Among the above mentioned authors it is necessary to single out H. Hezarfen who originated from the class of Muslim theologians and legal experts (ulamas). By his historical and legal treatise, which according to its title was a kind of written report, he tried to influence the sultan, who did not bother himself with problems of state administration and control over the civil service. In accordance with his task, he retraced the decline of civic order over time, including the Crimean Khanate, and gave recommendations to overcome the prevailing lawlessness. In this context H. Hezarfen reported about the Chinggisids (the Crimean Khans) who lost their privilege to issue yarliqs—acts of the highest legal force [Pochekaev, 2009, p. 39]. This work is still poorly studied, although it is already of some interest: S. Oreshkova translated and published two chapters in Russian: 'About the laws of the Crimean Khans, the laws of the August campaign and the laws of the sultans' and 'Explanation of laws on the noble ulamas and the procedure of issuing the sultan's decrees' (for 'Commentary' see [Kashchenko, Lotakov, 2010, pp. 11–18]).

Among the Tatar population of the Russian state, there were still dastans, baits, and genealogies (Shejeres). The first kind belonged to the oral (folk) works. They were dedicated to historical figures and were written 'hot on the traces' of the historical events: in the event of a tragic end—the death of a certain person in connection with the tragedy of war and its consequences (heroism, death, captivity). They also appeared as a result of natural disasters (fires, hunger, floods, etc.) and the development of social phenomena and movements. As a rule their authors remained anonymous. People kept in memory the names of their heroes, using poetic devices recorded events that became a turning point in historical development, dispraised cowards and traitors, expressed sympathy with the brave, and, despite the prohibitions, handed down their art to the younger generations. The following dastans and baits, containing information about the Tatar ethnos of the time under consideration, are known to science: 'Ildan and Göldan,' 'Nice girl Tukbika,' 'Timer Batyr,' 'Chura Batyr,' 'Kazan Tarixi' ('The History of Kazan'), 'Aldar and Zuxra,' and many others [Berezin,

¹ The part of the source, which refers to the history of the Golden Horde and Crimean Khanate, was published by Turkish historian Nejib Asym. See: [Qirimi, 1924]. A brief personal characterisation of al-Hajja Abdülghaffar ibn al-Hajj Hasan ibn al-Hajj Mahmud ibn al-Hajj Abd al-Wahhaba al-Qirimi and his works is available here: [Zaytsev, 2009, p. 179].

1862, pp. 41–56; *Obrazcy narodnoj literatury*, 1872; *Obrazcy narodnoj literatury*, 1896; Ananyev, 1900, pp. 1–38; Ananyev, 1909, pp. 1–29; Orlov, 1945; Zhirmunsky, 1974; Aksaulyt, 1977; *Tatar xalyk ijaty*, 1983; *Tatar xalyk ijaty*, 1984; Sikaliyev, 1994; Urmancheyev, 1984; *Tatar xalyk ijaty*, 1987; *Kirimtatar*, 1991; Nogaydin kyryk batiri, 1991; Chura Batyr, 1993; *Bashkort xalyk ijadi*, 2002; *Bashkort xalyk ijadi*, 2004]. The scientific value of this group of sources is based on the system of representations by the ethnic group of the historical events and value systems formed in the minds of people—their collective mentality. Experts believe that folk historical narrative laid the foundation of the revival of Islamic historiography in the Volga-Ural Region [Frank, 2008, p. 27].

The second group contained family genealogies, records of ancestry sometimes accompanied by comments. Creating *Shejeres* in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries was still in demand because the social status in Russia depended on the nobility of a person's origin, so it was dictated by the need for legal registration of the property rights to land. In the 18th century *Shejeres* served as a proof and as the legal basis for official recognition of nobility and privileges [Ahmetzyanov, 1991a; Äxmätcanov, 2009; Äxmätcanov, 2012]. A gradual blurring of the privileged stratum of the feudal class of the Tatars, the incorporation of a part of the aristocracy into the Russian nobility, the loss by another part of feudal rights along with the destruction and transformation into tributaries were accompanied with the turning of single representatives into members of the clergy. These representatives were associated with the continuation of the historiographic tradition of compiling genealogies in the future [Shaikhiev, 1981, pp. 3–7; 1982, p. 73; 1985, pp. 186–190].

The specific evidence about the geography of the Tatar historiographical space is the 'Treatise on the Genealogy' ('*Shajara risalasi*'), which was written in the 17th century and described the last decades of existence of this Yurt¹. There

are five identified copies of *shajara*: within the Tatar population of Siberia (Tobolsk and the village of Begishevo of the Vagay district of the Tyumen oblast) and in the collections of the archives of Saint Petersburg and Kazan. Their content and linguistic features confirm the validity of researchers who consider the emergence and outspread of folk works in the 17th century in Siberia as a stable phenomenon. The source value of the written monument is determined by the information about the confessional situation in the state, about the relationship between Khan Kuchum with the ruler of Bukhara Khan Abdulla and the Kasimov Khanate.

Folklore and genealogical material, literary texts, extracts from various religious writings, and information on the history, geography, and ethnography alongside toponymy about the relations of the Siberian Tatars with the Kazakhs and Kalmyks are contained in the manuscript known as 'Notebook of Akhmetzhan Gizetdin.' This manuscript consists of two parts, the first is known under the name 'Baraba ile' ('Barabinsk History'), the second, under the name 'Turaly Tubyl halky' ('Tobolsk Urban Population') [Usmanov, Shaikhiev, 1979, pp. 85–103].

However, at the end of the 17th century there was an attempt to revive the genre of historical narrative: in the Middle Volga Region the historical and legendary work named 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' was created. It consisted of six dastans, including genealogy and historical events related to Chinggis Khan, Khan Jani Beg and his son Berdi Beg, Aksak Timur (Tamerlane), Edigu and the leader of the movement of the Volga Kipchaks against the Mongols—Bachman. The restriction by the anonymous author, limiting the chronological framework only to the Golden Horde period, was probably dictated by the desire to remind and glorify the deeds of the rulers of the period of the formation and development of the Tatar state system, focusing on their moral qualities and world view. This work intrinsically confirmed the persisting opposition sentiment in the Tatar society (for source analysis, see [Usmanov, 1972; Ivanics, Usmanov, 2002; Mustakimov, 2009, pp. 122–131]).

'Daftar' and 'Compendium of Chronicles' published in 1602 in Kasimov by a Jalair Ka-

¹ 'Shajara Risalasi' texts were published for the first time by V. Radlov in 1877 and then by R. Fakhrutdinov in 1909. For the most recent publications, see: [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 34–48; Bustanov, 2009a].

dir Ali Bek make it possible to speak of two simultaneous development trends of the historical and socio-political thoughts among the Tatars in the 17th century. The author's aim, in stretching the historical facts, was to prove the legitimacy of the claim to the Kasimov throne of Siberian Tsarevich Uraz Muhammad and to glorify Tsar Boris Godunov, who granted him this khanate leaving behind the younger brother of Tsar Mustafa ibn Kaibula—Arslan-Ali. The structure of the 'Compendium' was well-planned and consistent with long-standing traditions. It comprised three parts: introduction, translation, and transliteration of 'Jami' al-tawarikh' by Rashid al-Din with 14 dastans about Chinggis Khan and his descendants, with the original author's essay about Uraz Muhammad Khan consisting of 9 dastans. Eight of the nine dastan-*tales*, related to Chinggisids and Edigu, were meant to prepare the reader for the last tale, which was the main reason for this work's creation. Information about the life of the Kasimov people, their morals, political structure, and relations with the Moscow Tsar makes this written monument a diverse, valuable source about the history of the post-Horde nobility.¹

Survived cartographic materials depicting the spatial distribution of the Tartars in the 16–17th centuries are narrowly regional and approximate. However, description of some particular regions of Eastern Europe (Russia, Siberia, Crimea) does not include total and exact information about hydrographic network, toponymic information, road network, or the localisation of human settlements. Some idea of the Tatars and the state formations to which they belonged can be obtained from maps of Muscovy and neighbouring countries, which were widely spread in Western Europe. All of them were based on the earlier Russian drafts and information from knowledgeable people. With no pretence as to the complete-

ness of observations, it has to be noted that the map by Battista Agnese of 1525 was based on D. Gerasimov's information, the map by Antonius Wied of 1542 was made with the help of I. Lyatsky, the Muscovy map of 1546 by S. Herberstein was based on D. Gerasimov's draft, the outline draft of Muscovy of 1523 and 'the map of principalities' of 1526 by I. Lyatsky, the map by A. Jenkinson of 1562 can be traced to the Russian draft of 1497, Isaac Massa's map of 1612 and Hessel Gerritsz's map of 1613 were based on the draft of Tsarevich Fyodor that can be traced to D. Gerasimov's draft of 1523, the map of 1706 by Guillaume Delisle was made with the assistance of Count A. Matveev. The Volga-Ural Region also appears in the maps by Nicolas Witsen of 1665, by Marco Cronelli of 1680, and by Christopher Weigel of 1698 [Aminova, 1998, pp. 75–86]. All these maps are characterised by some errors in hydrography description, inaccuracy of information, and weak toponymy. The desire to visualise the territory of the Muscovite state after the inclusion of the two Tatar khanates led to the compilation after 1552 of the first book of geographical and ethnographic information about Russia and neighbouring countries in the 16–17th centuries—'The Book of Bigdraft' for their own internal needs.

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¹ In 1854 the original Arabographic variant of the monument was published in the Turkic-Tatar language (the original language). See: [Berezin, 1854]. In the 1990s the text was transliterated into Cyrillic and translated into the modern Kazakh and Tatar languages. See: [Қадырғали Жалаир, 1997; Sizdikova, 1989; Sizdikova, Қойгелдиев, 1991; Mirastan biş sâxifâ, 2011, pp. 8–36].

² For pre-revolutionary editions, see: [Brokgauz, Efron, 1896, vol. 15, p. 466]. For more details, see: [Serbina, 1945, pp. 129–147; Serbina, 1947, pp. 290–324; Kniga Bol'shomu Chertezhu (The Big Draft Book), 1950]. The monument's characteristics are contained in a number of research works. See, for instance: [Petrov, 1950, pp. 74–165; Barandeyev, 1987, pp. 76–85; Saratov, 2003, pp. 68–83; Pesterev, 2006, pp. 72–75].

main transport routes—sakmas (roads) and rivers, information for navigation and recognition. The only extant variant is the new edition of 1627 issued in *Razryadny Prikaz*, though it is known that the deteriorated original book was copied about 1600. This was the given reason that led to the making in 1667 of 'The Draft of Siberian Land' by voivode stolnik from Tobolsk P. Godunov (the distinguishing feature of this map was that it was inverted: the north was at the bottom, and the south, at top. See: [Polevoy, 1976, pp. 213–227; *Istoriya nauchno-kartograficheskogo*, 1998]). The Russian copy of the draft has survived in one of the four variants of the handwritten atlas by S. Remezov and in foreign Swedish and German copies (by Klas Johansen Prütz, Fritz Croneman, Erich Palmquist, and G. Schleising) [Kusov, 1978, pp. 513–520].

The most famous map of the Northern Black Sea Region and Crimea of the latter half of the 16th century was a map 'Taurica Chersonesus, currently known as Perekopskaya or Gazaria' (Tauricia Chersonesus Nostra aetate Przecopsca et Gazara) made in 1554 by the Flemish cartographer and geographer Gerardus Kremer (1512–1594), known by the name of Gerardus Mercator [Aleiner, Larionova, 1962; Hinkis, Zaychenko, 2012, pp. 5–9]. This territory can be found in the first geographic atlas published in 1570 by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in his book 'Theatre of the World' ('Theatrum Orbis Terrarum') and in 1657 in the atlas by Willem Blaeu (1654–1660) [Kusov, 1978, pp. 513–520; *Moskovskoe gosudarstvo*, 2007; *Chertezhi Zemli*, 1993; *Istoriya poznaniya*, 2002].

One must also mention the image of Crimea on the map of the French military engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan (1595–1685), based on his own observations and instrumental survey. The original handwritten variant of the general map of Ukraine of 1639 was published in 1648. The map is accurate and sufficiently informative due to the fact that the compiler was tracking the configuration of roads and rivers, the confluence of rivers, and the location of settlements in relation to other elements of the area's geography [Lyaskoronsky, 1901; Kohlin, 1964, pp. 87–88]. His in-

formation served as the basis for a map by J. Sandrart issued in 1687. A characteristic feature of European maps representing Crimea was recording placenames in two languages, this doubling of names was overcome in the latter half of the 17th century [Kohlin, 1960, pp. 88–94; Kohlin, 1964, pp. 87–88].

Siberia was shown, in addition to the maps by I. Massa, I. Witsen, on the map made by Isbrand Ides. Being a qualified cartographer, Ides used the map by I. Witsen, edited, and amended it. It was issued with the commentary text and reissued in 1727 [Kordt, 1899; Kordt, 1906; Kordt, 1910; Postnikov, 1985; Postnikov, 1989; *Kartografirovaniye Sibiri*, 2003].

The legislative material on the history of the Russian Tatar-Muslims in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries is shown by acts that appeared in the legislation of the Russian state. Due to the fact that prescriptions of law were compulsory for all Muslims, based on evidence and traced to the four main Sources—the Quran, the Sunna, Ijma, and Qiyas—relationships within the Muslim society were still regulated by Sharia law. The Tsar's government did not attempt to revise these laws compulsorily, and they continued to prevail among all Tatar khanates, both before and after the loss of their political independence. Sociolegal status of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was regulated by the statutory documents of these states, particularly the constitutions of 1670 and 1673 by King Michał Wiśniowiecki, of 1674 and 1678 by King Jan III, of 1736 by King August III, of 1768 and 1775 by Stanisław Poniatowski and of 1786 (for extracts from constitutions about the Lithuanian Tatars of the 19th century, see [Sadretdinova, 1999, pp. 305–306]).

The legislation of the Tsar's government in the latter half of the 16th century, caused by the joining of the two Tatar khanates, should be considered, thus taking into account two components: secular and religious. The first was caused by the need to organise the management and operation of the connected region within the Russian state; it was in the form of orders to voivodes. The second component, as the intended behaviour model of the new citizens determined their adoption of Christianity,

formulated and adjusted methods to achieve it, reflected in the orders to the voivodes and the archbishop.

There are six known orders of the 16th century (one of 1583, four of 1585) and six orders of the 17th century (1613, 1649, 1677, 1685, 1686, 1697) given from the Kazan Palace's *Prikaz* to the Kazan voivodes [Ermolaev, 1980]. These sources cover the general principles and tasks of government, military, economic, financial, and tax obligations and the judicial and police functions of the voivode. The orders are an excellent source, not only describing the system of local governance, terms of reference, and functions of the representatives of the Tsar's power but also estimating social stratification, the presence and condition of the fortifications, the records management, and the range of material values that were within voivode's responsibility. Finally, the orders allow us to imagine the occupation of the population and the government's attitude towards the local people (for analysis of the orders to voivodes, see [Dimitriev, 1974, pp. 284–419]).

Among the extant orders of the second group, there is the order to Archbishop Gury dated 1555 and the decree of Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich as of 18 July 1593, caused by the appeal of Metropolitan Hermogenes. The first document is evidence of the formation of two branches of power in the region (secular and religious) and of their power limits, which reflects the method of solving the problem of bringing the local population to Orthodoxy by the supreme power. The second document summarises the Christianisation policy, reflects on its results, shows the faint participation of secular branch of power in its realisation, course toughening, and also serves as an important source for studying the relations between the indigenous people and the newly arrived (Russian) population.

There are not many legislative acts of the first half of the 17th century focusing on the Tatars: the boyar's order as of 2 July 1615 and three orders as of 16 July 1622, 30 April 1635, and 12 January 1641, respectively. Their contents are much more diverse than the contents of the acts from the previous century, but in general they reflect the norms of substantive

law. The central point of these documents is the establishment of property rights for land acquisition of the Tatars serving during the Time of Troubles, for orthodox serfs, rights for full and partial (temporary) alienation by the Tatars of the manorial territories (*zherebij*), and for ascertainment of service obligations of the newly-baptised Tatars. This group of sources, being one of the elements of the influence exerted by the Tsar's government on serving Tatars, reflects the inconsistency of policy regarding them during the period under review [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 229; Nogmanov, 2005, p. 215].

As is generally known, securing of the legal rights of the Russian feudal class was accomplished in the Council Code of 1649, a number of articles of which, directly or indirectly, reflects the legal status of the Tatar feudal lords and the *yasak* majority. This written monument is indispensable for understanding the political organisation, the overall picture of the social structure and legal provisions of main classes, social relations and their legal regulation along with the judicial-administrative system prevailing in the Russian state, which was integrated with the Tatars. Without this, it is impossible to understand the formation of legal status, determine the place in the social structure, and reveal the dynamics of relationship between state power and the Tatar population (for analysis of source, see [Mankov, 1980]).

During the latter half of the 17th century, the Tatars were under the view of the supreme power mainly due to the subsequent regulation and review of their rights to land. The government of Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich considered this problem 7 times; of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich, 9 times; of Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich, 7 times (counted by [Nogmanov, 2005, pp. 193–214]). This group of decrees bears the mark of the changes that were taking place in the domestic and external political life of the state, in a way that no other group of legal acts does. The level of interest in serving Tatars was determined by the need to solve foreign policy tasks, protect the borders of the state, and react officially to social movements. The aforementioned acts show that the position of power in relation to serving part of the

non-Russian population became more distinct: it was less and less interested in this category. The decrees provide the opportunity to reveal the reasons that determined the character of this government policy, in which the religious component was ranked first. The decrees of the 80s are of great interest in this regard as they provided the method to confiscate the land of the non-baptised serving men. Legislation from this period variously reflects the degree of autonomy of individual representatives of the service nobility, the social status of the yasak Tatars, and the trading activity of the Tatar population. They also cover a list of duties of the service class [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian State, vols. 1–4; *Materialy' po istorii Rossii* (Materials on History of Russia), 1890; *Zakonodatel'ny'e akty'* (Legislative acts), 1986; *Zakony' Rossijskoj imperii* (Laws of Russian Empire), 1999; *Zakonodatel'stvo Ekateriny'* (Regulations of Catherine), 2000, and others].

Acts are one of the most numerous and varied kinds of reliable sources for the study of Tatar history. They were an obligatory element of the state's legislative framework for they were the documents containing certain agreements or economic transactions performed by the two contractors (parties) to the extent permitted by law. Of course, the changes in the power structure and changes in the sociolegal sphere led to these acts losing their value and functions—they reduced their legal force. Therefore, it was meaningless to store such documents. Documents were lost during fires. Besides this, the sociopolitical upheavals reduced the number of those who resorted to the regulation of property relations—the affluent part of the society. Documents were also lost during natural disasters. That is why it is almost impossible to find legal material from the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates, which was compiled before the middle of the 17th century, both in Tatar and in Russian. The Crimean Khanate functioned under different historical conditions maintaining the legal traditions and improving the culture of records management under the influence of the Ottoman state [Abzalov, 2011, p. 190]. Moreover, by the time of the annexation of Crimea by

Russia, the method of archive organisation was significantly improved. This is proved by the extant part of the khan archive deposited in the collections of the National Library of Russia (the city of Moscow), Yalta Historical-Literary Museum, in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and by the extant documents in the collections of Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts.

In the Volga-Ural and Siberian Regions, along with different acts in Russian (edicts, grant, import, obedient, travel, dangerous, compromising, exchange, purchase, or amicable charters) there were private acts in Tatar (wills, gift deeds, amicable, purchase, dwelling, contractual, borrowing, separating records, and trusting letters). The language of documents in Crimea was Tatar and Ottoman-Turkish, in the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Russian language. Some of the acts, including the records management materials, were published in various issues [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vols. 1–4; Historical Acts, vols. 1–5; Additions to Historical Acts, vols. 1–12; Acts Related to the Legal Welfare of Ancient Russia vols. 1–3; Legal Acts; *Pamyatniki*, 1891; *Dokumenty' i materialy'*, vols. 1–4; *Materialy' Prikaza Kazanskogo dvorcza* (Materials of the Kazan Palace Prikaz), vols. 1–6; Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31; Kurat, 1940; Vasilyeva, 1993, pp. 44–45; *Dokumenty' Kazanskogo kraya* (Documents of the Kazan Krai), 1990; *Kazanskie dokumenty'* (Kazan documents), 2008; *Kazanskie dokumenty'* (Kazan documents), 2010; *Le Khanat de Crimée*, 1978; Mustakimov, 2008, pp. 49–253; *Vostochnaya Evropa Srednevekov'ya* (Eastern Europe of the Middle Ages), 2009, pp. 386–427], but most of them, deposited in the archive collections of a number of cities in the Volga-Ural Region, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg, in the foreign archives, especially in the archives and libraries of Belarus, Ukraine, Hungary, Austria, Romania, Turkey, and Poland, remain unstudied. In a number of publications of document materials, special mention shall be given to the collection of documents of the 16th, 18th centuries, and the latter half of the 19th century from the Turkish archives,

namely from the archive and library of the Museum of The Topkapı Palace and the Ottoman archive under the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic. It includes facsimiles, texts, and translations of documents mostly not involved in the research process. The documents of the 16–18th centuries, in the vast majority of cases, are represented by the Sultan's decrees. The information contained in these documents helps to understand the struggle for political supremacy in the post-Horde space between the fragments of Jochid Ulus, the aims of the participants of the struggle, the position of the Ottoman Empire, the true motives of the Sultan in the Astrakhan campaign of 1659, the reasons of interest of the Ottoman rulers in the joining of the Lower Volga Region as a whole, the perception by Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, the attitude of the Ottomans to the population of the Tatar Khanate, and more. The main addressees of the documents were the Crimean Khans, who were better informed about the situation in other Tatar Khanates. So, when they saw the Moscow's plans, they realised the danger these plans posed for the Tatar world (this idea was proposed as early as in 1976 [Bennigsen, Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 1976, p. 225–228], for the information potential of the documents included in the collection of works, see [Mustakimov, 2008, pp. 8–47]).

The interest of laws is inherent as they reflect the statutory compliance, the state and dynamics of socioeconomic relations, legal, material, and other aspects of different social groups, attitude of government to them, and their vision of the government. They contain information about the service and everyday life, social status, kinship of serving men, granted lands, and completed transactions. They also contain information on the implementation of feudal law on dependent people, about relationships of serving men with other social classes, etc.

An important part of the medieval Tatar acts is the official documents named *yarliqs* [Usmanov, 1979]. There is only one surviving branch of the Crimean-Tatar origin represented mainly by two types of *yarliqs* [Berezin, 1872, pp. 10–23; Smirnov, 1913, pp. 140–178; Smirnov, 1918, pp. 1–19; Usmanov, 1979,

pp. 31–56]. The first group includes *yarliqs* given to the rulers of foreign countries—Russia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Holy Roman Empire, Denmark, and others. Among them there are messages (*mo-habbat-name*) and contracts (*shart-name* and *gahed-name*). These *yarliqs* were compiled for notification or to produce a particular impact. Charters of the treaty recorded the agreements that had been reached by the parties after diplomatic or military methods to achieve a certain goal [Ivanich, 2006, p. 169, note 1; Kołodziejczyk, 2011].

The second group includes *yarliqs* given to particular people—*tarkhans*. As a rule, *tarkhan* charters were granted at the enthronement of the next khan, who thereby confirmed the privileges granted by their predecessor. *Tarkhan* charters were also granted in cases when it was necessary to confirm the right to privileges that had been inherited [Berezin, 1872; Faizov, 2003]. These charters affect the interests of a particular person and provide an opportunity to understand the range of privileges, the peculiarities of the legal system, and the social structure of society.

It should be noted that in recent years, due to the work of the archive service of the Republic of Tatarstan, the scientific community became acquainted with the texts of the Sultan's messages to foreign and vassal rulers, and the texts of the Sultan's decrees to the Ottoman officials recorded in 'Registers of Important Affairs' (*Umur-i mühimme defterleri*, short for *Muhimme defterleri*). Most of the extant volumes are deposited in the Ottoman archive under the Prime Minister's office in Istanbul (see more of this [Mustakimov, 2008, pp. 27–32]). Despite the gaps, '*Muhimme defterleri*' contain unique information about the Ottoman-Crimean and Ottoman-Nogai relations, the diplomatic contacts of the Ottoman state with Russia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and other countries, as well as of the Crimean Khanate with these States. These materials are of especial value for the study of political organisation, the sociopolitical and economic development of the Crimean state, and for consideration of the military conflicts initiated, or actively participated in, by the above-mentioned khanate.

Closely associated with the acts and no less informative are the records management documents written in the Old Ottoman and Russian languages. Among the documents of the first group one must mention copies of the orders of the Ottoman authorities, especially of the Great Imperial Council, and copies of the responses to the messages of the Crimean Khans. The second group includes petitions and acts of special documentation—*razrjadnaja knigas* [Books of Noble Families], ambassadorial books, *piscovaja knigas* [scribe's books or *cadastres*] and census books.

The extant petitions are divided into pleading, attendant, and notifying. Among the petitioners there are serving men and the *yasak* people, representatives of the monasteries, trading quarters, and palace settlements. Due to the reasons that caused their appearance, they are indispensable for identification of the most crucial issues, important and 'painful' for both a particular person and a certain group of people. In fact, petitions were motivations to decision-making by the authoritative bodies on a wide range of issues and relations that determined the conditions and the nature of human existence in medieval society. Being a way to protect the rights of a certain person or a group of people, they preceded a person's dispensation of land, the legal allotment of the land to the owner, resolution of disputes associated with violent seizure of land, giving a livelihood and release from service for tracing runaway slaves, etc. Therefore, without their involvement it is impossible to reconstruct a complete picture of the evolution of social relations and socioeconomic policy of the government, etc.

Razrjadnaja kniga [Book of Noble Families], or *razrjads*, is a valuable material for studying the way serving Tatars were used in the military campaigns of the Russian state in the 16–17th centuries. They are among the contents of the special records management, which were created in the *Razrjadnyj Prikaz*, on the basis of primary source documents, in the form of a chronologically sequential narration of extracts from official orders and other official documents, with the aim of recording the cause and the method of organising troops along with the registration of the assignment of

serving people to the service. The practice of compiling of the so-called 'service books,' or *razrjads*, gained sufficient development to the latter half of the 16th century. However, their original versions have not been found. There are three types of extant *razrjad* records: 1) extracts from original official *razrjads* made to confirm the place in the social hierarchy, in case of local proceedings; 2) the brief editions of the so-called 'sovereign's *razrjads*' of the middle of the 16th to the beginning 17th centuries; and 3) compiled private editions. Some of these books were published (for example, see Palace *razrjads* from 1632 till 1655: [*Povsednevny'e* (Routine), 1769; *Dvorczovy'e razryady*' (Palace ranks), 1850; Milyukov, 1901; *Razrjadnaja Kniga* 1475–1605, vol. 1; vol. 2; vol. 4; *Razrjadnaja Kniga* 1550–1636, vol. 1; vol. 2; *Razrjadnaja Kniga* 1559–1605; *Razrjadnaja Kniga* 1475–1598; *Razrjadnaja Kniga* 1598–1638]). The books contain information about the appointments of voivodes on military administrative service in cities that shows peculiarities and the character of organisation of local authorities and helps to understand the links and evolution of administrative management, compile a list of names of local administration in the former Tatar *yurts*. Mentions of the assignment of the serving Tatars with other servicemen to the troops' assembly place, or on the theatre of military operations, indicate the distribution of the Tatar service bodies in Russia. These *razrjads* give information about the approximate number of Kasimov, Temnikov, Cnensk, Kadom, Gorodets, Arzamas, Alaty, Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Romanov, Novgorod, and other recruited serving Tatars, about the control over them by the assigned supervisors, which is a clear sign of distrust towards the non-Orthodox warriors.

Of the same 'secondary' status by the date of creation as *razrjadnaja knigas* are the so-called ambassadorial books covering the relations of Russia with other countries. It should be noted that in recent years the study and introduction to the research process of the documents of the diplomatic departments of the main subjects-participants involved in the geopolitics in Eurasia—Russia, Crimea, the Ottoman state, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzec-*

zpospolita)—has received a new impetus (for compiled and extant Ambassadorial books, see [Opisi czarskiego arxiva (Registers of the Royal Archive), 1960; Opis' arxiva (Register of the archive), 1977; Obzor posol'skix knig (The survey of Ambassadorial books), 1990; Puteshestviya, 1954; Rogozhin, 1994], see also studies [Liseytshev, 2003a; Lashkov, 1891, Novoselsky, 1961; Yuzefovich, 1988, and others]). This is largely predetermined by the fact that all these materials, taken together, reconstruct a coherent picture of the interstate relationships, their comparative analysis reveals the true intentions and interests, allowing us to understand the diplomatic gambits of all the participants in the 'game.'

The Ambassadorial Prikaz was assigned the tasks of organising the diplomatic service, regulation and control over relations with other countries, and the strengthening of Russian positions in the international arena. The nature of the activity of this foreign service led to the emergence of many new acts and records management materials. Originally the documents were prepared on separate sheets, and to prevent the loss, sheets with one 'theme' were glued together by their narrow part, forming a long ribbon called a column or scroll, which could be rolled. In daily practice such scrolls were inconvenient, that is why essential materials were rewritten in chronological order in notebooks. These were later stuck together and became books. It means that these books, consisting of materials of the current records management, were created for the needs of diplomatic practice by sampling from the initial set of acts and records management of documents required for the implementation of the activities of the Ambassadorial prikaz. In addition, the separate sheets and columns with the original texts, including those written in the original language, were also stored. There are about 766 Ambassadorial books about Russian relations with nearly 30 countries. It is noteworthy that the extant books on the relations with Crimea (82 books) quantitatively trail behind only the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (256) and Sweden (127). It is interesting that in the register of the archive of the Ambassadorial prikaz made in 1673 Crimean affairs

took second place in the number of documents, after the Polish-Lithuanian affairs. Diplomatic contacts with the Nogai Horde are reflected in 13; with Turkey, in 28; with the Kalmyk Khanate, in 6; with Moldova and Wallachia, in 5 books, etc. (according to the estimates of N. Rogozhin [Rogozhin, 2003]). They contain the contents of tale-reports made by the serving Tatars returned by order of the Head of the Embassy, who were sent with the Ambassador to maintain relations with the central foreign service—that is, the Ambassadorial prikaz. There are copies of documents entitling the holder to cross the border and travel within the state ('lyubitelnaja'), the texts of the charters that certify the granting to officials the right to travel 'proezzhaja' (for a certain fee or for free) if accompanied by the Ambassador. They cover translations of the messages of the governors to the heads of other States and sometimes their apparent heirs; texts of charters to foreign rulers and the people who actually hold real power (sons and relatives, sometimes the wife of the ruler); the texts of šert (oath) records—that is, charters of the treaty with promises not to fight with Russia, not to support its enemies, and to remain in the political space of Moscow. There are also truce charters of treaties, outlining the terms of the peace achieved; the orders, or instructions to the messengers, listing the assignments, sequence of their execution, and appropriate response to possible difficulties and complications, with detailed answers for probable questions to the Ambassador. Finally, the Ambassadorial books contain the texts of memoranda and reports of the Russian ambassadors about their stay in the destination country, the so-called 'state reports' (see [Novoselsky, 1961]). The listed acts and records are usually subdivided into two groups of documents: 'arrival' and 'departure.' Their very name indicates that the first group included materials associated with the arrival and reception of foreign embassies, while the second group included documents compiled for organisation and dispatch of the Embassy to another country. This whole set of documentary material on the history of diplomatic relations not only helps to represent the balance of forces in the international arena and the resulting preponderance of

one of the parties in relations between the two countries but also reflects the model and vision of the specific events that the Tsar's government wanted to get across to the rulers of other countries. In addition, these materials contain information about the political structure of countries, their economic situation, physical-geographical features and boundaries of their territories, occupations of the population, daily life and customs, social conflicts, natural disasters overtaking one country or another, etc. Of no less importance are the records about the messengers informing about the entry of a foreign embassy into Russia, ranked lists of names of ambassadors who have arrived in the country with some orders, information about the sending of welcomers, the fact of the arrival of diplomats and merchants in Moscow, their accommodation, the official reception, the permission for merchants to trade, the administration of the Russian Embassy in another country, etc. Material within the ambassadorial books is interesting as a reflection of the existence of the Golden Horde elements in the ceremony of reception of ambassadors and the preservation of the terms of Tatar origin in diplomatic practice until the beginning of the 18th century as well as a reflection of the role of the serving Tatars in the relations between Russia and the Muslim East. Unfortunately, the vast majority of this valuable set of sources still remains outside the research arena, despite the wide range of its information potential. The task for the future is also a meticulous direct information comparison of all the surviving diplomatic documents in the historical study of the Tatar yurts. There are documents that still need to be clarified, such as translations into the Russian language of the texts of the charters written in Tatar, Ottoman, and other Eastern languages.

There is one more important source of information on the records management materials—the *piscovaja knigas* [scribe's books] representing details of lands and population registration to administrate taxation that occurred in the Russian state. In recent years there has been a surge of interest in this set of sources, deposited mainly in the archives of the *Pomestny prikaz* of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. It should be noted that during the second

wave of detailed descriptions (1550–1580) the Tatars were quite split over the territory of the Russian state, which is why it is difficult to reveal information about them in the census materials. As for the registration of lands of the former khanates, no such lands were found in the Astrakhan Khanate. There is no full information—merely some extracts—about the land settlement in the former Kazan Khanate. This was due to the three reasons: first, due to the changes in the structure of land ownership; second, due to the division into *uyezds* and the subsequent administrative-territorial reorganisation; third, due to the loss or the subsequent remaking of the original text by the servicemen of *Prikazes*. So, the *yasak* lands, the legal status of which was not changed as a result of the conquest, were registered separately, in accordance with the existing system of taxation, in special books called '*yasak*' (none of such registers have been found). The lands where the serving people lived, the lands granted to monasteries, and the palace lands were registered in other books. The records about the monastery and palace lands may survive in the form of the hundred excerpts and Patrol books. In the latter half of the 17th century the description of palace lands was performed by the *Prikaz* of the Grand Palace and the *Khlebnny Prikaz*, recording the results in separate books. Among the extant *piscovaja knigas* [cadastral], there are documents of the Kazan and its inner *uyezds* (Laishev, Tetyushi, Sarapul) as well as the *Sviyazhsk*, *Cheboksary*, *Malmyzh*, *Kozmodemyansk*, *Penza*, *Alatyr*, *Kungur*, *Simbirsk*, *Ufa*, *Nizhny Novgorod*, and *Samara uyezds*, the lands of which were previously (fully or partially) a part of the Kazan Khanate. Some of these *piscovaja* records were published [Shishonko, 1872; Spisok, 1877; Spisok 1565–1567; Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932; *Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd*, 1978; *Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd*, 2001; *Russian Cities*, 2002, pp. 337–390; *Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd*, 2006; *Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd ZD*, 2009; *Piscovaja kniga of Alatyr uyezd*, 2012].

The contents of the *piscovaja* records management are a complex and multidimensional source impassively reflecting the scale of

changes, especially in feudal landownership, their consequences and peculiarities of the socio-political and ethno-religious changes that occurred as a result of colonisation and economic development of the Middle Volga Region. As each following description represents a unique segment of the socioeconomic status of approximately the same areas, the comparison of cadastral information allows researchers to analyse the number, the settlement features,

the dynamics of material security, and social status of the serving part of the Tatar population—serving murzas, serving Tatars, and serving newly baptised people.

Thus, even a short excursion to the sources of the 16–17th centuries relating to the Tatars shows that so far, thanks to the efforts of many Russian and foreign historians, an important source complex has been accumulated, and its potential is far from being exhausted.

§3. 18th Century Sources

Bakhtiyar Izmaylov

From the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century major changes occurred in Russia in the nature of historical sources and in the specific structure of their complex, which modern researches attribute to the sea changes in Russian society as well as to the long-term transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age [Istochnikovedenie, 1998, pp. 318–319]. Chronicle writing, acts, and travel notes gave place to academic writings, memoirs, belles-lettres, statistics, mass documents of management and record keeping, and a legal system that substantially changed its nature. The historians handle quite a wide and diverse range of sources when studying the history of the Tatars in the 18th century. The source base of research into the history of the Tatars in the 18th century includes a wide range of archive and published writing materials that can be divided into several main groups: 1) legal and by-law acts; 2) The Legislative Commission (Ulozhennaya Komissiya) materials of 1767–1768; 3) documents of management and record keeping; 4) accounting and statistical documents; 5) private documents; 6) historic-geographical works of the Russian scientists; 7) documents of personal origin; 8) publicity materials of mass popular movements; 9) the Tatar belles-lettres.

Legal and by-law acts play the key role in the studies of history of state authority and administration in Russia in the 18th century as well as of its numerous folks, including the Tatars. This group of sources includes several

kinds of legal acts established in the 18th century: a) manifestos and decrees; b) orders and constitutions; c) regulations and orders; d) by-laws and circulars along with central and local executive orders. The drafts of legal acts, plus debates, and the codification of laws can also be related to this group of sources.

The manifestos are considered as being a superior legal act in the native historiography that was issued only by the monarch and proclaimed the most important events in the life of Russian state, such as the enthronement of the Emperor, changes in the imperial family, declarations of war and making peace, and the beginning of the most important reforms. According to some modern researchers, the widely copied manifestos of the 18th century were a source of information for the population at the times when newspapers were not so widespread [Istochnikovedenie, 1998, p. 337]. For instance, the manifesto of Peter the First was one of the most important for the history of the Tatars, published on 15 July 1722 in Astrakhan in Tatar, Turkish, and Persian languages (for complete analysis and publication of the text, see [Pervoe tyurko-tatarskoe (The first Turkic-Tatar), 2010], also [Karimullin, 1992, pp. 62–75]). This manifesto became the first Turkic-Tatar publication in Russia, and its appearance is related to the foreign-policy activities of the Russian Emperor in Transcaucasia and Dagestan. The publication of the manifesto by Peter the First, right before the beginning of the Persian campaign in 1722–1723, should have

added legitimacy to the actions of the Russian troops in the eyes of populations of Persia and the Caucasus and prevented disturbance among locals as much as possible. According to the well-known historian M. Usmanov, who analysed this source, the Persian version of the manifesto was addressed to the Iranians, the Persian speaking population, and civil servants, and the Turkish version, to the Azerbaijanians and the Ottoman-Turkish civil servants of the North-West Caucasus. The Turkic-Tatar version was addressed to the multilingual population of the region, including the Kумыks, the Nogai, and the Balkars [Usmanov, 2010, p. 24].

The decrees that regulated almost all spheres of the state and social life that could be related to the more numerous variant of the legal acts. The decrees could have been issued by the monarch himself, receiving the status of 'nominal,' as well as on behalf of the Senate. Among the most important decrees for the Tatar population was the decree as of 17 June 1773 'On Tolerance of All Religions' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 19, No. 13996]; the decree as of 22 February 1784 'On Allowing the Tatar Princes and Murzas to Enjoy the Benefits of the Russian Nobility' [Ibid., vol. 22, No. 15936]; the decree as of 22 September 1788 'On Assignment of the Mullahs and Other Clergy of the Mohammedan Law and on Establishing in Ufa the Spiritual Assembly for Administration of the Clergy of the same Law, in Russia' [Ibid., No. 16710].

One more variety of the legal acts was the regulations and statutes defining the organisation, structure, duties, and activity of the government institutions (for instance, Chief Magistrate Regulation of 1721, General Regulation of 1720, Statute on Guberniya Administration of 1775). So the approval of 'General regulation' by Peter the First on 28 February 1720 defined the collegiate system of records management and laid foundation for the main principles of work with documents in Russia: registration rules, documents implementation control, preparation, verification, and storage procedures [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1 vol. 6, No. 3534]. Records management principles, incorporated within 'General regulation,' stayed almost unchanged

throughout the 18th century and were fundamental for those institutions that regulated various aspects of life of Muslim population—Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly and the Tatar city halls in Kazan and Orenburg.

The publishing of 'Statute on Guberniya Administration of the All Russian Empire' as of 7 November 1755 [Ibid., vol. 20, No. 14392] became an important landmark that established uniformity in the system of administration throughout the whole territory of the Empire. For the first time, in 'Statute on Guberniya Administration...' the local administration was divided into administrative and police agencies, management and administrative, and judicial and social agencies. This decree predetermined the appearance of local authorities of the Sloboда Tatars—the Tatar city halls in 1781 in Kazan and in 1784 in Sayyid settlement near Orenburg.

The codified legal acts that regulated a certain scope of activity and branch of law (for example, Military Regulation of 1720, Bills Regulation of 1729, etc.) can be also related to the regulations and orders.

Among all published sources the legal acts of the 18th century are presented in a more comprehensive manner in 'The Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire,' prepared in 1830 by the special commission headed by M. Speransky [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire-1], and in 'Code of Laws of the Russian Empire' [Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, 1832], which was published first in 1832 in 15 volumes. 'Code of Laws of the Russian Empire' included the applicable legal standards arranged thematically for the practical needs of the bureaucracy, unlike the chronological principle of 'The Complete Collection of Laws.'

All the following publications of legal sources were carried out according to the challenges of each specific research (for example [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo (Russian legislation), 1986; 1987]). Rich documentary displaying of certain aspects of the history of the Tatars and the system of the governmental regulation of Islam in the 18th century is represented in a number of thematic collections of documents devoted to the governmental

regulation of Islam [Collection of Laws, 1899; Arapov, 2001; Islam, 1998; Imperial Russia, 2006], the interaction of the Muslim, the Muslim clergy and military department of the Russian Empire [Abdullin, 2009], and the rights of the estates [Blosfeld, 1901; Zakony' Rossijskoj imperii (Laws of Russian Empire), 1999]. The list of legal acts about the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural Regions of the latter half of 16–18th centuries is also given in a monograph by A. Nogmanov [Nogmanov, 2002, pp. 194–217]. The detailed examination of state policy formation in relation of the Muslim population following the legal acts was carried out in works of A. Nogmanov, D. Arapov, and I. Zagidullin [Nogmanov, 2002; Arapov, 2004; Zagidullin, 2007].

The important role in the specification and clarification of practice in the application of law in the 18th century was played by by-laws, circulars, enactments, regulations, and orders of central and local administration. Of particular value are enactments and orders of the Senate that filled the gaps in the legal sphere. The collection of documents entitled 'Senate Archive' (in 15 volumes) is one of the most complete publications of these materials that includes the texts of orders as well as and records of the Senate [Senate Archive, 1888–1913]. The state policy in relation of the non-confessional peoples was reflected in the publication of 'Reports and Verdicts That Took Place in the Directing Senate and during the Reign of Peter the Great' [Doklady' i prigovory', 1892]. The study of Senate documents explains the active legislation application procedure as well as the aspects of Imperial religious policy formation.

The key influence of Russian Orthodox Church on religious state policy formulation and preparation of governmental legislations in this sphere determines the interest for the study of the Holiest Synod enactments. The largest part of the enactments and orders as well as other different documents from the archive of Synod was processed and published under the title 'Complete Collection of Enactments and Orders Related to the Authority of Orthodox Confession of the Russian Empire' in the latter half of the 19–the beginning of the 20th century

as a result of the work of a special commission [Polnoe sobranie postanovlenij i rasporyazhenij-1]. As A. Nogmanov notes, aligning by document composition with 'Complete Collection of Laws,' a part of the legislation is represented there in a lengthy edition [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 11]. The activity of Synod, bishops of different eparchies, and orthodox missionaries in the 18th century is reflected in 'Description of Documents and Affairs Kept in the Holiest Directing Synod Archive' [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, 1868–1914].

Comprehensive study of all varieties of legal acts allows one not only to trace the evolution of the internal political course of the Russian government in relation of Islam and the Muslim population but also to highlight different aspects of the history of the Tatars and to reconstruct the legal environment it found itself in.

The documents of the Legislative Commission (Ulozhennaya Komissiya) of 1767–1768, held by Catherine II for the codification of laws and the creation of a new Code instead of the outdated Council Code of 1649, constitute a special group of sources. In spite of the fact that the materials of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya [Legislative Commission] of 1767–1768 relate more to the legislative sources, they are still separated into a group by importance for studying the socioeconomic and political development of the Volga-Ural Region and its population.

Documents and materials, deposited as a result of activity of the Legislative Commission (Ulozhennaya Komissiya), create a unified complex of sources that can be divided into three groups: a) elections of deputies from different estates into a commission; b) instructions for the deputies from the electors; c) details of discussions in the Legislative Commission, public speeches of the deputies, additions to the instructions and different projects.

The basic mass of the archive documents of the Legislative Commission, including the records management of this establishment, is preserved in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (f. 342) and also in some regional archives (for example, Central State Histori-

cal Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-1). Part of the materials of proceedings and certain instructions to the deputies were published by the Russian Historical Society [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vols. 4, 8, 14, 32, 36, 93, 115, 134, 147]. Deliberate attention of native historians to the history of participation of Russian Empire folks in the Legislative Commission contributed to the publication of a basic mass of instructions to the deputies from different classes and regions [Pugachevshchina, 1929; Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1940; Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1960; Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1975; Belyavsky, 1975; 1982; Vozzvaniya, 1988; Ivanov, 1993; Kulbakhtin, 2005, etc.].

Studying of materials from the Legislative Commission has a long-standing historical tradition. Along with the change of conceptual views, the view on the role of the Legislative Commission in the history of Russia has changed. While pre-revolutionary historians studied primarily the appearance, background, and activity of the Legislative Commission and the political requirements of different estates [Florovsky, 1887; 1915; Latkin, 1887; Semevsky, 1901; Pokrovsky, 1910, et al.], the works of Soviet researchers presented this topic through the prism of a class struggle that became strained on the eve of the peasant war of 1773–1775 (see, for instance, [Belyavsky, 1965]). The study of Russian Empire folks in the Legislative Commission became the main trend in modern historiography on this topic [Ivanov, 1993; Kulbakhtin, 2005; Vasilyev, 2000; Vasilyev, 2001; Islaev, 2001, pp. 180–198; Islaev, 2003; Kulbakhtin, 2006].

The materials of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya of 1767–1768 are a unique complex of documents, which, on one hand, represent the experience of interaction between a multireligious population with imperial authority, and, on the other hand, they are an important source for studying the socioeconomic and political development of the Muslim population of the Volga-Ural Region in the 18th century. It is worth noticing that the potential of this source

has not been exhausted, and reference to the archive documents of the Legislative Commission fund in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts and regional archives appears quite a promising direction for scientific work.

Records management documents of higher, central, and local state institutions can be related to the most mass-volume and informative types of sources. A complex of record management documents appears as a result of purposeful and thoughtful document making, which provides for the formulation and execution of searches of different questions that appear while examining an activity of the administrative apparatus. The continuous process of documents making was the indispensable attribute and main linking element of the whole mechanism of the government. While legal acts allow definition of the legal framework inhabited by the Tatars, absorption of records management documents gives an idea of the real practice of law enforcement.

The whole complex of records management documents is introduced by various levels of management, starting from higher state institutions up to the institutions of local government. Yet one should note that the quantity of files, the particularity of facts and events recorded in the documents depended on the level of institution these files were formed and reviewed by. The structure of documents of management and record keeping is not uniform and includes the whole group of varieties, which provided for the formulation and execution of decrees: administrative documents (orders, instructions, decrees), accounting and implementation documents (reports, communication papers), and internal correspondence of state institutions (minute books, correspondence).

To the higher institutions of the system of the Russian Empire's state administration could be referred the Directing Senate represented as a complex of central and local institutions of executive, legislative, and judicial authority. Apart from legal acts, numerous current records documentation was concentrated in the Senate archive. Taking into account the bad preservation of documents of local governments of the 18th century, the documents of the Senate and its institutions are one of the key

sources of the public and political history of the Muslim population of the Volga-Ural Region in the 18th century [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248].

The documents of the end of the 18–the beginning of the 19th century are of major interest. They are concentrated in the collection of the first department of the Senate that was superintending the execution of the laws, state and local affairs, and inspections of financial circumstances of various guberniyas [Russian State Historical Archive, f.1341, list 1]. The requests of representatives of the Tatar service class about assigning them to the Russian Nobility are also deposited here.

The materials of senatorial inspection of M. Spiridov and I. Lopukhin represent important and authentic statistical information about the number and ethnic composition of the population of Kazan guberniya of the end of the 18–beginning of the 19th century [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1537]. A number of materials related to the Senatorial inspection increase the informational value of it. Among these materials are requests and complaints of the Tatar population on various questions of socio-legal nature.

Documents of the Holy Synod are the most important complex of records management materials that not only reflect the activity issues of the Synod itself, various eparchies, and the Orthodox missionaries of the 18th century as well as lifestyle regimentation of the Orthodox believers, including the christened Tatars, but also reveal a mechanism of formation and realisation of religious policy in relation to the Muslim population [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796]. Among the preserved records management materials of the Synod, of great interest are the files about the status of eparchies, monasteries, spiritual educational institutions, and cases of blasphemy in Kazan guberniya and reports of the Orthodox hierarchs at the time of peasant war headed by Ye. Pugachev [Ibid., inv. 205]. The major part of the Holy Synod complex of documents was published in 1868–1914 in Saint Petersburg in the multi-volumed collection of works 'Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod' [Description

of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, 1868–1914].

Among the central state institutions the political investigation agencies held a peculiar place—Preobrazhensky prikaz (1695–1729), Secret investigations office (1731–1762), and Secret Senate expedition (1762–1801). The whole complex of cases on lese-majesty, public sentiments, the examination and investigative tortures of political criminals, and on mass popular uprisings of the 18th century, in which a major part of various classes and ethnic groups of the Muslims took part, went through the chancelleries of these institutions [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, 2]. Documents from Secret Office collection for studying history of the Tatars are primarily a source that demonstrates the reaction of the Muslim population to the religious and socio-economic policy of the Russian government in the 18th century. Chancellery investigative case materials preserved for the researchers appeals and publicity treatises of the leaders of national rebellions of the latter half of the 18th century, among which there is a letter of Batyrsha addressed to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna. The investigative case 'On Disturber in Bashkiria Mullah Abdulla Mazgalydin aka Batyrsha' is of a remarkable value as it covers the events from 1754 to 1757 [Ibid., inv. 1, file 1781]. Studying the papers of this case allows clarifying the reasons, course, and geography of distribution of the rebellion of Batyrsha, biographical data of its active participants, and a number of other aspects.

Participation of the Tatar population in the rebellion of Ye. Pugachev was reflected in the documents and papers of investigative cases of the Secret Expedition, showing through the documents, including the appeals of the rebels and investigative cases, the sources of complaint of broad layers of population, including non-Russians, and the requirements and ideals of this socio-class and ideological struggle [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 6].

Numerous aspects of the economic and social life of the Tatar population were expressed in the records management documents of a number of central institutions—Manufacture-, Berg-, and Commerce-boards, Admiralty-

board, board of the Military and others—that are kept in several central archives of Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

The records management documents of the Admiralty-board are of great importance for studies of the Admiralty office of Kazan guberniya, the social status of the Tatar population, and their fulfilling of ship service [Russian State Naval Archive, funds 201, 212, 227; 237, 238].

Various information about participation of the Volga-Ural Region's population in the military campaigns, topographical and economical descriptions of the guberniyas, statistical civil registration data, and recruiting duty data are available in a large collection of the Military Registration Archive [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 454].

The records management documents of local authorities up to 1775 are presented as documents of guberniya and provincial chancelleries that controlled the execution of class duties, accuracy of return of duties, and measures for regional improvement. The documents of internal chancery of the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f.407], Sviyazhsk [Ibid., f.441], Ufa [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f.452], and Simbirsk [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f.443, lists 1–3; the Government Archive of the Ulyanovsk Region, f.818] provincial chancelleries are of a great interest. Journals, notes from the laws and current records management, and judicial casework, in the first place, allow one to reconstruct the process of the Tatar population administration and its incorporation into the imperial legal framework.

Local administration system reform in 1775 led to the decentralisation of power and the appearance of a branching network of judicial, executive, and class institutions, which in its turn expanded the array of records management documents in regions. Local authority was divided into administrative and police agencies (Guberniya government, city police, zemsky courts), management and administrative (treasury chamber, uyezd treasuries), judicial (chambers of criminal and civil courts of all classes, class courts), and social agencies (public assistance office). Records manage-

ment documents of the local self-administration bodies are the most important source of the history and economic development of various regions and their population.

Materials of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly collection are of great importance for study of the Muslim clergy, government, and Islamic relations and the religious life of the Tatar community of the end of the 18th century [Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, f. I-295].

Records management documents of local authorities in the Tatar settlements in Kazan and Orenburg—Tatar city halls—are of great source study importance for study of the socioeconomic development of the Tatar population, the evolution of its class status, and the functioning of the Muslim community in the latter half of the 18th century. The records management documents of Kazan Tatar city hall [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, f.22] were preserved to the fullest extent possible. There are journals, proceedings, registries for the incoming decrees, registries for letters and contracts, account books, merchant capital notices, and separate cases there. Journals allow one to determine the range of questions under the aegis of Kazan Tatar city hall, represent its place in the system of city and guberniya governing bodies, and trace the evolution of some of its functions. Without examining journals, it is impossible to reconstruct the activity of different structures and functionaries, of which have not been saved the whole complex of documents, as the head of the Tatar community, merchant and bourgeois seniors, the elected, Syrotsk Tatar court, etc. Proceedings, unlike journals, contain the detailed presentation of a case and the course of its discussion, with each side recorded and the reasoned decision rendered. In the city hall collection the proceedings are represented both as separate documents and as a part of the journals. Partially the proceedings can replicate the data from journals, though they contain additional information that defines the details of the mechanism of consideration and decision-making on any given case. Testimony of witnesses, discharge of the defendants, and notes on any given issues were

fixed there. Most of the proceedings were connected with the recovery of bills and debt money. The notes on the choice and assertion of new attendees for Kazan Tatar city hall and assessor of Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly elections were also called proceedings. Registries for letters and contracts make important complex of records management documentation as they contain additional information not only on notarial activity of Kazan Tatar city hall but also on the socio-economic life of the population of Tatar settlements as well. Fixed account books reflect the financial side of Kazan Tatar city hall activity. Passports register books and merchants' announcements of wealth reveal the social structure of population within their jurisdiction. In fact, all documents of Kazan Tatar city hall are a 'key' to the history of the whole Tatar community of the city of Kazan. They contain important information about everyday life of residents of Tatar settlements of the end of the 18–middle of the 19th centuries.

Among the most significant and large-scale document publications from various central and regional archives are 'Materials on the History' of the Tatar and the Bashkiria Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which the source complex was structured according to the principles of chronology and problematics [Istoriya, 1937; Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936; Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1956, etc.].

Accounting and statistical documents of the 18th century, which include data of a fiscal, economic, accounting nature, and statistics, can be related to the most large scale type of sources. Major transformational changes of state administration and taxation system, increase in population and production growth in the 18th century created a challenging task for the Russian government to upgrade the system of fiscal and economical accounting. Territorial and statistical descriptions, made in piscovaja knigas [scribe's books] and census books in the 17th century, turned out to be less useful under the new conditions. In the 18th century a new system of administrative and financial account-

ing appeared, which led to the development of different kinds of accounting documentation.

The main source of information about size and class composition of the population of the Russian Empire and some other folks is inspection records or capitation census. The need for change in the household system of population registration to a capitation system appeared after the census of 1710 and the Landrat census of 1716–1717, when the consolidation of households as fiscal unities was documented. The first inspection decree was announced by Peter the First on 26 November 1718 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 5, No. 3245], and overall 5 inspections were held in the 18th century (1719, 1744, 1762, 1782, 1794). Auditing the taxable population for the purposes of capitation taxing and military service implementation was the government's primary aim for the inspections.

In native historical studies the complex of census accounting was divided into several sorts:

1) census records as the primary data of population registration;

2) index bulletins as a result of the generalisation of these census records by provincial authorities (since 1775 stored in guberniya treasury chambers);

3) estate books and general tables, which contained summary data on a nationwide scale [Istochnikovedenie, 1998, p. 410].

The major portion of the census accounting materials was concentrated in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts Fund [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f.350] and in a number of regional archives that contain information about Tatar population as well (since 1775 in guberniya treasury chambers collections) [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 3; State Archive of Orenburg oblast, f. 98; Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-138, etc.). The copies of census records might also have been sent to city councils, city halls, and uyezd courts for information and population registration. For example, in Kazan Tatar city hall collection a census record of Old and New Tatar settlements of the city of Kazan of 1782 was preserved (National Archive of

the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, list 2, files 1100, 1101).

Initially serving fiscal purposes, census records only registered the taxable population, excepting clergy, nobility, and since 1775 merchants from census. Besides, during the 18th century the form of census records was changing, and additional aspects of population registration were included there. When working with inspection results, it is also important to keep in mind that the population was registered not by ethnical or religious attribute but by class status. This fact makes the work of researchers more complicated, when they try to specify the population size. In spite of the difficulties in working with the source, the census accounting was the main source of statistical information about Russian Empire population movement in the 18th century before the organisation of demographic statistics (see [Kabuzan, 1971; 1990; Troitskaya, 1995, etc]), and it also was a source of information on the historical demography of population of Volga-Ural Region and Siberia [Iskhakov, 1980, 1990b, 1993, 1995, 2014; Kuzeev, 1974; Tomashevskaya, 2002].

Alongside the economic transformations and active foreign policy of Peter the First, the accounting of industrial production also began in the beginning of the 18th century. This was initiated by a 1724 Senate decree that legislatively allowed for submission of statements on industrial installations to Manufacture- and Bergboards by their owners and then to the Senate. Though a regular collection of statements was up and running that way, nevertheless, there is data in Manufacture-boards [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 277] and Bergboards [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 271] collections for several years about industrial organisations of the Volga-Ural Region, among which there is data about the factories and plants of the Tatar owners.

The most important source of accounting and statistical documents of the 18th century was the ordnance survey materials. Ordnance survey was initiated by manifest of Catherine II since the end of the 1760s. It lasted during the first half of the 19th century, becoming the first large-scale economic inspection of the Russian Empire lands. Another important

and more informative document is 'Economic Notes to the Ordinance Survey' that summarised all materials of work of guberniya and uyezd land surveyors: numerical, economic, and geographical [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355]. In Kazan guberniya the ordnance survey lasted from 1793 until 1803. In survey documents there is quite complete information about the number of commercial lands that belonged to the various social groups of population, their economic peculiarities, the number of population, and its field work. Documents of ordnance survey are one of the main documents on the history of Tatar peasantry of the Middle Volga Region [Gilyazov, 1982].

When comparing accounting and statistical documents to the other documents data, important aspects of historical demographics, geographical and social dynamics of the Tatar population are revealed.

Together with official records management, in the 18th century Tatar private acts were popular, generating a valuable source of information on family and marital, property, trade, social, and legal relations in the Tatar community. Tatar private acts were written legal documents, in which economic and social relations, business contracts, and obligations were registered.

Tatar private acts were written legal documents, in which economic and social relations, business contracts and obligations, as well as a whole range of other private relations were registered. Despite the absence of legally approved formulyarniks [descriptions of documents' requisites arranged in a certain sequence], the fairly uniform execution of Tatar private acts evidences of a long-lasting tradition of recording private law relations in the Tatar society which took root in the time of Turkic-Tatar states. The study of this kind of sources allowed researcher Z. Minnullin to come to an important conclusion that private settlement of various relations through the Tatar acts of the 17th to the first half of the 19th centuries to a great extent supplemented the existing state system of documenting private law relations [Minnullin, 1988, p. 72]. At the same time, in the course of unification and detailed regulation by the Russian state of private and public lives of its subjects, changes in the

functioning of Tatar private law acts occurred in several spheres of public relations.

For example, since the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century, in the course of strengthening of the Tatar merchant capital, its inclusion into the empire-wide economy and the emergence of class self-governance bodies, the degree to which Tatar acts were used in settlement of trade and credit operations became lower because of the official document processing; at the same time, they were used to the same extent in the field of marriage, family and inheritance relationships. Originating from practical needs, private law acts recorded an independent fact outside of the context, not reflecting the dynamics and development of events, which to a large extent limits their source opportunities. The absence of secular institutions and the specifics of Tatar acts' functioning in the 18th century influenced the degree of their preservation and led to the loss of their majority. Only their insignificant part, mainly copies, has remained in a number of regional archive collections. For example, certain private law acts, both in the Tatar and in copies in the Russian languages, can be found in the collections of the Kazan Tatar City Hall (collection 22) and Kazan Tatar Verbal Court (collection 37) of the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan. A separate group of sources is represented by the historical and geographical works of Russian scientists and travellers of the 18th century, which contain unique-in-their-coverage ethnographic data about peoples of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, peculiarities of their everyday living, households and religious life.

In the course of the expansion and fortification of the Russian Empire borders in the 18th century, the question of occupying new territories and studying the ethnic diversity of the Empire's suburbs became acute to the government. The colonisation of Asiatic Russia in the 18th century coincided with the establishment of the Russian academic science, therefore, researchers' scientific interest in the study of the Empire's suburbs had a purely practical purpose — to reveal the country's natural riches. The systematic study of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia was launched by partici-

pants of the Academic Expeditions of 1733–1743 — the Second Kamchatka (1733–1743) and Orenburg (1734–1737). The occupation of the Orenburg Krai was first of all closely linked to Russia's geopolitical and trade-economic interests at its south-eastern outskirts, therefore, one of the Orenburg Expedition's major goals was defining sites for building future towns and factories. At the same time, participants of the expedition conducted a great scientific and research work in the field of history, geography, economy, ethnography, linguistics, etc. I. Kirilov (1689–1737), one of the founders of the Russian geographical science, became the head of the Orenburg Expedition. . Back in 1727, he prepared the book 'Blooming of the All-Russian State which was started, developed and left this way by the unspoken efforts of Peter the Great', which became the first exposure of Russia's statistical and economic description.

One of the publication's parts was dedicated to the description of Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Astrakhan, Arkhangelsk and Simbirsk guberniyas [Kirilov, 1831]. I. Kirilov's work on the study of the Volga-Ural Region's history and peoples inhabiting it was continued by distinguished Russian geographer and historian P. Rychkov (1712–1777). When writing his works, P. Rychkov, along with his own data, used historical materials gathered by members of the Orenburg Expedition of 1734–1737 [Rychkov, 1758; Rychkov, 1762].

In his works, he gives information about Tatar settlements, their number and class composition [Rychkov, 1758]. V. Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition became a breakthrough in the academic study of the Siberian and Far Eastern territories. In addition to examination of Siberian archives, G. Müller (1705–1783) collected oral traditions of some Siberian nations, described their rites and customs and compiled a rich ethnographic collection. Among the large number of this historian's works, the attention of the Volga-Ural Region researchers is attracted by his description of Kazan guberniya's pagan peoples and their influence on the Tatar population, which was created in 1733 on the way this expedition passed from Saint Petersburg to Siberia [Müller, 1791].

The study of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia was continued in the latter half of the 18th century. In 1768–1774, five academic expeditions were organised — 3 Orenburg and 2 Astrakhan ones, which were led by P. Pallas (1741–1811), I. Lepekhin (1740–1802), S. Gmelin (1744–1774), J. G. Gmelin (1745–1781) and I. Falk (1732–1774). The Middle Volga Region was also visited by Orenburg detachments of I. Lepekhin, P. Pallas, N. Rychkov, I. Falk (for more details about the expeditions work in the Volga Region see: [Gilyazov, 1982a]).

The consequently published journals and ‘daily notes’ of these researchers’ journeys are very important for the examination of the history, spiritual and material cultures, as well as the peculiarities of economic management of the Tatar nation in the 18th century [Lepekhin, 1771; 1795; Pallas, 1773; 1786; Rychkov, 1770; Falk, 1824]. A significant milestone in the study of the multiple peoples of the Russian Empire became the 1776 publication of Russia’s first scientific ethnographic work — ‘Description of all the peoples of the Russian State, their everyday rituals, beliefs, habits, dwellings, clothes and other memorabilities’ written by Johann Georgi [Georgi, 1776].

Having arrived in Russia at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences, J. Georgi, as a member of the academic expedition, together with Professor I. Falk was involved in the examination of the Volga Region, Cis-Urals and the Irtysh River areas. After the illness and death of I. Falk, J. Georgi in 1772 was appointed to help academician P. Pallas. After his return to St. Petersburg, since 1775 J. Georgi started publishing his sketches of everyday life in the ‘Otkryvaemaya Rossiya’ journal, including descriptions of the culture and religious views of different peoples of the Volga Region, Cis-Urals and Siberia, which he made in the course of his journeys. The huge public interest in these publications made J. Georgi supplement his own travel notes with sketches made by other travellers throughout Russia. As a result, from 1776 to 1780 four volumes of his famous description of all peoples of the Russian Empire were published in the German language in Saint Petersburg — ‘Beschreibung aller Na-

tionen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten’ (‘Description of all the peoples of the Russian State, their everyday rituals, beliefs, habits, dwellings, clothes and other memorabilities’) [Georgi, 1776–1780].

The first three chapters of this book were translated into Russian [Georgi, 1776]. All the ethnographic information about peoples of the Russian Empire available at that time — 60 ethnic groups in total — were collected and summarised in this work. Illustrations accompanying the description of nationalities, which were made by the scientist himself, are particularly noteworthy. This publication was even praised by Catherine II who ordered to send J. Georgi a medal and tell him that she read the Russian translation of his book with ‘utter pleasure’ [Ibneeva, 2006, p. 114].

Researchers conducted by scientists of the 18th century are among the most significant sources on the history and culture of peoples of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia. Academicism and impartiality of the described households, economic set-up and religious life turn these data not just into scientific works, but also into important primary sources, the major part of which finds endorsement in a mass of other kinds of sources. Documents of personal origin, which are somehow related to the history of the Tatar nation of the 18th century, are extremely scarce and mostly presented by memories, diaries and letters of senior Russian officials. Interesting diary notes about Catherine II’s journey along the Volga in 1767 were left by Count V. Orlov (the brother of the Empress’s favourite G. Orlov), who escorted her, [Orlov, 1908].

The diary reveals some details of the Empress’s journey along the Volga and reflects the emotional atmosphere and the spirit of Catherine’s epoch. The Empress’ letters to her confidants [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 9, vol. 15, pp. 1–6, 22–126; Pis’ma, 1873], as well as to foreigners Voltaire and Baron M. von Grimm, play a major role in the revelation of Catherine II’s world view and the process of formation of her imperial ideology [Collection of the Impe-

rial Russian Historical Society, vol. 10, p. 204; Pis'ma, 1878, pp. 53–65, 92–93, 112–224].

Diaries of Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda, who stayed in Russia from 26 September 1786 to 7 September 1787 are distinguished with their undisguised descriptions of the Russian reality if we consider them against the backdrop of eulogistic-in-their-tone notes and diaries written by Russian officials.[Miranda, 2001]. In his diaries, the American traveller describes everything he saw in Russia in a detailed and ironic manner, gives mocking descriptions of some public figures and tells about the customs of the imperial court in detail. In December 1786, de Miranda, together with Prince G. Potemkin, made a journey throughout the Crimea [Alperovich, 2001, p. 7].

Describing first of all the peripeteias of his travels throughout Russia, in his memoirs F. de Miranda preserved extremely interesting data about the Crimean Tatars and imperial policy-making towards the Crimea's Islamic clergy at the end of the 18th century, which are useful to modern scientists. A key role in the study of Russia's imperial policy-making in the Orenburg Region and Kazakh Steppe in the 18th century is played by personal documents of public figures who implemented this policy, including governor of Orenburg guberniya I. Neplyuev [Neplyuev, 1893], Mayor-General A. Tevkelev [Zhurnaly, 2005; Razny'e bumagi, 1852], counsellor of the Ufa Local Administration D. Mertvago [Mertvago, 2006], First Mufti of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly M. Khusainov [Vyatkin, 1939].

Despite the fact that the documents are written in a barren bureaucratic style and are primarily official notes, it is important that many events are described in them through the world view and subjective opinion of contemporaries; they contain unique evidence and details, which are not often reflected in other sources. We should also mention the official journals led by Mufti M. Khusainov about his diplomatic trip to the Junior Zhuz in 1790, which reveal the role of Islamic spiritual figures as agents of the Russian government in the Kazakh Steppe. Personal documents mainly play a supportive role, however, they may contain unique materials, which are almost absent in other sources,

and which can enrich and broaden our ideas about some aspects of the Tatar history. In the modern era, the sphere of emergence of historical sources in Russia is widened not only at the expense of personal documents, but also due to public relations, which emerged in the area — such as authors' publicist works and publicism of people's mass movements.

The publicity of popular mass movements presented by manifestos, edicts and proclamations of leaders of the 18th century peasant movements are among the basic and most widely spread sources. The key sources for examination of the socio-political life of the Tatars in the mid-18th century are publicity works of accusatory and programmatic manner in the form of appeals of Batyrsha and Mullah Murad. The basic source is not really Batyrsha's appeal to the Islamic population compiled in spring 1775, but his letter to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, written in November 1756, which represents a socio-publicistic treatise. The most complete publication of Batyrsha's letter, as well as research of its literary and linguistic peculiarities are a merit of famous professor G. Khusainov [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993].

In its content, Batyrsha's letter is a historical-political, socio-economical and ethical-philosophical treatise about the Volga-Ural Region of the mid-18th century. The reasons, course and consequences of the 1755 rebellion, as well as the personality of its ideologist Batyrsha were largely covered and studied in the works of Russian historians [Vasiliev, 1974; Akmanov, 1995a; Alishev, 1999; Islaev, 2001; 2005 et al.]. To a lesser extent are studied Mullah Murad's appeals, who in the 1760s encouraged the 'reconstruction of Bulgar town' and the creation of a just tsardom for all peoples [Alishev, 1990, p. 252; Iskhakov, 1997b, pp. 68–69; Gaynutdinov, 2000; Frank, 2008, p. 65 et al.]. According to some data, he developed his ideas in an ethical-philosophical treatise, which was spread among the Volga Region's Islamic population [Tatarskaya Literatura, 1999, p. 192]. Certain extracts from this work, as well as Mullah Murad's speeches are preserved in the materials of the investigation file called 'About activities of Mullah Murad and his associates' kept in the Senate's col-

lection [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, collection 248, inv. 113].

A significant place among documentary sources on the history of the Islamic population's participation in the rebellion of 1773–1775 is occupied by manifestos and edicts of Ye. Pugachev and his main camp. With the expansion of the rebellion social and national base, a great number of manifestos and appeals were presented in the Tatar language. In the Soviet time, the bulk of the revolvers' documentation was published [Pugachevshina, 1926; 1929; 1931; Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1973; Dokumenty' Stavki, 1975; Krest'yanskaya Vojna, 1975; Vozzvania, 1988, etc]. Moreover, the source analysis of each document undertaken by Soviet historian R. Ovchinnikov, as well as revelation of the place and time of their emergence, allowed to reconstruct the content and purpose of over a hundred lost manifestos [Ovchinnikov, 1980]. Famous historian S. Alishev played a major role in the study of the content of revolvers' documents in the Tatar language [Alishev, 1973].

A special group of sources is presented by the Tatar historical literature of the 18th century. The complex socio-political conditions of the Tatar nation's life throughout the 18th century left a trace in the development of the fiction of that period. The transition to the modern era was accompanied by modifications and transformation of traditional genres and appearance of new ones, which were more consistent with the society's aesthetic needs. Within addition to baits, songs and other folklore genres, written records of various genres and forms were created. A development peculiarity of the literature of this time is the emergence of new works along with those of a purely religious character, which combined religious and

secular motifs and reflected the colours and features of the real life, while the poetics was brightened with graphic means of the folklore tradition. All these works are the most important source for the history of the Tatar nation's spiritual culture, its worldview, aspirations and attitudes in the atmosphere of national and religious oppression. Despite the fact that only a part of the Tatar nation's literary heritage of the 18th century has survived, efforts of several generations of historians, philologists and researchers of literature of that era helped to recover a monolithic picture of the development of the Tatar literature of that time, to discover and study works of its brightest representatives [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1963; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984; Tatar poeziyase, 1992; Minnegulov, 1993; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1996; Tatarskaya literatura, 1999; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2006; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2012].

Therefore, the range of the 16–18th centuries sources discovered by today, which include materials varying by their content and degree of representativeness, allows to fully reconstruct the history of the Tatar people in the early modern period. At the same time, it is noteworthy that the source base of this period is not finished and is not ultimate, while the search for new sources is one of the major tasks set in front of modern researchers. Moreover, the expansion of the source circle occurs not only as a result of the discovery of new state institutions' archive documents, but also due to defining new literary, artistic and folklore works of the Tatar nation itself. Apart from that, the variety of research topics and upgrading of methodological tools at the modern stage are an optimal prerequisite for raising new questions and deepening the scientific search in the field of the history of the Tatar nation in the period under consideration.

Section I

Annexation of Tatar States to Muscovy



CHAPTER 1

Conquest of the Middle Volga Region and Sociopolitical Consequences

§1. Conquest of Kazan: Reasons, Course, Consequences

Iskander Izmaylov

Preconditions of the Kazan War (1545–1552). By the mid-16th century Moscow had not only united all the territories of north-eastern Russia, including such large, powerful centres as Tver and Novgorod, but had also suppressed palatine opposition within the ruling family, undergoing a series of internecine wars and rebellions without suffering serious damage. Moscow became the centre of all Russian lands, becoming a tsardom in 1546. Preparations for a coronation with a Tsar's crown began during the reign of Ivan III, but the ceremony never took place. It was fifty years later that the Muscovian authorities resolved to crown the new Grand Prince with a Tsar's crown to underscore his significance on par with the emperors of Rome and Byzantium and the Khans of the Golden Horde. The new status of Tsar fit perfectly into Moscow's political strategy, aimed at conquering new lands, starting with the former lands of Kievan Rus, as well as the messianic ideology of the 'Third Rome.'

As soon as he acceded the throne, the young Tsar Ivan IV began implementing the reforms proposed by his closest confidants—prince Adashev, who became the head of state, the Metropolitan Makary, and the Tsar's confessor and mentor Sylvester. The reforms brought some order to land tenure and the system of government. Reform of the military resulted in a regular imperial Tsar army—troops known as the Streltsy ('shooters'), modeled after the elite Turkish infantry units, Janissaries. At the same time the reforms exposed the great dissatisfaction that was prevalent among the nobility—the backbone of the monarchy. After the long and bloody internecine wars in Rus' came to an end, a sizable cohort of military men remained,

who were accustomed to war but lacked any means of living a peaceful life. The scanty landholdings that were provided by the government to the nobility were usually insufficient to provide these men with the means necessary to maintain readiness for battle, that is, to arrive to tsarist service "ahorseback and armed", nor to feed their families. When the landholdings were repartitioned in 1550, virtually all reserved land resources were appropriated. Land domains needed to be urgently found for these people, or a new war would have to be waged.

An ideological spokesman for these interests, publicist Ivan Peresvetov stated this unabashedly in a petition addressed to the Tsar: 'I have heard about that land, the Kazan tsardom, from many military men who set foot there, and they speak of its grandeur. But we are surprised that the Tsar holds such a land in his bosom, yet he is out of favour... even if such a land was in favour, it could not be endured' [Peresvetov, 1956, p. 167]. There is a long-standing debate among historians regarding the author: whether he was a real person or one of the ideologues of 'the Select Council' writing under a pseudonym. In recent times a convincing argument was presented that the author of this work rewrote a real petition to the Tsar, turning it into a manifest of the nobility. Of course, the Tsar himself, Ivan Vasilyevich, may have been that 'publicist of the nobility' as well [Al,' 2002, pp. 122–196]. As the case may be, the fact that the programme for the Kazan Khanate presented in this essay was subsequently implemented in full is sufficient evidence that its author was not merely an unknown warrior but an ideologue who was directly involved in forging the state policy. The

presented programme explicitly proclaimed that even if Kazan 'was in favour,' it still had to be conquered because of its fertility.

The occupation of Kazan was also preceded by serious preparations on the part of Muscovian ecclesiastic and secular ideologues, including a series of postulates (regarding the ancestral Russian lands, Kazan as a patrimony of Russian princes, etc.) included in the 'Moscow as the Third Rome' political doctrine (for more information, see [Izmaylov, 1992, pp. 50–62; Plyukhanova, 1995, pp. 171–202; Sinitsyna, 1998]). For the outside world the Moscow Tsar constantly affirmed the thesis that Kazan 'is our yurt' along with the Russian Tsar's right to enthrone his proteges [Sevcenko, 1967, p. 541; Pelenski, 1967; Pelensky, 1974; Izmaylov, 1992, pp. 50–62]. According to the imperial ideologues, this right stemmed from the fact that the lands of Volga Bulgaria were once subordinate to the Grand Princes of Kiev and Vladimir, whom the Moscow Tsars considered ancestors. 'Razrjadnaja kniga' had already contained a dogma and military aim of a campaign against Kazan: '... to look for a native land of our ancestors, grand Russian princes, Bulgar lands of Vladimir and Vladimir Manamakh, and the illustrious great prince Dmitry Ivanovich Donskoy, who defeated the rebels and the disobedient' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, p. 416].

To expand the boundaries of the Orthodox Christian world, conquer and Christianise the conquered people, and thus to 'civilise' them—this was the primary ideological foundation and a foreign policy of sorts embedded in the 'Third Rome' doctrine [Izmaylov, 1992, pp. 59–62]. The ideological doctrine of Christianity's war against Islam can be clearly traced in Geronty Makary's letters to Ivan IV when the latter was stationed by Kazan. So he wrote, stressing the fault of the Kazan people: '... with God's help and mercy, you, the Tsar, shall be courageous and safe with your Christ-loving army against the infidel enemies—the Kazan Tatars, your traitors and apostates, who always shed the blood of innocent Christians, who desecrate and destroy holy churches.' Further, after drawing a comparison between 'our holy, pure, unadulterated Christian faith of

the Greek law' and sun and light, he plainly calls the Tatars devil incarnates, imploring 'the Christ-loving warriors' to return them back to the fiery Gehenna: 'The arrogant serpent and enemy, the Devil, is angry at him, and fierce scold is caused by your unclean enemies—the Crimean Tsar and the allies of the impure Crimean and Kazan Tatars. They belong in hell, everlasting bonfire, and pitch darkness' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 86–87]. All other letters from Makary to the Tsar are composed in the same anti-devil style, allowing the concept of a 'holy war' to be seen as a significant ideological component in the grounds for the 'Kazan War' [Pelensky, 1974; Schmidt, 1977, pp. 25–62; Khoroshkevich, 2003, pp. 101–113].

By that time, Russia's geopolitical weakness had become apparent. Russia found itself at the periphery of Europe and far from the main trade routes to the Baltic and the Mediterranean Sea region. Russia not only needed to make an appearance at the European border but also to join international trade and politics. However, Moscow faced insurmountable obstacles to reaching these aims. Livonia seemed quite powerful at the time, with support from Sweden and Poland, primarily for the sake of avoiding any shifts in the power balance in the Baltic states. At the same time, Crimea, supported by Turkey, rebuffed all attempts of Russian troops to advance southward, to the Black Sea Region. Moscow authorities were looking eastward to Kazan, which was experiencing difficult times. Thus, military activities and the onset of the 'Kazan war' precisely coincide with the conclusion of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) treaty.

During this period the Kazan aristocracy was hopelessly fractured into groups. In the hope of preserving its power and independence, a part of the aristocracy opted to rely on Moscow, and the other one, on Crimea and the Nogai Horde. Due to an aggravation of internecine strifes, the Khan's throne was passed from one Khan to another, while the power of Tatar dynasties weakened in the course of the internal struggles. It became common for the losing clan to be nearly completely exterminated by the vanquisher.

A series of dramatic events preceded the conquest, beginning in 1546, when the Moscow authorities adopted a policy of appointing a vassal ruler in Kazan. When this plan failed, they began preparing for a military offensive. These events were described quite comprehensively in native and foreign literature (see [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 142–154; Schmidt, 1964; Pelensky, 1974; Schmidt, 1977; Khoro-shkevich, 2003, pp. 66–113]). Ousting Khan Sheikh-Ali from the Kazan throne and attempting to place the Kazan Tatars under oath of allegiance to Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich were important steps towards reaching Moscow's goals. In practical terms, this already signified the complete political and ideological submission of the Kazan Khanate population to the Russian administration. This rotation came as a direct and unequivocal violation of all the norms and rules that existed in the Kazan Khanate. It was a flagrant abuse of all the rights and traditions of the national identity because only descendants of Chinggis Khan from the Jochid dynasty could ascend the throne, and only a Muslim could be a ruler of Kazan. An attempt to force the Tatar elite to accept the Moscow Tsar as Khan could have resulted in none other than a rebellion. As all of the participants of this historical drama understood, the payback for this act would be an immediate and decisive military encounter.

The Kazan rebellion and the reign of Khan Yadygar. At first, part of the Kazan aristocracy supported the oath of allegiance to the Russian Tsar, hoping to depose Sheikh-Ali, but later they changed their position and tried to restore Kazan's independence. On 9 March 1552 Kazan saw a rebellion led by the emirs Chapkyn Otuchev, Ali Ibn Naryk, Islam, Derbysh, sayyid Kul-Sharif, and 'Tyumen' (possibly Manghit) Kebek-bey. The rebels defeated the Russian garrison and commenced active military operations against the Russian troops. They inflicted several defeats upon isolated units of Russian troops and besieged the Sviyazhsk fortress. Soon, rebellions were aflame all over the Middle Volga Region. In the spring of 1552 the Kazan rebels enthroned Astrakhan Sultan Yadygar-Mukhammad.

Immediately after the rebellion the people of Kazan began preparing for the defence. They renovated fortifications, recruited troops, and sought out the support of allies. The Kazan troops comprised the Nogai cavalry of Khan Yadygar Muhammad (3,000 horsemen) and the militia of the Tatar nobility (up to 10,000 warriors). In the words of prince A. Kurbsky: 'the Kazan Tsar shut himself up in a fortress with 30,000 of the best warriors, all the spiritual and secular boyars, and his court. He left the other half of the army outside of the fortress, in the forests, together with men sent by Nogai Ulugbek as aid, who numbered 2,000 and a few hundred' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 239].

Unfortunately, there were almost no cannons left in Kazan because the entire armoury was exported to Sviyazhsk by Sheikh-Ali. The cavalry of Yapanchi murza and the Arsk Beys militia, numbering about 5,000 horsemen, were to be positioned in the rear of the Russian armies from Arsk field. (For more on the Tatars' defense strategy, refer to: [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, pp. 67–79]).

These events showed the Russian Tsar that it would not be possible to annex Kazan peacefully, and thus he began preparing for a major war aimed at the complete conquest and destruction of all military opposition. The insulting attempt to enthrone the Moscow Tsar in Kazan may possibly have been a deliberate move to spark a rebellion and war. The intent of sparking such a conflict may have been to exterminate the active military and political Tatar elite, freeing their lands of Tatar ownership and handing them over to the Moscow authorities.

The Campaign against Kazan. It took several months to recruit and train the troops. The entire army was evidently divided into parts, and each followed its own route to the location where it joined up with the main forces. A significant number of the troops was to arrive at the Sura River; and others were to travel along the Volga directly to Sviyazhsk.

The main battle forces were also delayed when they had to repel an attack of Crimean troops headed by Khan Devlet Giray, who was attempting to put pressure on Moscow. How-

ever, the Crimean Khan's attempt to undermine the plans of the Russian army proved unsuccessful. An unknown number of his troops reached Tula, and after some of them crossed the Oka River, they began pillaging the area. The events that followed were described in the contradictory messages of Prince Andrey Kurbsky and Tsar Ivan IV. In any event, when Khan Devlet Giray learnt that the Russian army was approaching, he led his main battle forces beyond the Oka River and set out for Crimea. Embellishing his achievements, Prince Kurbsky later wrote that the 'terrified' Khan fled, abandoning his artillery and field train, although the Tsar accused him of hesitating and wasting time when he faced the Khan. The only military confrontation took place on 23 July 1552 between part of the Crimean army headed by Aq-Muhammad-oglan, who had pillaged the outskirts of Tula and found himself at the rear of the Russian army. He engaged in a battle in an attempt to break through the Russian lines, which he accomplished after an hour and a half of fighting, inflicting heavy damage on Kurbsky's troops [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 69]. However, according to Kurbsky, he surrounded approximately a third of the Crimean troops, forced them into a battle, and completely destroyed them. Prince Kurbsky himself received many injuries in the battle, including a wound to his head [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 233]. After the battle, the Tsar had to give his army eight days to recuperate before continuing his campaign [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, p. 416]. During this period, he not only got his troops in order, but was also waiting for confirmation that the Crimean cavalry had left the borders of Muscovy. The Tsar continued his campaign only after making sure there were no threats to the southern borders.

The main forces of the Russian army started their campaign against Kazan on 1 July 1552 with two columns from Kolomna. The Russian troops were headed by Tsar Ivan IV himself and his voivodes—princes Yu. Shemyakin, V. Serebryany, S. Sheremetev, A. Kurbsky, A. Gorbaty-Shuysky, and M. Vorotynsky—dyak I. Vyrodokov, and others. They consisted of detachments of local cavalry and foot sol-

diers. The Tsar himself said that the boyars had gone on the campaign unwillingly and had not brought enough troops. Ivan IV noted that he was short more than 15,000 people (see [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 61]) and Streltsy (about 5,000). An artillery detachment and infantry advanced on boats along the Volga right up to Sviyazhsk, and the second part of the local army assembled on its own near Sura. Serving Tatars from Meshchera region—the cavalry of Sheikh Ali (about 2,000–3,000 horsemen)—evidently made up part of this army.

Both parts of the army united at the Sura River and moved eastwards. They reached Sviyazhsk on 13 August. Here, according to Prince Kurbsky, new forces joined the army, 'those who arrived with cannons, and serfs—with a sizable army... There were fifteen thousand cavalry with them, a large number of infantry, and in addition several squadrons of Barbarians who had just acknowledged the Tsar's authority (whether of their own free will or not, they acknowledged it) of up to four thousand people: their settlements and villages were near this fortress' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 235]. Thus, the overall strength of the Russian army, including cart servants, was apparently 40,000–50,000 people. By 'barbarians', Kurbsky undoubtedly meant the part of the military service elite of the Kazan Khanate, who, willing or not, had joined the Moscow army. Some of them ended up in Moscow as hostages after the repressions of Sheikh Ali, and some of them had possessions on the Mountain Land. There is no reason to exaggerate their role in the Russian army. Serving Tatars played more of a political, rather than military, role. They were supposed to demonstrate the Tsar had a clear loyalty to the Serving Tatars and to cause unrest in the ranks of the Kazan defenders.

After a brief rest, the troops began crossing the Volga River, and meeting no resistance, they completed it by 20 August and then encamped by the walls of Kazan.

Kazan had advanced fortifications for its time. According to the author of the historical tale 'The History of Kazan': 'The city of Kazan is very strong and stands on a high place, be-

tween the two rivers Kazan and Bulak' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 128]. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the fortress of Kazan occupied almost the whole territory of the modern-day Kremlin, bordered on the south by fortifications that went along the edge of the so-called 'Tezitsky Ravine.' Its fortifications consisted of a deep (up to 3 meters) moat and a rampart with oaken walls shaped like tarases (6–7 meters wide) on it filled with earth—'built of 7 walls made of thick oak; inside the walls there was earth, sand and pebbles' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 128]. The fortified area of the city was up to 13 hectares. Excavations have uncovered a number of buildings inside the fortress. There were mainly wooden buildings in the city.

The remnants of a fortified royal court were found in the northeast part of the Kremlin that occupied a large part of Kremlin Hill. Earlier white stone fortifications had been used to defend it. There was a white stone mosque (Nur-Ali mosque) with a high minaret inside the court, and next to the mosque were the tombs of khans. They all were rectangular shaped and were built of white stone. There were carved, richly-ornamented gypsum gravestones inside. Underneath them were two coffins, one sitting inside the other, holding remains that had been buried according to Muslim tradition. Sign of wooden structures—manors (houses and household buildings)—and a large white stone building (possibly the Khan's palace) were also discovered inside the fortress [Sitdikov, 2002, pp. 160–206; Sitdikov, 2006, pp. 113–121]. It must be emphasised that archaeological excavations in the north-east part of the Kremlin revealed wooden structures that are obviously a raskat—an inclined level platform for placing an artillery battery in order to discharge continuous gunfire. This proves the Kazan fortification was sophisticated and that the people of Kazan adapted their fortification to modern defence methods using gun artillery [Sitdikov, 2002, pp. 172–173].

The Kul-Sharif mosque and madrasah were closer to the southern part of the fortress near Tezitsky gorge. Large trading quarters were just outside the fortress on the south and south-west. A wall and moat had been built around the trading quarters of Kazan (15–20 m high

and 3–4 m wide) back in the 15th century and were renovated and reconstructed several times. According to the author of 'Kazan History': 'The city wall from the river, from Kazan, and Bulak was three fathoms thick and was inaccessible to the military... only from one side of the city from Arsk field; but there was a wall seven fathoms thick with a large and deep moat' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 128].

Surrounding of the city and start of the siege. On 22 August, Russian troops started surrounding the city and were immediately attacked by the Tatars. During the fight, the cavalry and infantry shooters of Kazan carried out a sortie and tried to prevent deployment of the troops, but they were forced back into the city. After beating off the sortie, the Russian troops completely surrounded the city and started a systematic siege on 23 August.

Vanguards of the Russian army started building siegeworks, and were repeatedly interrupted by sorties of Kazan residents. In particular, according to the chronicles: '... at the voivode's order, streltsy dug into the moats on the other side of the Bulak towards the city and did not let the Tatars leave the city. And there was a stone banya [bath house] by the city wall, named after Dair, and there the cossacks hid themselves, as ordered by the voivodes. And cannons were brought to be set on those walls' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 97].

Within two days on 25 August a yertoul (that is, vanguard) was sent beyond Kazan to Arsk field, and the right-hand regiment was sent to the other side of the Kazanka River, just below the city. According to Prince A. Kurbsky: 'the Christian army was ordered to advance in three groups across the Bulak River. And so, after throwing a bridge, first the vanguard, which they call yertoul, crossed the river, and there were about seven thousand of the best troops with two commanders... Prince Yury Pronsky and Prince Fyodor Lvov from the dynasty of Yaroslavsky princes. They climbed the mountain with difficulty, on Arsk field between the city and the above-mentioned Lake Kaban' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 237]. All these advances were accompanied by sorties of the Kazan people trying to cause damage to the besiegers and not let them set up

a blockade of the city. The same A. Kurbsky wrote: 'And when the other regiment—a large one—started crossing the river, the Tsar of Kazan released a cavalry of five thousand people and more than ten thousand infantry from the city. The mounted Tatars had spears, and the infantry had bows. And right away the Tatars attacked the centre of the Christian regiment half way up the mountain and split it up before the commanders, who had already climbed the mountain with more than two thousand people, re-formed. And our people did battle with them, and it was a great battle. Other strategians arrived right then with our armed infantry shooters and pushed back the cavalry and infantry infidels, and drove them out, beating them, up to the fortress gates...' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 237, 239]. The voivode of the yertoul Prince Yury Ivanovich Shemyakin was badly injured in one of these fights.

The active participation of the Kazan people caused difficulties and held up the Russian troops, but their overwhelming number allowed them to counter the defenders' threats and, despite taking losses, to continue surrounding the city.

Gradually, the whole city was besieged by 26 August. According to the 'Razrjadnaja kniga', troops and artillery positioned themselves around the city 'about 15 versts in different directions' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, p. 420]. The forward and large regiments came to Arsk field; the right-hand regiment together with part of the light cavalry, to the right bank of the Kazanka River; the guard regiment, to the mouth of the Bulak River; the left-hand regiment, along trading quarter walls on the Bulak River; and detachments of Sheikh Ali, near large regiment, and then they advanced to Arsk field, and the Tsar's reserve regiment advanced beyond the left-hand regiment on Tsar Meadow. The main Kazan forces were concentrated near Tsar's and Arsk gates and also near Atalykovy gate on the Bulak River.

Next the Tsar's army built special fortifications in front of Khan's, Arsk, Atalykovy, and Tyumen gates that consisted of high embankments and towers, standing in front of the Kazan gate towers. The regiments of princes M. Vorotynsky and F. Troyekurov were sent there.

After the embankments were built (29 August), guns were placed on them. Shelling of the city from 150 guns placed on embankments and from tall wooden towers, with turas up to 10 guns and 50 tüfäks, inflicted heavy damage on the city walls and its defenders. It was a new siege technique for Eastern Europe as well, one that was often used in Europe by that time. Russian armies were taught by German specialists, who took part in military operations at Kazan.

The Kazan people responded with gun and arquebus fire and made sorties in an attempt to destroy the turas and fortifications.

Raids by the Kazan people were supported by Yapanchi cavalry attacks from Arsk field. Here is how Prince Andrey Kurbsky, a participant of the siege, described these sorties: '... when they bring out their huge infidel banner on the tall tower of the fortress and start to wave it, then... the infidels attack the Christian troops with all their power and speed from all sides of the forest. Meanwhile, they raided our sconces from all fortress gates with such bravery, it was hard to believe.' And then he complains: 'And truly, this disaster had been happening every day for three weeks, so often there was no chance for us to eat our meager food' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 240–241].

However, shellfire caused too much damage to the besieged. With no way to resist it, the Kazan people took a desperate step. During the night of 30 August, the people of Kazan gathered their best detachments at the Tsar's gates and made a surprise attack against the Russian emplacements. The attack was successful. The Russian detachments were not expecting a night raid. They were overwhelmed and fled, leaving fortifications and artillery. The people of Kazan tried to take some of the guns to the fortress and set the turas on fire. Meanwhile, a large regiment and reserve forces set off to help the Russian troops. A. Kurbsky wrote: 'And one day Karachi himself made a foray with the Khan's court, and there were about ten thousand troops with them, on our sconces, where heavy guns stood under cover, and boyars themselves with the Tsar's court, and there were about ten thousand troops with them, and so they engaged in a heavy and cruel battle against the Christians

so that they forced our people back far away from the guns. But... Murom voivode's nobles came in time, as their camp was not far away. They immediately drove back the Karachis with all their forces... ' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 240–241].

The Kazan side suffered heavy casualties during this battle. Bey Islam Narykov, one of the defence organisers from the Arghyn clan, was killed, so were commanders Syuncheley Batyr and Bashkanda. These losses turned out to be irreplaceable, and the Kazan people did not launch such large attacks again for a long time, confining themselves to the actions of small detachments. On the other hand, after losing part of the siege towers, the besiegers strengthened their protection and tried not to move them too close to the walls. The Russian commanders understood then that it was impossible to force the Tatars to surrender simply by firing at the city. They decided to completely blockade the city.

Campaign against Arsk. In an effort to defend themselves from the sorties of murza Yapancha's cavalry, the Russian troops, ten thousand warriors strong and commanded by Prince A. Gorbaty-Shuysky, set out against him on 30 August. A detachment of murza Yapancha was defeated in a violent cavalry battle and retreated to Arsk. Then, after gathering his forces together, he attacked the Russian camp again, but Yapancha himself apparently died in the battle. After repelling the attack of the Tatar cavalry, the Russian troops set out against Arsk on 6–8 September. Here is how the chronicler described this campaign deep into the Tatar lands: '... the voivodes marched, and their archers and cossacks went on foot before their main troops, and then they reached Vysokaya mountain and the ostrog [stockaded town], but the ostrog was enclosed by gorodnyas [the settlement's defensive walls], earth mounds and felled trees, and impassable bogs surrounded it' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 101]. Judging from the archaeological data, this was Kamayevsk Hill Fort, which controlled the Kazanka River basin. This hill fort was indeed a very well fortified place with tarases with moats and fortifications before the walls. Remains of human skeletons, gun finds,

and traces of a fire were discovered in the upper layer of the archaeological site. All of this indicates that the site was tragically destroyed during the armed raid [Burkhanov, Izmaylov, 1999, pp. 135–138].

The Russian troops passed through Arsk daruga destroying towns and villages and killing the people [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 422–426]. Karachi Beg from the Kypchal Yavush clan, the head of Arsk daruga, retreated without a fight. As a result of the campaign, the main lands of the Kazan Khanate were devastated, and many Serving Tatars and Muslims were taken captive. According to the sources, a total of '12 Arsk princes, 7 Cheremis voivodes, and 300 of the best zemstvo sotnik chiefs, and everyone up to 5,000 people' were killed or taken captive [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, pp. 132–133]. This massacre somewhat lifted the threat to the Russian troops besieging the city. It also destroyed the human resources and provisioning depots of the Kazan garrison and decapitated their military opposition in Kazan Region.

Blockade and preparation for the final raid. After securing themselves from the rear, the Russian troops set up a total blockade of Kazan and started siege works and constant raids, destroying the city walls and exhausting the defence.

One of the most significant successes of the Russian troops was that they managed to partially divert the Kazanka River from the city walls. On 4 September they blew up the main city well, making it difficult to supply water to the besieged people. This was the first explosion of propelling powder placed in a tunnel under the city walls. Russian chronicles say that this explosive and tunneling work was led by the German specialist, 'Razmysl, who was cunning and savvy in the matters of subjugating a city' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 100]. European siege tactics, which had never seen here before, proved their effectiveness. The Kazan people were powerless against such siege tactics and could not put up any resistance to it.

Meanwhile, the ramparts and guns were moved closer to the walls. According to the chronicles: 'Voivodes stood along the trench

opposite the Tsar's (Khan's), Arsk and Atalyk, and Tyumen gates, all along the trench, and after the turas were erected' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 103]. In response to the attacks, the besieged people, according to the chronicles, 'constantly' fired 'guns, arquebuses, and arrows' and responded with fierce counterattacks. During one of these counterattacks headed by Mangyt Prince Zeynash on 26 September, they not only inflicted a major defeat on part of the army, but also seized the contravallation fortifications, destroyed guns, and burnt down one of the siege towers.

Individual detachments from the Meadow Land, acting in the rear of the besieging army, also tried to weaken the blockade. On 10 September a large Cheremis detachment arrived at the Russian camp and attacked from the rear. They retreated after a bloody battle, having seized horse herds and some of the carts, and escaped their pursuers.

Since late autumn and winter were approaching, the besiegers had to achieve a major success or retreat from the city walls.

'Conquest of Kazan.' A massive explosion destroyed part of the wall between Arsk and Tsar's gates in the early morning of 30 September, marking the start of the final assault on the city. According to 'Kazan History,' the Tsar gathered from all troops 'fierce and strong men, a regiment 100,000 warriors strong, and prepared them to take the city, using firearms, spears, swords, poleaxes, ladders, poles, and various ploys for conquering cities...' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 146].

Parts of the Large and Forward regiments moved towards the newly formed opening in the fortress defences. The chronicler wrote that the Russian troops entered the city but were met with fierce opposition: 'And it was carnage, huge and terrible, and there was much cannon thunder, and the city and all the people were covered with the smoke of fire and fumes, and there was much noise made by the warriors and weapons' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 104].

Nevertheless, the defenders of the fortress managed to drive the Russian troops out of the city. A. Kurbsky, who participated in these

events, later reminded the Tsar that he had behaved not as a courageous warrior and skilled commander, but as a scared boy, and only the intervention of experienced princes saved the Russian forces. Nevertheless, the besiegers managed to consolidate on the ruined walls and prepare for a new attack.

Meanwhile, Kazan city fortifications were considerably damaged and were no longer a unified defence system. The chronicler wrote: 'The bridges (walls between towers are meant here. –I. I.) at the Tsar's gate and the Atalyk and the Nogai gates burnt throughout the night, and the city walls burnt down and earth fell from the city, and the whole city was covered with earth and grit' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, p. 104]. At night the besieged people tried to reconstruct the wall across from the destroyed one and put all remaining cannons and arquebuses there.

Ivan the Terrible issued the citizens an ultimatum, but according to the sources, they rejected it: 'We shall not make obeisance! Even if the Russians are now on the city walls and in the towers, we shall build another wall, we shall either die or withstand your siege' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 104].

The second assault was started by Russian troops on the morning of 2 October (12 October N.S.). Russian troops exploded several more new and more powerful powder landmines below the city walls, this time at the Atalykovy and Nogai gates. As a result of the demolition, large parts of the walls were destroyed, and terrible damage was inflicted on the defenders. The chronicler wrote: '... saw the city wall exploding, and it was terrible, as if darkness had descended on the earth, and then risen high above, and many logs and ungodly people flew high into the air' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 106].

The city's defence was breached in several places, and a battle started on the streets of Kazan. The defenders became weaker, and they could no longer put up any organised resistance. It was a cruel and deadly battle, according to the chronicler: 'warriors... everywhere at every gate, in close fights, with spears and sabers, with knives in narrow passages. In

many streets, the Christians and Tatars fought each other from both sides with many spears and for many hours. And no one surrendered' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 107]. The resistance of the Kazan people was fierce but patchy. Step by step, quarter after quarter, the Russian troops advanced through the city, destroying its defenders.

The Khan's fortified court became the citizens' last defence centre, the place to which all remaining forces of the Tatar army fell back to. A fierce battle started near the Khan's court at Tezitsky Ravine and the mosque. It was there that sayyid Kul-Sharif and the students of the madrasah died, fighting desperately. The Russian chronicles write: 'And the Christians approached the mosque and their enemy mullah Kul-Sharif near Tezitsky Ravine, and suddenly many unfaithful started fighting against him. And by the grace of God, the Orthodox defeated Kul-Sharif and overpowered all of his forces. Meanwhile, the Tatars rushed to the Tsar's court, and the Orthodox warriors approached the Tsar's court and slaughtered the unclean without mercy, both men and women, so that there were rivers of blood. They slaughtered Kul-Sharif and his regiment. And the Tatars gathered at the Tsar's court in anticipation of their impending death and decided among themselves: 'Let us leave the city immediately, for God fights with them. Otherwise, many of our people will die [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 107].'

In this hopeless situation, Khan Yadygar Muhammad with Zeynash Bey, and possibly Ulug Karachi Bey, were taken prisoners. Their families were captured with them as well as some of the city residents.

Some of the defenders, taking advantage of the fact that the troops had started plundering the city, dashed through Elbugin gate, swam across the Kazanka River with their weapons, and attacked the Russian army formation. A. Kurbsky's regiment, which was supposed to cover the river, did not expect such an impetuous attack and reeled back. Other detachments rushed to help them. Nevertheless, some of the city's armed defenders, after breaking through the Russian troop formation, escaped to the forest. Here is what the chronicler wrote about it:

'And everyone ran towards the Yelabuga gate and started to strike and hack at the gates, and many of them rushed out of the city of Kazan to hide. And at that place there were the voivodes, boyar Prince Peter Mikhaylovich Shchenyatev, who sent his regiment to attack them and killed many of them. And voivode Prince Andrey Mikhaylovich Kurbsky left the city on horseback and rushed in pursuit of them, but found himself surrounded by them. They knocked him off his horse and inflicted many wounds on him. Although they thought they had killed him, he survived by the grace of God, and was subsequently returned to health. And the Tatars fled haphazardly towards the forest... Boyars and voivodes, by the grace of God, defeated many of the unclean, and especially from the Kazan River to the forest, many dead Tatars were strewn about, many were submerged in the river, and many suffered multiple wounds' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 107–108].

The last centres of resistance in the city fell. Prince A. Kurbsky, who participated in these events, wrote that 'it took four hours or so' to conquer the walls and quell the remaining resistance in the city [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 253].

The residents of Kazan who were still alive were killed or imprisoned, and the city was burnt and looted. The chronicler wrote: 'And the Tsar ordered the capture of all the wives and children, and had the warriors beaten for their betrayals; and he took so many Tatars into captivity that the whole Russian army was crowded with captives, as if every Russian man had his personal prison filled with Tatars... And so many of them were slain so that whole city was covered with dead bodies, and it was impossible to step anywhere without touching corpses...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 108]. The chronicler of Pskov wrote: 'And he killed all the Tatars in the city, whose number approached 20,000, and captured others, and the whole city burnt' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, p. 233]. There were descriptions of the bloody terror on the streets of the city at the time of its conquest in the Razrjadnaja knigas: '... slaughtering the Tatars on the streets, men and women in the yards, dragging other people out of holes

and killing them without mercy and robbing them... after seizing countless riches, and many of the murza's wives and children' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 436–437].

Within two days, 'the city of Kazan was cleared of corpses,' and the Tsar's triumphal procession entered the conquered city. The Tsar chose the place in the citadel, where he himself broke ground for a 'church by the name of... Annunciation,' which was already consecrated by 6 October [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 204–205]. After that, the army headed back for Moscow with loot and captives. Due to the cold and lack of roads, the army that was returning on a difficult road along the Volga lost a significant part of the horses and other loot, thus causing discontent among the serving people [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1978, p. 261]. On 5 and 8 November a meeting was held 'on arrangements in Kazan,' after a triumphant entry to Moscow and a prayer service in the Kremlin's Uspensky Cathedral. The campaigners received 48,000 rubles from the Tsar, and he also distributed fief-offices and lands of Kazan Territory, mainly among the aristocracy.

The defence of Kazan demonstrated the Tatar's highly advanced military engineering skills. They managed to maintain the defence for almost seven weeks—42 days—against the numerically superior and well-equipped Russian forces. The conquest of Kazan was not the end of the Tatars' resistance—the struggle went on for almost five years. By 1556 the rebels were depleted, and the main resistance centres had been burnt down. With Kazan conquered, the struggle no longer had a unified centre or means of defence (gunpowder, cannons, etc.). That is why, despite the heroic resistance of the Kazan Khanate, the fate of the state and the whole Middle Volga Region was already sealed.

Reasons and consequences of the Kazan Khanate's downfall. What was the reason for the final overthrow of Kazan? Of course, there was a broad range of reasons. In purely military terms, one can't help but notice how unequal the sizes of the Russian and Kazan forces were. The extirpation of Kazan's aristocracy, internal conflicts between dynasties, and the loss

of allies—Crimea and the Nogai Horde—all led to a situation where, during the siege of 1552, the Kazan people were unable to muster a large enough army. Moreover, for Russia, the war itself was different than those of previous years—it was a war of total extermination, a complete conquest of the Volga Region. The Kazan people, having failed to understand this, could not win it.

The conquest of Kazan and the following wars had a disastrous impact on the Tatar people and they needed many decades to recover. Apart from the loss of their national identity and the destruction of urban culture and many other achievements of civilisation, the Tatars were dealt a huge demographic blow. According to modern research, about one-third of the Tatar people of the Kazan Khanate were lost [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 23]. Contemporaries of these events clearly understood this. The well known international observer Hubert Languet wrote in August 1558 to Jean Calvin in Geneva that 'the warlike character of Ivan IV was intensified due to the series of successful wars against the Tatars; they say he killed up to 300 or 400 thousand' [Platonov, 1998, p. 145]. In an unbiased assessment of the moral results of the Kazan conquest and its dramatic consequences, Soviet historian M. Khudyakov wrote: 'The hideous slaughter of the conquered Kazan people is one of the darkest chapters of Russian history. This enormous slaughtering of human victims ended the 'crusade' of a Christ-loving army against the Kazan people, and the first appearance of a Russian state on the way to territorial conquests. Apart from the huge number of violently destroyed human lives, apart from innumerable tears, suffering, and grief survived by the Kazan people, the sad day of 2 October was marked by destruction of material wealth accumulated by generations and a loss of cultural and social values... The wealth of the nation suffered a terrible shock, from which it hardly could have recovered' [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 153–154].

The capture of Kazan was the first step of the Russian state towards conquests in the east that turned it into an empire. The conquest of Kazan marked the end of the reform policy of Ivan the Terrible and the beginning of his autocratic rule.

The conquest of Kazan, Astrakhan, and later the conquest of Siberia had a great impact on the historical perception of the Russian nation. In a short historical period of time, the Russian people defeated their old enemy—the Tatars—and conquered their far-reaching lands, making themselves equal to the great nations of the past. It was with good reason that both official circles and folk culture closely connect the conquest of the 'Tsar's city' of Kazan with the Russian state attaining imperial status. Soon after the conquest of Kazan, Moscow boyars named Ivan IV not only 'Tsar' but 'Grand Sovereign,' adding the 'Kazan title,' saying that it was 'mentioned for the first time' in a charter sent to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) (cit. from [Khoroshkevich, 2003, p. 116]). Thus, the imperial ambitions of Moscow's rulers were fulfilled, since they now had obtained the 'Tsar's' throne. It was an important military and diplomatic success for the young empire.

Nevertheless, Russian folklore contains very few cheerful or triumphant songs about the splendid conquests and conquerors of the Volga Region and Siberia [Izmaylov, 1998, pp. 35–38]. Moreover, the endless wars, campaigns, and mutual extermination left no triumphant victor feelings in the historical memory of the Russian nation. After passing through the prism of the historical memory of the Russian nation, these songs more closely resemble opposition to the official rhetoric of boastful winners. In response to the tales about the beauty of 'the sub-paradise of Kazan,' the people, through the character of one of these songs, recall the bones of the common people that became the foundation for the house of fame of Ivan the Terrible, washed by an endless flow of blood and tears:

*Don't fool me, my good man:
I've been telling you for a long time now
that Kazan
Was founded on bones,
Kazanochka is a river of blood,
Little springs are bitter tears,
The mountains are full of heads,
All the brave men, all the Streltsy*

(cit. from [Istoricheskie pesni, 1960, pp. 110–111])

The conquest of Kazan is not just a tragic chapter of history for the Tatars, but a defining moment from their past. A cruel and selfless fight, base treachery, suffering of defenceless people, loss of bygone glory and freedom, and hope for liberation—all of these experiences serve as the foundation for the Tatars' perception of their sixteenth century and were reflected in a complete cycle of historical songs (bait). They are very reminiscent of traditional laments. As a rule, all baits tell about the sorrowful fate of the nation and its tragic fight with the conquerors ('Bait of Kazan,' 'Chura Batyr,' 'Song of Khan Mohammad Amin about Aksak Timur') or a certain person ('Song of Khan Sheikh Ali (Shigali) about his wazirs,' 'Bait of Süyünbike,' 'Bait of Khaneke Sultan') [Urmancheev, 1984, pp. 220–234]. They evidently appeared quite long ago and were written by contemporaries of sorrowful events. In any case, the English commercial agent and diplomat Jerome Horsey, who traveled to the Volga region on business while living in Russia (1573–1591), noted that Ivan the Terrible 'conquered all Tatar princes and their lands and many noble people; the devastation still serves as a motif for sad stories and songs of those peoples' [Horsey, 1990, p. 51].

The most expressive and picturesque bait is the one about Chura Batyr. One slightly corrupted and rethought version of it is included in another bait about the history of Kazan with a broader meaning ('Kazan bäete' or 'Kazan tarixi'). The history of Kazan is retold in it, from the fall of Bulgar under the attacks by Aksak Timur (Tamerlane) to the battle against the Russian invasion. Strictly speaking, the bait 'Chura Batyr' itself is not a message about the conquest of Kazan or its relations with Rus. It is rather a rhetorical oral history that processes the actual events of the past, especially one as tragic as the conquest of Kazan, in the memory of the people and even contains a warning about the danger of betraying national interests [Paksoy, 1986, pp. 252–265]. Consequently, the message of this bait is a glorification of the heroes who fought and died during the war of liberation and personification of their image in the memory of the people.

§2. The Kazan War of 1552–1557

Igor Yermolayev, Iskander Izmaylov

Although they dealt a heavy blow to the statehood of the Kazan Khanate in general, the conquest of Kazan and the devastation of its outskirts were still only the beginning of the lengthy annexation of the region. On the one hand, a large part of the Tatar forces was not engaged in the defence of Kazan because they were relatively far from the Kazan Region. On the other hand, those prepared to revolt against the new authorities and capable of organising a military struggle turned up after the conquest of Kazan. Moreover, the new Kazan administration began to not only find cause for rejection but also to give reasons for a countrywide rebellion.

As soon as Kazan was conquered, the tsarist government faced the challenge of appeasing and subjugating the territory of the Kazan Khanate, turning it from a hostile land into a 'sub-paradise.' A council headed by the Tsar met to discuss the issues on the third day. Ten years later Prince A. Kurbsky wrote: 'And the Tsar held a council on the arrangements to make in the newly conquered city. And the wise and sensible advised him to stay there with his troops for the winter until spring came for plenty of provisions had arrived in galleys from the Russian Land, and the land had unlimited supplies. The Tsar would thus annihilate the infidels' army, subjugate the kingdom, and appease the land forever...' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 260–261]. The council proposed continued military campaigns to subdue the locals as a preventative suppression of their will and resistance. However, A. Kurbsky claims that there were also other 'advisers'—the Tsar's brothers-in-law, Princess Anastasia's brothers Danila and Nikita Romanovich Zakharyins—who recommended that he should return to Moscow and let the voivodes and local princes suppress the population. Quite obviously, they assumed that the active stage of the war was over, while the Tsar's residence far from the capital could cause a riot or even a coup d'état.

Alexander Borisovich Gorbaty, Vasily Semenovich Serebryany, and the okolnichy (high-

ranking boyar) Aleksey Danilovich Basmanov remained in Kazan to serve as voivodes. They were to maintain order in the land entrusted to them, for which purpose 7,050 sons of boyars, Streltsy, and Cossacks were left to assist them. Okolnichy Ivan Bezsonov administered the city. A somewhat smaller garrison was left in Sviyazhsk, where Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky, Boris Ivanovich Saltykov-Morozov, and Grigory Petrovich Zvenigorodsky served as voivodes, while the fortress was entrusted to boyar Semyon Zabolotsky and Prince Dmitry Zhizhensky. The presence of so many princes and boyars inevitably caused conflicts among them. As soon as they received the razrjad or rank, the voivodes who were to stay in Kazan began to dispute 'local issues' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 441, 442, 448–449].

There are different opinions regarding the reasons why armed resistance to the new authorities surged. Some believe the increased tax burden caused it, while others tend to attribute it to political motives. Some believe that even if the conquest of the Kazan Region was not beneficial to the peoples of the land, it did not cause any increase in the tax burden (see [Bakhtin, 2012, pp. 323–325]). Theoretically, this might be fair, but any measures taken by the new authorities to collect yasak could not help but trigger armed conflicts in response to administrative disorder, devastation of the land crucial to the khanate, and ongoing military resistance.

There is no doubt that the rebellion, which spread over a wide front by December 1552, was fought against the annexation of the land of Kazan by Russia and for the restoration of independence. Economic demands as such were not critical. Accusing his boyars of treason in the spring of 1553, Ivan IV mentioned 'the matter of Kazan' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 52–55]. As for the triggers, the cause was evidently the specific measures taken by the tsarist administration—the initiation of yasak collection. In any case, right after

the report that the first stage of the rebellion had been suppressed in late 1552, voivode A. Gorbaty, speaking of sending sons of boyars to the Arsk and Bank Sides to collect yasak, noted with satisfaction that 'the full amount of yasak had been collected and brought to the voivodes' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 527].

If our assumption is correct, it sheds some light on the key triggers of the political action in the Kazan Region during the first months after its annexation by Russia. Soon after the siege of Kazan ended successfully, the voivodes sent groups of sons of boyars to collect yasak, which the population refused to pay, causing frequent conflicts that very quickly turned into a military rebellion against the new authorities. The question is why the population refused to pay the usual yasak—the Tsar had ordered that the yasak rate should be 'as it was during the reign of Tsar Magmedelim'—that is, during the reign of the Kazan khans [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 222; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 205]. Many factors must have contributed to the situation: military actions had reduced the rich land of the khanate to poverty, and the local population was unable to pay even a moderate yasak. However, the Tsar's voivodes wanted to enrich themselves from the conquered land they were temporarily administering. Furthermore, the remaining military and service class nobility stirred up the public, which also had an effect.

We know little about the social composition of the rebels. Only the leaders of the rebellion in Arsk territory are known to be 'Tugay's children with friends' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 229; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 214]. The fact that the chronicle mentions their names suggests that they were important feudal lords, children of an influential nobleman in the Kazan Khanate, who probably died in a Kazan campaign of Ivan IV in 1552 or before. Therefore, they had social and other reasons (which undoubtedly included personal motivation) to hate the new administration of the territory and fight to prevent subjugation to it. The common people were involved in the rebellion of the elite since the latter was still closer to them

by blood and more understandable in terms of language and faith than the Russian noblemen, who came to their land with weapons and began their administration by collecting a tribute that was familiar but burdensome and hateful (the yasak). It was not difficult to rouse the people to revolt under the conditions and in the specific circumstances of the year 1552. Yet the common people were not actively and widely involved at the early stage; otherwise, tsarist noblemen would have been unable to suppress them so quickly.

Thus, the first stage of the struggle ended with a clear victory for the tsarist administration in December 1552. However, the celebration of the Tsar's voivodes was premature. In fact, the rebellion had not been suppressed; what was suppressed was the first outbreak, the cruelty of the measures (many people were 'beaten' and hanged) incited its spread, while the voivodes' policy (collecting yasak at any cost) encouraged and, in a manner of speaking, facilitated the agitation against the Russian annexation by what remained of the feudal nobility of the former Kazan Khanate.

Although a report on victory by A. Gorbaty was issued in December 1552, the yasak was never collected in full. Two months later, in March of the following year, Prince Gorbaty reported on a different situation to the Tsar: 'The people of Kazan... would not give the yasak and killed the yasak collectors on the Meadow Side' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 230; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 540]. A new stage of the rebellion began. The difference was that the rebels of Arsk daruga and those of the Meadow Land combined their forces. It is noteworthy that Arsk daruga was central to the movement. On the one hand, it was the political centre of the former Khanate where a large part of serving Tatars owned land. On the other hand, it was heavily devastated during the siege of Kazan. The two factors combined to cause fierce hostility. The Meadow Land was fully engaged in all stages of the rebellion. The movement sometimes spread to the Hill Land, but the latter was mainly loyal to Russia and later supported the suppression of the movement on the left bank of the Volga.

In the spring of 1553 the rebels had enough strength to defeat the Streltsy and Cossack detachments sent against them (the brief but disturbing reports to Moscow on the situation in the land suggest that they were large). The battle took place at the abatis on Vysokaya mountain, and the rebels clearly won it: the tsarist army suffered a crushing defeat, losing 350 Streltsy and 450 Cossacks—that is, nearly 1,000 men [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 540]. Iske Kazan (Kamaevsk archaeological site), the demesne of the Kazan khans, may have been the place where the rebels gathered. Thus, the population of the Kazan Region interpreted the conquest of it as a symbolic restoration of the khanate. Zen Zayid, or Usein sayyid (Husain sayyid), Saryj Bogatyr (Sary Batyr), and Taokmysh Shihzyada (Toktamyskh Shahzade) were the leaders of the rebellion during that period [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, pp. 540, 547]. The names suggest that they were mainly petty service-class noblemen and clergymen.

Following the victory, the rebels, who were said to include the entire left bank of the former Kazan Khanate, built a fortified camp ('gorodok'—that is, a small town), on the Mesha River 70 versts from Kazan, which became the centre of the rebel territory. The rebellion thus spread to the Hill Land. In March 1553 Sviyazhsk voivode Prince P. Shuysky reported to the Tsar that 'men of Arsk and the Meadow Land Zen Zayid and Sary Bogatyr came with companions to the Hill Land.' A detachment of servicemen and 'men of the hills' loyal to the tsarist government, headed by voivode B. Saltykov-Morozov, who already had experience in taking punitive measures against the rebellious population, was sent against them. Relying on his large and well-armed army, the voivode neglected to prepare properly for the campaign, apparently expecting to easily defeat the poorly armed rebels. However, 'the snow was deep at that time,' and the voivode and his detachment were ambushed by Tatars who fought on skis. The battle resulted in voivode Saltykov-Morozov being crushed and suffering 256 casualties, including 36 'sons of boyars' and 50 of their men, and 170 'men of the hills' [Complete Collection of Russian

Chronicles, 13, p. 230]. Another 200 people were taken prisoner, including the voivode, who was sent 'to Bashkir Uluses, to the distant land of the Cheremis 700 versts from Kazan.' This defeat paralysed the actions of the Russians on the Hill Side and allowed the rebels to block Sviyazhsk, Vasilsursk, initiate attacks against the lands of Murom, Nizhny Novgorod, and Vyatka, and even lay siege to several Russian cities. [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 230, 528; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 540; Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 174]. The rebels would not have been so successful without support from part of the population of the Hill Land, most importantly, the serving Tatars and Cheremis.

By the spring and summer of 1553, the rebellion was escalating. In fact, the Russian state had no support bases in the Volga Region and Cis-Urals apart from several fortresses—the rest of the territory was revolting. But negative factors came into play at that time. Large-scale as it was, the rebellion still had no general commanders and no authoritative leader like a Chinggisid or Tatar aristocrat. It was regional and lacked unity. After achieving victory in their region, the rebels often initiated confrontations with neutral or Russian-oriented local authorities of neighbouring areas or invaded Russian lands. The rebels' attempt at creating a new capital may be interpreted as an attempt at restoring a major centre in the Kazan Region: 'they erected a city on the Mesha River, 70 versts from the city of Kazan, and fortified its walls for they wanted to stay there for a while' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 230].

Lacking a leader, the rebels did not receive sufficient international support. The Nogai Horde represented by nuradin Ismail, refused to help them, in the hope of receiving 2,000 rubles and 'kormlenie' ('feeding'). However, some of the Nogai people apparently joined the struggle against the Russian troops, especially in the Kama and Cis-Volga regions [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 258–259; Trepavlov, 2004, pp. 177–199]. In addition, the Crimean Khan exerted diplomatic pressure on Moscow. He encouraged the Nogai Bey Yusuf and the Khan

of Artrakhan to begin a preplanned attack on Moscow. Whatever the case, most of the serving Tatars supported the rebels in the fight to restore the Kazan Khanate. The tsarist authorities could not accept that. As a preventative measure, captive Kazan Khans Utyamysh Giray (baptised Alexander on 8 January) and Yadygar Muhammad (baptised Simeon Kasayevich on 26 February 1553) were baptised in Moscow. The dynasty of the Kazan khans was thus interrupted. Now the rebels would have to find a new candidate to take the khan's throne if they wanted to restore the khanate.

The situation of the Russian authorities in regions conquered but not subjugated was extremely complicated. Instead of yielding a 'sub-paradise' land to ensure allocation of land plots and tax income, the war required more and more funds to maintain military contingents and fortresses. M. Shcherbatov, a Russian historian of the latter half of the 18th century, believed that living conditions in the fortresses had deteriorated by that time: 'the change of air and numerous wounds caused lethal diseases among the warriors living in Kazan' [Shcherbatov, 1789, part 2, p. 11]. Some other sources, in particular G. Surovtsov, mention a pestilence that occurred 'soon after Kazan was conquered' [Surovtsov, 1828, p. 75]. The tsarist government may have already been discussing the question of leaving Kazan and marching out the troops, as it did twenty years after the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray burnt down Moscow in 1571 [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 278–279].

The tsarist government felt very insecure. The local authorities were apparently dispirited. New detachments of sons of boyars and Cossacks were sent from Moscow to help the voivodes, who hardly had any military support after the aggressive actions of the rebels in March 1553. Proper military actions were organised. They decided to attack the rebel territory on two sides: from the Vyatka River and from the upper reaches of the Volga River, thus encircling it. The Tsar appointed his favourite's brother D. Adashev head of the detachment of servicemen sent from the Vyatka River, ordering him to 'come to the Kama and stand along the Kama and Vyatka Rivers looking

for traitors [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 321; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 216]. Cossack detachments were sent along the Volga to meet D. Adashev. This punitive measure turned out to be a success for the tsarist government and the local authorities in the Kazan Krai. Adashev, who was to play a major role in the military action, joined the Vyatka servicemen, occupied the key fortifications along the Vyatka River, and prevented the rebel forces from maneuvering. As a result, the siege of the principal fortresses along the Volga was raised, and the local detachments and the Nogais suffered a number of defeats [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 231].

In spring, as usual in May, the Tsar considered the appointment of voivodes to the Kazan Krai for the following year. The administrative and military power of voivodes was typically enhanced. Whereas in October 1552, 6 higher officials were appointed to Kazan, the number increased to 9 in May 1553, and all the officials were replaced with new ones. Characteristically, the voivodes appointed in 1552 were ordered merely to stay there for 'a year,' while those appointed in May 1553 had their responsibilities clearly differentiated: four voivodes were appointed 'expedition voivodes'; two, as 'district administrators'; two, as 'city administrators'; and one was a clerk [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, pp. 138, 139; Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, pp. 24, 25]. The situation was the same in Sviyazhsk, where three voivode groups had replaced each other (the first in 1551, the second in 1552, and the third in 1553). The first group consisted of 9 voivodes, but the second one had only 5 [Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, p. 12, 15]. In 1553, 7 voivodes were appointed to Sviyazhsk, all the previous ones (except for P. Shuysky) being replaced by new voivodes [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, pp. 139–140; Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, pp. 25–26]. The newly appointed voivodes were to arrive in the Kazan Region as heads of two large armies, one commanded by Yu. Bulgakov, appointed Chief Voivode of Kazan, and the other commanded by I. Troyekurov, appointed Assistant Chief Voivode (Chief Voivode P. Shuysky had been reappointed voivode and was expected to

meet the armies in Sviyazhsk). The commanders of all regiments were to stay in Kazan or Sviyazhsk for a year—that is, the army was formed as a regular regional military force for punitive actions.

The balance of power changed again during their struggle against the rebels. The government realised how vulnerable Kazan was (it lay in the centre of the military rebellion), which apparently caused further reinforcement of the Kazan fortress (two regiments were redeployed there from Sviyazhsk: those of I. Troyekurov and V. Mezetsky). In addition, P. Shuysky, an experienced politician who was well aware of the local situation and administration and previously appointed voivode of Sviyazhsk, was sent to Kazan. Even that does not seem to have been enough. In August 1553 the Tsar sent S. Mikulinsky, who was also well aware of the local situation, to Kazan [*Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1598, p. 141].

However, the conflict was intensifying in the Kazan Region, and the military forces sent there turned out to be insufficient. At the end of the summer (August to September 1553), the formation of another army to fight against 'the traitors of Arsk' was initiated. The army started its campaign in December 1553 [*Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1598, p. 141].

The situation was especially difficult in late 1553 near Kazan. Therefore, in addition to transferring P. Shuysky from Sviyazhsk to Kazan in the summer of 1553, the Tsar sent Yu. Kashin's regiment from Sviyazhsk 'to the Meadow Land and to the land of Arsk to fight' in December. Thus, no more than three voivodes remained in Sviyazhsk by December out of the seven appointed. The rest were in the battlefield near Kazan. Realising how complicated the situation was, the Tsar reinforced his army with serving Tatars loyal to the Russian throne: Prince F. Tatev set out 'with Gorodets princes and murzas and all Meshchera people,' while F. Vokshcherin came with 'serving Tatars' [*Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1598, pp. 143–144].

At the same time, the Tsar tried to break the alliance between the Kazan and the Nogai rebels and defeat the Astrakhan Khanate. For this purpose, an army, including a claimant to the Astrakhan throne, Russian appointee Derbysh

Ali, began to prepare for a campaign to Astrakhan in early 1554. The army was expected to march out 'as soon as the ice broke.' Even before the army started its campaign, Ivan IV sent his ambassadors to 'Nogai Ismail Murza and all murzas' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 234–235; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 224–225] to negotiate peace (for details see [Zaytsev, 2004, pp. 147–154]). In the summer of 1554 the Tsar's army enjoyed temporary success in Asktrakhan, where they were able to occupy the city and enthrone Derbysh Ali [Zaytsev, 2004, pp. 150–154].

The situation demanded drastic measures. An enormous army of 'over thirty thousand' warriors was gathered against the people of Kazan; according to Prince A. Kurbsky, a participant of the campaign, the commanders included 'numerous tacticians, bright and brave men of noble origin' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 272–273]. It was in fact the second conquest of the Kazan Khanate. The army that started its campaign on 6 December 1553 in Nizhny Novgorod was headed by the best commanders of that time. S. Mikulinsky-Punkov and P. Morozov marched at the head of a large regiment. Yu. Kashin joined them in Sviyazhsk. I. Sheremetev-Bolshoy and okolnichy L. Saltykov were appointed to the front line regiment. F. Umnoy-Kolychev joined them in Kazan. The guard regiment was headed by A. Kurbsky and M. Voronoy-Volynsky, and D. Pleshcheyev joined them in Kazan [*Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1605, vol. 1, pp. 461–462]. Following a short rest, the troops left Kazan in three corps: towards Vysokaya mountain, Arsk, and further to the Vyatka, to the Meadow Land and to the 'Bank Side' in the Volga Region—that is, where, according to A. Kurbsky, 'the princes of Kazan with their army of Muslims and other Pagans were preparing for the war' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 272–273]. The winter was dry, and the open roads in the woods facilitated the advance of the troops. The rebels, whose number Prince Kurbsky estimated at fifty thousand, resisted fiercely in spite of being less numerous and well-armed than Russia's best regiments. A. Kurbsky later wrote, 'they

engaged in combat with us and our forward regiments, so I think we had nearly twenty battles' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 272–273]. The heroic resistance was not enough to stop the attack: 'though they had the advantage of fighting in their land, those who came from the woods being especially resolute, the Christians defeated them each time with God's help' [Ibid.]. The Tsar's troops occupied all fortified locations, including Arsk, during a ten-day campaign. As the punitive army advanced, the population was forced to flee, leaving even fortified towns. Thus, a fortress on the Mesha River was abandoned, the few residents whom the Tsar's troops found there were killed, and the fortifications burnt down—'they burnt down the town on the Mesha River and killed those few people whom they found after the others had fled; they reduced the nearby villages to ashes and killed all the people and destroyed the town' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 239].

The military actions in the winter of 1553/1554 covered a large area in the region. They included the entire area between the Ilet and Ashit Rivers in the west and the Vyatka and Kama Rivers in the east and south-east. According to Prince Kurbsky, 'we pursued them for a month, and our advance regiments chased them beyond Urzhum and the Met River, beyond the vast woods, up to the Bashkir land spreading along the Kama River up towards Siberia' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 272–275]. That is, the military actions covered the area of Urzhum area and approached Vyatka Region. Only the territory 'up the Volga River, along the Kokshaga and the Rutka,' was calm. Joint concentrated efforts yielded temporary success. Prince Kurbsky wrote, 'we killed over a thousand Muslim warriors with their atamans then as well as the notorious Christian bloodsuckers Yanchura Ismailtyanin and Aleka Cheremisin, and many more of their princes.' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 274–275]. The author of the Tsar Book also wrote, '... Kazan people in many places, about 6 men, and took 15,000 Tatar women and children prisoner' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 239]. The Trans-Kazan and Volga Regions were dev-

astated and the resistance suppressed. Unable to resist and willing to spare the lives of non-combatants, some of the rebel leaders decided to enter into peace negotiations: 'Usein Sayyid, Taokmysh Shihzyada, and Sary Bogatyr came to the voivodes, and on behalf of the Arsk and Bank Sides they made obeisance that they shall pay tribute to the Tsar and shall never turn away from Kazan till their death; and on this they spoke the truth to the voivodes.' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 13, p. 239]. The centre of restoration of the khanate in Trans-Kazan was destroyed, its driving force, service Tatars, were largely forced out of their land to various Russian territories or subjugated to the new authorities. It was virtually the end of the resistance in Trans-Kazan. Prince Kurbsky noted 'the land of Kazan has been humble and obedient to our Tsar since then' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 274–275].

On 25 March some regiments returned to Moscow 'with the brightest victory and many gains' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 274–275]. The campaign was undoubtedly successful but did not yield a clear victory. The region as a whole remained unbowed. The Tsar understood the results, and he believed the voivodes had exceeded their authority. It is hard to suspect the Tsar and his entourage of being too benevolent. However, they must have expected that excessive cruelty would provoke resistance and intransigence.

It did. A new stage of the insurgency movement began in the autumn of 1554. It was characterised by an even more widespread uprising, now covering the 'Cheremis Meadow Land' (the Cis-Kazan Region) with the Vetluga and Rutka River Basins, which had not been at war with the Tsar's army before. The Tsar's government was already getting used to forming a large army against 'the meadow people' by autumn. Prince I. Mstislavsky was appointed commander in 1554. 'Princes and murzas with Cossacks' from Gorodets were also engaged in the military action in Kazan Krai (headed by F. Syseyev and A. Seit-Murza), 'Prince Shighalay's men' from Kazan (headed by Prince Aray), 'people of Temnik' (headed by Prince Ye. Tenishev), service class Tatars (headed by T. Ig-

natyev); a warrior gathering was at the same time announced in Veliky Ustyug, Solvyche-godsk, Vyatka, and Perm [Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, pp. 39–40].

The enormous army was active in the Kazan Krai throughout the winter of 1554/55, apparently with a fluctuating pattern of successes as sources mention no grave defeats, like the loss of two detachments of the Tsar in 1553, without also not mentioning tsarist victories. It should also be noted that the nature of the army, the alignment of the military forces, and the strategic and tactical patterns, as described in Razrjadnaja knjigas and chronicles, suggest that the actions of the army were not a local event—this was a full-scale military campaign against the rebellious 'people of Kazan.'

During the campaign, the practice of using the Kazan population against 'the people of Kazan' was gradually established in the Tsar's government. In August 1554 voivode M. Glinsky wrote to the Tsar that 'all men of Arsk and the Bank Side and Hill Land' had been sent 'against the traitors of the meadows' (i.e., all service Tatars from Arsk, Bank Side, and Hill Land who had taken the Russian side in the conflict.—*I. Ye., I. I.*). Outstanding aristocrats of the former Kazan Khanate Prince Kebenyak and Murza Kulai headed the forces. Even though Kulai had previously proven his loyalty to the Russian Tsar, this time he failed. 'The Kazan people lied and betrayed the Tsar'; they not only 'failed to march against the traitors' but joined them and 'killed many of the black people of Arsk that were true to the Tsar' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 245; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 552].

In spite of the successful August campaign, Kazan voivodes showed consistency in implementing the general governmental policy in the newly annexed Krai, ruling with the help of local service people who sided with the Tsar. In October 1554 M. Glinsky sent a report to Moscow saying that the voivodes had sent Kazan princes Yenaley Chigasov and Yenaley Momatov 'against the traitors, Kobe Ulana, and his company' once again. They cooperated with a Streltsy detachment commanded by sotnik A. Bortenev, Kazan dwellers (service Russians in

the Kazan garrisons), and new Christians (non-Russians who had been baptised), headed by I. Mokhnev, to 'inflict a crushing defeat on the traitors and caught them alive.' Thus, the undertaking of the Tsar's voivodes was quite successful that time.

With the help of local feudal forces siding with the Tsar, Kazan voivodes detachments were able to take as prisoners the leaders of the rebellion Kurman Aliy, Prince Kebenk (apparently Kebenyak, who had come over to the rebels side two months before), Murza Kulai Danin (Kulai Murza), Murza Chebak Baztagayev, and 'many more princes, and murzas, and Cossacks, and centurions-princes.' 'All the prisoners were executed ('and the voivodes ordered that they all should be killed'). Moreover the voivodes mentioned that people of the Arks and Bank Side 'caught on their own' and 'killed on their own' many Tatars 'not true to the tsar'; they brought many to voivodes and 'slaughtered and beat them before the voivodes.' A total of 1,560 'men of name (prominent people.—*I. Ye., I. I.*), princes and kirzas, sotniks, and outstanding Cossacks' (i.e., princes, murzas, sotniks, and upper service class representatives.—*I. Ye., I. I.*) were killed in battles in the autumn of 1554. [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 247; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 233]. The list suggests that the service class was the principal engine of the military rebellion. Tribute-payers were simply incapable of a more or less regular armed struggle.

As the rebellion lost ground in Trans-Kazan, the movement in the Meadow Land intensified. Some remnants of the military territorial structure, dating back to the Kazan Khanate, had apparently been preserved there, while remoteness from the centre of the country created a kind of power vacuum. That is why representatives of the military service class headed the resistance to Russian expansion: 'meadow sotniks of Mameshbirde and their companions did not come to the city (i.e., did not bring a confession—*I. E., I. I.*) and keep stealing [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 247; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 233]. The name of 'meadow sotnik prince' Mameshbirde suggests he was an atalyk

and probably a noble Tatar aristocrat. According to Prince Kurbsky, the Meadow Land was capable of gathering an army of twenty thousand warriors [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 280–281]. Even if this is an exaggeration, the meadow sotniks had enough forces to control the entire region of Kazan. Mameshbirde's detachments attacked vessels on the Volga and Kama Rivers, still holding Kazan and Sviyazhsk in suspense [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 245; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 552]. As a result, the territory covered by the military struggle did not dwindle but expanded. By the autumn of 1554 the rebels had reached the walls of Kazan.

The Tsar's government persisted in sowing discord among the rebels, rousing hatred and pitting them against each other, engaging the local non-Russian elite in the struggle against the rebels. In the autumn of 1554 Ivan IV sent a message to Kazan 'with gifts of gold and for those Tatars true to the Tsar' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 247; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 233]. The Tsar's government was eventually able to turn one part of Kazan feudal lords against the other.

On 1 March 1555 Kazan voivode M. Glin-sky reported to the Tsar that 'people of the meadows waged war at the Arsk side; the people of Arsk built fortresses and managed to fight back; Streltsy warriors, who were in the fortresses..., killed many a meadow man with their arquebuses; the people of the meadows attacked Tatar villages and went (back—*I. Ye., I. I.*) to the Meadow Land.' That month Sviyazhsk voivode M. Vorotynsky reported having sent 'men of the hills' with F. Baskakov 'at the head' against the rebellious Meadow Land: 'seven hundred men of the hills came (on skis—*I. E., I. I.*); and they came without reporting (i.e., unexpectedly—*I. E., I. I.*), fought, killed people, took prisoners, and killed livestock, and went (returned—*I. E., I. I.*)... intact.' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 246; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 233].

Thus, large-scale as it was, the rebellion lacked unity. Besides this, class differences between rebels should be taken into account.

The anti-Moscow movement was largely represented by princes and murzas, to whom the common population did not provide any consistent support. Sources report a part of 'black people of Arsk'—that is, people dependent on the feudal lords, tribute-payers in servitude—to be 'true' to Tsar Ivan IV, instead of joining Tatar feudal lords in the thick of the armed struggle. Such reports are numerous referring to territories both 'on the Kama' and near Kazan. Thus, some part of Tatar service class, seeing that the military struggle had failed, began to side with the tsarist government, undermining the military base of the rebellion.

By the spring of 1555 the Tsar's voivodes had been sending an increasing number of reports on victory to Moscow. In the middle of April commander Prince I. Mstislavsky reported on his victories in the Kazan Krai to the Tsar. He reported that 'voivodes fought in all volosts, and many men were caught and killed' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 246; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 552; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 232].

The struggle over the political future of the Middle Volga Region affected the entire south-eastern part of East Europe, primarily the lower reaches of the Volga River and the Crimea. It has already been mentioned that in 1554 (most probably in the summer) the Tsar's army occupied Astrakhan and tried to get established there. However, this success was not to last. In the autumn Russian appointee on the throne of Astrakhan Derbysh Ali betrayed Russia and cooperated with the Nogai feudal lords to crush L. Mansurov's detachment in Astrakhan, Mansurov barely managed to flee 'on a raft' with only seven people out of the entire detachment. In the same winter of 1554/55 'many troops' were sent to Astrakhan. Russian voivodes got control over the city again and reinforced the ground fortress [Zaytsev, 2004, pp. 158–168]. In the spring of 1555 the Tsar's government expanded its military struggle against Russia's enemies in the area of the Middle Volga—a campaign 'against the Crimean uluses' was undertaken. However intense and large-scale the action might have been, the situation in Kazan Krai was far from normalised. After a year of

action the Tsar's army did not enjoy any significant successes.

In September 1555 the Tsar sent new military contingents, commanded by Princes A. Kurbsky and F. Troyekurov, to the Middle Volga Region. Voivodes of Kazan and Sviyazhsk F. Buturlin and S. Gagarin were to send service men to Streltsy and Cossack garrisons in order to reinforce the troops [Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, p. 49]. Even though the tsarist government was greatly concerned about pacifying the Krai, even though large military contingents had been permanently stationed in the Krai for over two years, even though the best commanders of forces had been sent there, the government's army had yet failed to achieve any significant successes. By the spring of 1556 P. Shuysky had reported to the Tsar that 'the people of Arsk and the Bank Side betrayed the Tsar and killed the Streltsy warriors' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 265; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 244]. Therefore, the rebellion was raging once again. Mameshbirde became one of the leaders during that period. By that time a small Nogai detachment had come from the Nogai Horde to help the people of the Arsk and Bank Side in the Meadow Land [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 255–256; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 244].

The most important event of that autumn was not only the calling for the Nogai detachment but also a formal invitation to the new sultan, 'Prince Akhpolbey,' to take the khan's throne. Akhpolbey's identity and the role he played in the Kazan War are rather vague since sources present very fragmented and controversial information (see [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 155–158; Dimitriev, 1999, pp. 117–119; Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 258–260; Trepavlov, 2004, pp. 177–199; Bakhtin, 2012, pp. 368–370]). Anyway, the rebellion developed to a new level as an attempt was made to create a new power centre and to enlist the sympathies of the Nogais and the Crimean Khan—that is, to make the conflict international. But that attempt failed. Mameshbirde said that 'he captured the Nogai Tsar, but the Tsar was of no use, and so he killed the Tsar and all the Nogais and

fought against the people of Arsk, and went to the Hill Land to set them against the king and the grand prince' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 269–270; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, pp. 571–572]. According to A. Kurbsky, before ordering that 'Prince Akhpolbey' should be decapitated and his head put on a stake, Mameshbirde said: 'We made you our king and invited your court so that you could protect us; but you and your people have rather eaten bulls and cows than served us. Let your head rule from a high stake then!' [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, pp. 280–281]. Behind this execution, there must have been a plot and different leaders of the rebellious Meadow Land confronting each other. To cite A. Kurbsky: 'They elected atamans from among themselves and fought fiercely for about two years commanded by them, then they made peace many times just to fight again' [Ibid.]. It seems likely that at that stage the rebellion not only became localised but also developed into a group of outlaws feeding on war.

The government attempted to localise the rebellion area and impede interference from the Nogai Horde and Crimean Khanate. It was apparently for this purpose that the Streltsy and Cossack detachment, headed by I. Cheremisinov and M. Kolupayev, were apparently sent to the lower reaches of the Volga River in March 1556. At the same time, 500 Cossacks, commanded by ataman L. Filimonov, undertook a Volga raid 'for Ismail and the Astrakhan affairs.'

Trans-Kazan, or the Arsk Side, remained the centre of the rebellion. But the region was exhausted. The rebel leaders had been trying to expand the area of active resistance to the Hill Land ever since the rebellion broke out. In 1556 about two thousand of rebels, commanded by Mameshbirde, initiated intense military actions against the people of the Hills Side, which were loyal to the Russian Tsar. The 'men of the hills, Altysh sotnik, and his companions' resorted to military cunning. They invited Mameshbirde on the pretext of negotiating on the form of joint actions to be taken against the governmental troops but during a feast killed his detachment, 'captured him, and brought

him to the Tsar' (i.e., arrested and delivered to the Tsar's voivodes.—*I.E., I. I.*). 'The tsar rewarded the men of the hills with generous gifts and relieved them of many duties' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 269–270; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, pp. 571–572].

After Mameshbirde was taken prisoner, the Tsar's troops began to achieve significant successes. In April Kazan voivode P. Shuysky reported successful actions by tsarist detachments. After a month, in May, a campaign against Arsk was undertaken. The decisive battle took place on the Mesha River, in which the Tsar's troops faced the main forces of the rebels headed by 'Devlyak Mirza' (Kulai Murza's brother). The rebels had bad luck: 'Devlyuk and all his companions were wounded; he and many of his companions were taken prisoner.' Voivode P. Morozov undertook punitive measures against the rebels during 10 days following the victory: 'He waged war against all settlements near Arsk and killed many a man, and took countless prisoners' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 269; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, pp. 571–572].

Similar actions took place repeatedly during the followings months. In June the same voivode P. Morozov along with F. Saltykov headed detachments composed in particular of 'sons of boyars from Kazan and Svuyazhsk, both new and old, officials appointed for a year, Tatars, newly baptised Christians, Cossacks, and Streltsy warriors.' The united tsarist troops undertook a devastating campaign 'behind Arsk, behind Oshit, behind Urzhum, and towards the Vyatka River.' A small distance away from the Vyatka River, they 'fought countless times and took prisoners, women and children, and killed all the men' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 270; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 572; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 247].

That was the pinnacle of the tsarist army's action. The Kazan voivode sent what forces had remained in Kazan to different directions, and they 'fought in many places, and won, and subjugated the Arsk and Bank Sides.' After the

main centres of the rebellion were crushed, and nearly all activists killed (the fact that 'all men were killed' is often mentioned), 'the rest went to Kazan and made obeisance regarding their guilt (as a sign of subordination—*I. E., I. I.*)' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 270; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 572; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 247].

Though the rebellion was not over yet, the culminating point was already in the past. As the representatives of the service class estranged themselves from the rebellion, it subsided. Eruptions occurred from time to time, sometimes even spreading far beyond the krai. In the spring of 1557 disturbing news regarding sporadic riots was still being received from the Kazan Krai. Information is available on messages from Kazan, Sviyazhsk, and Cheboksary concerning a new outbreak of the rebellion in the Meadow Side: 'people of the meadows came to the land of Arsk and to many towns in the Hill Land.' However, the forces were uneven by that time. It seems that the Tsar's army easily 'inflicted a crushing defeat' on them and undertook campaigns 'against the Meadow Side to fight... and returned intact throughout the winter and the spring,' which they were reported to do 'each day.' The Tsar's army took prisoner one of the remaining leaders of the rebellion Ahmetek Bogatyr (Ihmetek elsewhere.—*I. E., I. I.*). [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 282; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 255].

By May 1557 reports on the rebellion had ceased completely. All the regions engaged in the rebellion during the previous years admitted their fault. Moreover, 'black' rebels requested that 'the Tsar should order that yasak should be collected as it was by the previous Tsars'—that is, as specified by Ivan IV in October 1552 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 282; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 255–256]. The Tsar agreed; as we have already mentioned, he rewarded the people of the hills for their co-operation with the local administration and the

Tsar's troops by relieving them of their duties—that is, granting yasak deductions.

Delegations representing the Kazan elite began to come. Several Tatar princes (Kazimir, Kaka, Yantimir, etc.) even came to see the Tsar, who bestowed a grant on them: 'He gave them wine and a grant-charter according to which they were to serve to the tsar in future' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 282; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 256].

However, a vast majority of service class Tatars was killed during the struggle of 1552–1557, and some part, apparently high aristocracy, emigrated to the Crimea. At any rate, apart from numerous references to complete 'beating' ('killing'), sources mention the following: 'The best men of Kazan, their princes and murzas, and Cossacks who were skillful and good at everything are all gone' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 282; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 256]. Studying the events of the rebellion in detail, N. Karamzin emphasised the cruelty with which the Tsar's voivodes punished the rebels, especially their leaders—'men of name.' Representative is the case of Princes I. Msislavsky and M. Glinsky, who 'captured 1,600 men of name, princes, murzas, Tatar officials, and put them all to death' in 1554 [Karamzin, book 2, vol. 8, column 134]. Karamzin summarised the war as follows: 'their (rebel *I. E., I. I.*) leaders all died' [Ibid., column 135].

As the rebellion subsided, the local authorities could take measures to reinforce the machinery of government. First of all, a reliable military support had to be created for the krai to prevent any events similar to the rebellion of the 1550s. As soon as the rebellion died away, Kazan voivode P. Shuysky in April 1557 had a 'town built on the Kama River in Laishevo' and formed a garrison of Streltsy warriors and newly baptised Christians.

While the war was still underway, in 1555 the fortress of Cheboksar was erected. It was of strategic importance as the second fortified locality after Sviyazhsk on the way from Nizhny Novgorod to Kazan. The decision to build

the fortress was taken during the Kazan Rebellion (or probably earlier, during the return campaign from Kazan of Ivan IV in autumn 1552). At any rate, the Tsar's order specifying the route and actions to be taken by Archbishop Gury in May 1555 read as follows: go 'to the new town of Cheboksar, for with God's help a town will rise around Cheboksar,' make a 'day camp' (i.e., stay for a day—*I. E., I. I.*), and seek voivodes' advice as to 'where the holy Cathedral Church of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin should be to establish a church of cloth there, and mark where the town [fortress] should be [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 258].

The fortress of Kazan was also reinforced. The fact that the troops of Ivan IV succeeded in assaulting the fortress suggests it was not invulnerable to the weapons of the mid-16th century. The new Kremlin was founded as soon as Kazan was conquered. However, the progress was apparently very slow due to a lack of architects, workforce, and materials. That is why attempts were made at accelerating the building of the stone fortress during the following years, in the thick of the struggle against the rebellious Meadow Land.

On 15 December 1555 an order was sent to clerks of Novgorod F. Yeremeyev and K. Dubrovsky to inform them that the Tsar 'has ordered the clerk of Pskov Shershen Bilibin and heads of Pskov Bogdan Kovyrin and Semyon Mizinov as well as the church and urban architect Posnik Yakovlev, and masons from Pskov Ivashko Shiray, and his company to make a new town of stone in Kazan by spring.' For that purpose, he ordered to prepare a cost estimate to cover the price of iron and employees as well as 'to employ two hundred masons, wall makers, and breakers from Pskov, as many as required' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 1, p. 136]. It took them several years to build the fortress walls of the Kazan Kremlin. They had not been finished by the time the piscovaja kniga of the mid-1560s began: some part of the walls was already made of stone, but the rest was of oakwood. As the new walls were built, the territory of the Kremlin expanded.

Even though the first years, after Kazan Krai became part of Russia, were marked by

a military struggle by some part of service class Tatars of the former khanate, the local government took measures to ensure a normal economy for the devastated krai. Information on some of the steps they took is available. For instance, the voivode of Kazan, who founded the city of Laishev, 'ordered that newly baptised Christians should till the soil there'; he did the same near Kazan by allotting the land of the Kazan Khan and the high aristocracy among the Russian Tsar, the Archbishop of Kazan, the local government of Kazan (and the voivodes), the archimandrite, and the noblemen: 'He ordered that all Russian and newly baptised men should till the soil near the town of Kazan and in empty villages' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 283; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 256].

That was the time when the first measures were taken to organise the economy. P. Shuysky allocated villages, formerly owned by khans of Kazan and prominent feudal lords (princes), among the Tsar (palace), local governments and voivodes, the church, and landowners: 'so the Russian people, and the newly baptised Christians, and the Chuvash people began to till the soil for the Tsar and everyone' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 283; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 583; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 256].

The end of the armed struggle in Kazan Krai in the spring of 1557 enabled the government to pay more attention to the ongoing struggle in the Lower Volga Region. In the unstable political situation of the 1550s the Tsar's government wanted to prevent any disaffection among Nogai feudal lords, which could trigger a rebellion that would be hard to suppress in the remote marginal areas of Russia. In the meanwhile, numerous detachments of 'free' Don Cossacks were active along the Volga River. In May a governmental Cossack detachment headed by ataman L. Filimonov was sent to the lower reaches of the Volga River to 'prevent the Cossacks from robbing and raiding Nogai uluses.' However, Filimonov was killed, and Filimonov's Cossacks joined the 'free' ones

along the Volga River. The 'robbery' continued. The 'tsar's treasury' meant for Asktrakhan was robbed, and the Streltsy detachment of Ye. Rzhevsky guarding it was crushed. Then the Tsar sent A. Ershov, B. Gubin, and Kazan Streltsy Head D. Khokhlov from Kazan 'with sons of boyars, and Streltsy warriors, and Cossacks, and ordered them to force the robbers off the banks of the Volga and kill those they would catch' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 283; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 582; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 256]. In this way, measures to protect the new marginal territory of Russia from the actions of Don and Volga Cossack detachments were implemented straightaway. At the same time, the purpose for which the detachments of Yershov, Gubin, and Khokhlov were sent there from Kazan suggests that it was an emergency that motivated the measure, and not that military detachments were unnecessary in Kazan, though it must be admitted that the detachments could not have been sent from Kazan if the rebellion in Kazan Krai had not ended.

Thus, the annexation of the Middle Volga Region (more specifically, the central regions of the former Kazan Khanate) by Russia cannot be viewed as a fact limited to the year of 1552—that is, to Ivan the Terrible's Kazan campaign. However beneficial it was for Moscow, it was just the beginning. The tsarist government was to survive four and a half years of the most hard-fought struggle against the majority of the population of the Kazan Krai led by local feudal lords. It was in the context of this struggle that the structure and forms of local government developed in the Middle Volga Region.

For instance, in the spring of 1554 the government took measures to further shape the system of administrative bodies in Kazan Krai. Taking into account how complicated the political situation was, and how peculiar the marginal krai with predominantly non-Russian population could be, the government opted for an extraordinary and not yet ubiquitous system of voivode administration, in which 'major' and 'minor' voivodes were appointed within town (siege) and field (expedition), voivode

groups without any organisational hierarchy of voivodes of different towns; Mestnichestvo was generally abolished, not only during military actions but also in peacetime. A resolution on the issues was taken in April 1554. [Razrjadnaja kniga 1476–1589, p. 145]. The resolution did not provide an exhaustive description of the principles of the local government structure but was crucial to the formation of it.

The establishment of the Eparchy of Kazan, headed by the archbishop, who was to become the superior church representative in the krai, responsible for the ideological 'education' of the population in consistence with the principles of the tsarist government, took place in 1555 as a major administrative measure.

The defeat of the military resistance to the Russian government suggested that to have a common centre was crucial to success, regardless of the heroism and self-sacrifice of rebels. As the driving forces of the rebellion—that is, the service class Tatars—were gradually exterminated and those surviving lured to side of Moscow, the rebellion was suppressed in Trans-Kazan and in the Cis-Kama Regions. The rebellion lasted the longest in the marginal Meadow Land, still observing the Kazan ad-

ministrative custom, where the population had preserved the tradition of a militia army—that is, the people largely belonged to the military class. The tsarist government's attempts to unify them and reduce them to the tribute-paying class provoked public dissatisfaction and ongoing military resistance. The flexible policy of the tsarist government using a system of military oppression, which largely relied on enticing service class Tatars to take its side, was the reason why the rebellion failed. The government promised to loyal service people of the Arsk and Meadow Lands to partly or completely relieve their tax burden for a specific period.

The international situation did not favour the rebellion either. The Nogai Horde took a wait-and-see approach and would not support the rebels. The Crimean Khanate tried to establish an anti-Moscow coalition but found itself engaged in a struggle over the Lower Volga Region after Russian voivodes occupied Astrakhan. The population of Kazan was thus left face to face with the full machinery of the Muscovite state, which in fact predetermined its downfall and gradual integration into the new empire's internal system.

§3. The Cheremis Wars of the 1570–1590s

Alexander Bakhtin

The anti-Moscow military struggle of the population of the Middle Volga Region on the latter half of the 16th century is often referred to as the Cheremis Wars since it was the Cheremis people, which term refers principally to the Mari, who were the most actively engaged in it. The term 'Cheremis War' was first recorded in the 1555/1556 search record of the local governor of Vyatka Semyon Sukin. Dema and Patrikey Chelishchevs told the voivode of Vyatka Semen Sukin that their family had acquired a house to the south of Kotelnich in 1511, and since then they did not catch fish there and did not pay tributes (quotation by [Kashtanov, 1970a, p. 184]). The term was later extensively used in literature [Kashtanov, 1970b, pp. 479–480; Anpilogov, 1977, pp. 103,

191, 200, 208; Vereshchagin, 1906, p. 14; Kibardin, 1912, p. 32]

After the Kazan Khanate was annexed and the rebellion of 1552–1557 suppressed, the tsarist administration preferred not to interfere with the life of the Meadow Mari for a while. No towns were built there, so representatives of the administration would only come to visit the region. Numerous armed incidents are indicative of the poor tsarist power in the Meadow Land. A significant rebellion, in which the Tatars were also engaged, took place in the Meadow Land in 1560. Moscow was apprehensive lest the 'people of Kazan' attack Kazan. A campaign of three regiments was undertaken to suppress the rebellion with the garrisons of Kazan and Cheboksary [Razrjadnaja kniga

1475–1605, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 86–87]. The *piscovaja kniga* for the city of Kazan, covering the period from 1565 to 1568, reports frequent 'stirrings' (disorders) and regular cases of Meadow and Kokshaysk Cheremises attacking service class Tatars and Chuvashes, who had to take shelter in Kazan. In this case, the administration allocated to them meadows near the city [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, pp. 48, 52]. Mari detachments continued to also raid Russian territories. The Galich Chronicler reports that 'Cheremises came dismounted' in 1568. Voivode V. Chyuredov fell when repelling the raid [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 603]. German oprichnik Heinrich Staden wrote that vessels on the Volga often suffered robbery by 'Cheremises of the Meadow and Hill Sides' [Staden, 1925, p. 98].

The Cheremis Wars of the 1570–1590s had a complex cause. The peoples of the Volga Region wanted to win back their independence and restore the Kazan Khanate. However, this objective, which was crucial to the rebellion of 1552–1557 as the one determining its liberation nature, was gradually replaced by anti-feudal motives during further disturbances.

Taking into account the complicated political situation in the krai, the government tried to be circumspect and flexible. For instance, any Christianisation done was delicate and free of explicit violence, largely relying on persuasion and economical motivation through tax deductions and grants. The orders to Archbishop Gury, issued in 1555, instructed that 'the archbishop should resort to any means possible to have the Tatars accustomed to him, rely on love to lead them to baptism, and to avoid *using fear to lead them to baptism*' (italics added.—A. B.) [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition vol. 1, p. 261]. Occasional forced Christianisation might be practiced with captives in order to suppress rebellions. At the same time, the potential threat to Paganism and Islam still existed; mosques were demolished, and churches were built in their place, Orthodox Christian missionaries began their work.

The Russian fiscal system was much better established than that of the Kazan Khanate. Russia had a central office with numerous officials responsible for tax collection and was

able to use Tatar tax books to regularly take household inventories. Thus, the tax amount collected could increase, even without raising the yasak rate, due to the improved fiscal system and better organised tax collection. Yet, tax enforcement could not have been the principal cause of the rebellion. Following the suppression of the 1552–1557 rebellion, tax benefits were granted to all yasak-paying peasants of the Volga Region in order to promote economic growth. This fact is recorded in the order issued in the autumn of 1565 to Russian ambassador V. Zhelninsky, who was to go to Poland, instructing him to answer questions concerning the affairs of Kazan as follows: 'yasak-paying people had temporary benefits; now the benefit period is over' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 71, part 3, p. 323]. The fact that the population of the Middle Volga Region enjoyed tax exemptions was widely known. In April 1571 Ulan Yan Magmet said to Crimean Khan Devlet Giray: 'The people of Kazan enjoy freedom and generous grants from the tsar of Moscow, and nobody imposes taxes on them' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 14, p. 31]. Certain groups of non-Russian peasants in the Volga Region enjoyed tax benefits until 1570–1575 [Spisok 1565–1567, pp. 67, 69; Kappeler, 1982, p. 102]. It was a common practice to relieve newly baptised Orthodox Christians from taxes for a period of three years [Dokumenty' Udmurtii, 1958, pp. 353–354]. The yasak rate was unchanged as compared to the beginning of the century, even in the mid-1570s. A 1574 grant charter to Chuvash and Mari peasants instructs the administration to collect taxes 'as it was done in the past' [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, p. 48].

However, duties were increased significantly. This affected the Hill Land most of all. Urban construction was intense in the krai, in which the local population was engaged. The need for efficient communications and security as well as economic needs required roads and bridges to be maintained in proper condition. Traffic had grown significantly, making postal delivery and transport duties much more burdensome than before. The duty to build and protect the Zasechnaya Cherta (Great Abatis

Line), built between Tetyushi and Alatyr in the late 1560s, was new to the population of the Volga Region [Dimitriev, 1988, p. 37; Alishev, 1990, p. 183].

Remaining a semi-service class, peasants of the Volga Region had to carry the burden of Russia's many wars. The Tsar's order instructed that 'one person per three households in summer and one person per two households in winter shall be sent for long distance service, and a person per household shall be sent for a short distance service against the Nogais and against...' [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, p. 48]. Up to 20–30 thousand warriors from among the non-Russian population participated in the Livonian Campaigns [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 349, 364; 14, p. 309; 20, part 2, p. 593; vol. 21, p. 133; vol. 29, pp. 304–305; vol. 31, pp. 133–134; Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 71, part 3, pp. 154, 323; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 18, 39, 42–43, 109, 113; part 3, pp. 464, 466, 474, 479–480; vol. 3, part 1, pp. 62, 75–76, 83; part 2, p. 159; Klyuchevsky, 1991, pp. 68–69]. The population of the Middle Volga River felt the prolonged unsuccessful war, which distracted men from their families and households, as a great burden.

Another cause of the rebellions was brought about by the actions taken by the administration and service class people against the population of the Volga Region. Local officials subverted the flexible down-to-earth governmental policy. Many of them valued personal enrichment higher than national interests and viewed the Middle Volga Region not as a new part of Russia but rather as a conquered land that was hostile to them. The fact that this was the first region densely inhabited by non-Russians to be annexed by Russia contributed to this tendency. The population generally had no knowledge of the Russian language and a very poor idea of the Russian practices and was largely unaware of Russian laws. Service class people endeavoured to rob local peasants.

The Volga Region saw abuse of power, extortion, and bribery, more blatant than ever before. Bribery was common in the courts and institutions ('posuls and pominki'); yasak collectors imposed additional duties in their favour and in favour of high officials. Writing about officials, H. Staden mentioned that 'in the prikazes, or kingdoms, of Kazan and Astrakhan they had their purses nice and heavy, and also in the nearby uluses inhabited by Meadow and Mountain Cheremises' [Staden, 1925, p. 82]. English traveler D. Fletcher, who visited Russia in 1588, wrote that 'the Tsar wants to make sure that the locals have neither weapons nor money, for which purpose he imposes tributes on them and robs them to his content, without giving them an opportunity to relieve the burden' [Fletcher, 1905, p. 73]. Speaking of the Nogai and Cheremis people, Dutch merchant I. Massa also noted that 'the Muscovites sometimes oppressed them cruelly.' However, several lines down he wrote, 'the Muscovites granted them many privileges, which they appreciated greatly, and their wealth increased' [Massa, 1937, p. 29]. This is how the Dutch merchant summarised the Russian governmental policy in general as well as the actions of local administrations. Sometimes fraudulent actions were undisguised. For instance, the Udmurt people 'would pay tribute to any Russian who came to them wearing boots.' Thus they had to pay taxes 'four and more times a year' [Spitsyn, 1888, p. 52; Legendy i predaniya, 1941, p. 91]. Chuvash and Tatar legends contain stories about yasak collection, during which the only animals of peasants would be taken away from them, while they had to 'suffer corporal punishments, beatings with rods, and dousings with ice water' [Nasyri, 1977, pp. 42–43; Dimitriev, 1986, pp. 36–37]. Tatar service class princes and murzas did not want to fall behind the Russian officials in robbing tribute payers. They would seize their lands and secretly collect extra taxes. For instance, Prince Bashkanda Narushev imposed illicit 'dorigilnye (silk) duties' and 'kunyash wedding duties' on the Mari volost of Nali Kukmor [Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, p. 15; Muhamedyarov, 1958, p. 22; Tikhomirov, 1962, pp. 488, 496].

¹ The word cannot be read here due to the document's dilapidation. But according to the context, it could be 'Crimeans.'

Decrees to voivodes from the 17th century, issued by the Tsar, are indicative of the large scale of such tyranny. These are charters to voivodes of Kazan dated back to 1613, 1649, 1677, 1686, and 1697, one to that of Cheboksary dated back to 1613, one to that of Sviyazhsk dated back to 1624, one to that of Tsaryovokokshaisk dated 1628, and one to that of Kokshaysk dated back to 1645. A 1701 mandative charter to a voivode of Kurmysh can also be mentioned [Dimitriev, 1982, pp. 12–19]. The fact that nearly all the orders repeat a very emphatically worded instruction to prevent any abuse of the non-Russian population is indicative of such an abuse being very common. The charter contained the following lines: 'avoid any cruelty to Tatar, Chuvash, and Cheremis people for lucrative purposes, make sure officers do not practice any sales, damages, violence to, or impose taxes on Tatar, Chuvash, and Cheremis people, when in the town and uyezd of Sviyazhsk on any national business, make sure that they do not take any food or horse fodder for free but buy it for the price specified by the interpreters on behalf of the Tatar, Chuvash, or Cheremis people, and that they do not cause any wrongful sales and damages.' Close supervision of sons of boyars and service men was recommended in order to prevent them from 'practicing any violence against Tatar, Chuvash, and Cheremis people when collecting taxes. 'The voivode was strictly instructed 'not to practice any violence or sales to Tatar, Chuvash, and Cheremis people... and not to take any bribes on any pretext. And to order your Russian people, and Tatars, and Cheremis to abstain from any such actions... Make sure people suffer no wrongful burdens, taxes, and violence in any aspect' [Ibid., pp. 8–9].

Prohibitions in other mandate charters complete the picture of the wide-spread abuse. The 1645 charter to Kokshaysk voivode A. Surovtsev is characteristic. Apart from the prohibition to demand any 'pominki and posuls,' it contains a demand to make sure that 'officials, or interpreters, or any other people, should not bring any wrongful actions against the Cheremis. ' That is, false accusations of locals aimed at appropriating their property were prohibited.

The same charter suggests that service people sometimes would catch Maris and take them to other cities to sell them as slaves. To complete the picture, the Maris did not scruple to catch Russian people to sell them or keep in their settlements. For instance, the voivode was instructed to make sure that 'the Cheremis people of Kokshay do not kill Russian people or bring them from towns to sell or force Russian people to stay in Cheremis settlements. ' 'Tatars and Chuvashes, Votyak and Bashkir people, and Cheremis, and Mordovians' in debt as well as 'their wives and children' and their yasak land were not subject to mortgaging, servitude, etc. Precedents must have happened. The charter required that 'no taxes should be collected from yasak-paying people in Kokshaysk uyezd in excess of the Tsar's tributes and without the Tsar's order.' Wanting to stop 'violence' to the non-Russian population, the Tsar 'ordered that town heads and tselovalniks [tax collectors] should be kind and prudent as they swore when they kissed the Cross, and not robbers, talebearers, or drunkards' [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 112–119].

Ivan IV was displeased to know about the abuse: 'Tsar has found out that many towns and volosts have done wrongful acts, and the governors of many towns and volosts, having no fear of God and neglecting the Tsar's instructions, have been abusers and robbers of the population but not shepherds and teachers' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 1, p. 202]. Ivan the Terrible made multiple attempts at putting an end to the tyranny. Doubting official's honesty, the Tsar granted the population of the Volga River the right to 'make obeisance to us without turning to boyars and voivodes. I, Tsar and Grand Prince, have listened to their solicitations and order them to protect themselves from any wrongful boyars and voivodes' [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 48–49]. However, he failed to achieve any significant success. The tyranny of representatives of the Russian administration was one of the main reasons behind the rebellious movements. It was especially blatant in the Hill Land [Tikhomirov, 1962, p. 436].

Ivan the Terrible's policy of oprichnina contributed to the rebellion to some extent.

According to A. Schlichting, the Tsar ordered that hundreds of service class Tatars, whom he suspected of treason, should be drowned [Schlichting, 1934, p. 74]. Disgraced Russian noblemen, taking shelter in the Middle Volga Region, oppressed the land-owning opportunities of the local population [Dokumenty' Kazanskogo kraya, 1990, p. 38].

Robber raids, fires, crop failures, epidemics, and epizootic outbreaks made the difficult situation, in which people found themselves in the Middle Volga Region, even worse [Dimitriev, 1986, pp. 12–14]. In 1566–1567 'hordes of small mice from the woods infested the land of Kazan, Sviyazhsk, and Cheboksary; they ate up the crops without leaving a single spike; they did not limit themselves to field crops but also ate crops in granaries and corn bins; they were so numerous that no crops remained for humans—they brushed them away with brooms and killed them, but no matter how many they killed, they could not make them go' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 405; 29, p. 353]. The piscovaja kniga for Sviyazhsk uyezd often mentions Mordovian, Tatar, and Chuvash dead settlements [Spisok 1565–1567, p. 71; Spisok, 1877, pp. 62–64, etc.] after military actions or natural disasters.

The Nogai Horde, the Crimean Khanate, and Turkey backing it now participated in the preparation of the rebellions in the Volga Region much more intensely than before. Along the eastern border Siberian Khan Kuchum was getting ready for war and encouraging the Cis-Ural natives to rise up [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 20]. The countries opted for a more active policy in the Volga River under the influence of Kazan and Astrakhan emigrants and regular petitions from the opposition and the populations of their conquered khanates. Kazan princes Spat, Yamgurchey Azi, Ulan Al-Mahmet (Ah-mamet), and others were in the Crimea. Murza Yarlygash (Ahlygash) had fled there from Astrakhan. Emigrants were very influential in the khan's court. Al-Mahmet became prince Adyl Giray's atalyk [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, pp. 191, 193–193 reverse]. They stayed in contact with their like-minded fellows who stayed in their motherland and schemed to restore the independence of

khanates, encouraging the khan and the sultan to interfere in the affairs of the Volga Region as they realised that they would be unable to force the Russians out on their own. They referred to the fact that Kazan and Astrakhan were former Muslim towns, which the Russians occupied to demolish mosques and build churches, persecute faithful Muslims and eradicate Islam [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 89, book 2, p. 18]. In return for assistance in the liberation of their land, they agreed to recognise their Turkish-Crimean subordination and enthrone Crimean princes in Kazan and Astrakhan [Shcherbatov, 1789, part 2, p. 124; Karamzin, 1989, book 3, vol. 9, pp. 24, 65]. Emigrants mentioned the Russian Tsar's intention to conquer the Crimea to scare the khan: 'You know yourself that he is the most powerful and the luckiest of grand princes of Moscow. Being your enemy, he had conquered many a kingdom. He conquered Kazan, and Astrakhan, and the German lands. The king wanted to protect the Germans, and he conquered the king's best town of Polotesk. He has defeated the Circassians; and the Nogais have served him and fought battles on his side. Now he wants to strike eternal peace with you so he writes to ask you to fight with him against his enemy, the king. If you make peace with him and help him against the king, he will defeat the king. If he does, will he give you such gifts in future? He will have nobody to wage war at but you... When he defeats the king, he will destroy our yurt, too. He sent fur coats to the people of Kazan, but you should not be happy to receive such coats for he conquered Kazan after that.' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, p. 231 reverse–232 reverse; book 13, p. 42 reverse–43].

Russia's success in the east bothered the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. They considered the opportunity of restoring Tatar khanates in the Volga Region as their Turkish-Crimean vassals and tried to raise a new rebellion in the Volga Region at any cost [Jorga, 1910, p. 113; Kusheva, 1950, pp. 243–245; Kusheva, 1963, pp. 191–192, 207–211; Burdey, 1956, pp. 201–205]. The long-fought Livonian War, unsuccessful for Russia, suggested a possibility of being able to force

the Russians out of the Volga Region. They worked on gathering all anti-Russian powers in the south-east of Europe. Devlet Giray intended to enthrone Adyl Giray's son in Kazan, referring to Sultan Suleyman's order [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, pp. 186 reverse–187 reverse]. 'I will have Kazan given to me and take the throne of Kazan, and the people of Kazan will not have enough power to resist us. I will appoint centurions and decurions to establish myself in the town,' the Prince shared his plans [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 14, p. 13 reverse].

Devlet Giray feared that Turkish influence on the Volga Region would increase and continued his political game. His assistance to the population of the Volga Region in their struggle for liberation was somewhat erratic. The Khan offered Tsar Ivan to choose between ceding Kazan and Astrakhan to him or sending him the same tribute as Khan Magmed Giray had once received (1515–1521) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, p. 365; Shcherbatov, 1789, vol. 5, part 4, pp. 52–55]. Prince Sulesh told the Khan that Tsar Ivan 'will never cede Kazan to you; he will not give you a single tree of Kazan. If you want to be on good terms with the Tsar and Grand Prince, offer him something to help you to be on good terms.' Talking to Russian ambassador in the Crimea A. Nagoy, he mentioned that 'the reason why the Tsar involves Kazan is that he wants the Tsar and grand prince to give him Magmet Kiray's treasures... the Tsar and we do know that your Tsar will not cede Kazan to him' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, pp. 180 reverse–182 reverse]. Murza Mustafa told the ambassadors: 'We know that your Tsar will not cede Kazan; karachis, ulans, princes, and mirzas have tried to talk the Tsar out of sending the offer to cede Kazan to your Tsar' [Ibid., pp. 185 reverse–186]. However, the khan was reluctant to take back his loud-spoken declaration.

Any attempts to exert pressure on Moscow were met with a resounding rebuff. Afanasy Nagoy's reply to the demand was as follows: 'This is a fruitless word said to no avail. We initially owned the tsardoms of Kazan and Astra-

khan. Our Tsar protected them against any of his enemies, and God entrusted the land to our Tsar. Oprichnina was practiced in those tsardoms. Since the time of Tsar Azy Giray¹, we have not heard the tsardoms to belong to the Crimea, ...' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 10, p. 97]. Ivan the Terrible wrote: 'We, Great Tsars, will not speak nonsense and listen to it,... one does not conquer towns and land while eating and drinking...' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 11, p. 352; Solovyov, 1989, book 3, vols. 5–6, pp. 581–582].

The Polish-Lithuanian king tried to outbid the Crimean ruler's amity. Crimean Prince Sulesh complained about poor gifts from Moscow and explained to the Russian ambassador: 'Why should our Tsar make peace with your ruler and lose the Royal Treasury. The Tatar loves the one who gives the most; the one who gives the most is his friend' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 10, p. 120 reverse, 130–131, 161 reverse].

In 1565 Koshtevley Ulan, sent by Meadow Cheremises Laish and Lamberdey, arrived in Bakhchysaray to solicit the khan to undertake a campaign against Kazan. He assured the readiness of the khan of the Cheremises to raise a rebellion as soon as the Crimean troops approached the town [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 12, pp. 71–71 reverse].

In the autumn of 1566 the head of Meadow sotniks Adai Shamarshinsky and son of famous Mari leader Mameshbirde Kachak sent Adai's brother Togildey to the Crimea. He carried a charter 'on behalf of all the Meadow Cheremises' in his clothing. Togildey reached the Nogai Horde to start for the Crimea, accompanied by the Nogai ambassadors, Koshtevley Ulan and Ahkobe Ulan. However, the Mari messenger was not to see the khan; some Kasyevs attacked them as they were crossing the Volga, and Togildey drowned along with the charter. However, Koshtevley and Ahkobe had had an opportunity to read it. They were the ones to inform the Khan of the request of the Meadow Cheremises to send them a prince 'with men of

¹ Haci Giray.

war' and to persuade the khan that they would betray the Tsar of Moscow as soon as the prince entered the Volga Region, kill all Russian officials in villages, and assault the fortress of Kazan. It was an obvious exaggeration to tell the khan that 'they have a total of 60,000 Meadow Cheremises' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 12, pp. 28–28 reverse; Solovyov, 1989, book 3, vols. 5–6, pp. 530, 579, 581–582].

In his message to the Crimean Khan as of 9 February 1568 the sultan mentioned not only obstacles to Khwarezm pilgrims but also his aspiration to liberate the Tatar khanates as the reasons why the campaign against Astrakhan should be undertaken. 'The Kazan and Ejderkhan Region has been controlled by the Nogais since ancient times. I, the sultan wrote, have detailed information on the reason why the region came into the hands of the abominable infidels, on Tatar Mirzas who stayed in the conquered land and beyond it, and on when and why the land was lost. As the conquest of the region is an undertaking of utter importance, my imperial thought is now also convinced of the need to conquer it with the help of God Almighty. [Mustakimov, 2008, pp. 143–144].

In December 1568 a report was received in Moscow that baptised Tatar from Kazan Ivancha, formerly Mustafa, and Cheremises from the Mountain Land Alish and another, whose name has not been found out, had come to Bakhchysaray. They said that they had left Kazan within a group of 10 Tatars and Cheremises, or 7 according to other sources. They were to bring the khan charters by conspirators willing to raise a rebellion. However, they were robbed on their way; the Nogai Russian officials headed by El Murza and the charters in their robes were gone. After that, the three of them went on, and the rest returned. The messengers asked the khan to take them under his protection and to undertake a campaign against Sviyazhsk. They claimed that 'as soon as they see the Tsar's helmet, the people of Kazan will all turn their backs on the Tsar and grand prince, and you will have them all.' According to the messengers, up to 70,000 people were ready to join the rebellion. The rebels undertook to block all communications and prevent any

troops or supplies coming from Moscow into Kazan. They assured the khan that 'the town of Sviyazhsk lacks strength; only three thousand Russian warriors are now in Kazan, and those in Sviyazhsk are even fewer.' The messengers guaranteed that the joint forces could easily conquer the towns. As soon as Sviyazhsk and Kazan fell, the khan would have access to Astrakhan, where another small Russian garrison was deployed. Having sent them away, the khan instructed a man of his to bring his message to the conspirators in the Volga Region and to keep him informed on their preparations for the rebellion [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 13, pp. 154–156; 171–172 reverse; Shcherbatov, 1789, vol. 5, part 2, pp. 188–189, 193–194].

Russian intelligence found out the contents of the khan's letter to the elite of the Volga Region, namely Mari sotnik head Adai Shamarshinsky, Alei Ugrevaty, Epancha with brothers, Semyon Khozyashev, Chapkun Abyz, Devlet Kildey Krivoy, and some prince of Arsk. 'In his yarliqs the Tsar wrote to the people of Kazan that he would send his Turkish and Crimean troops to Astrakhan. As they reach Astrakhan... [you must betray] the ruler of Moscow...' the khan wrote [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 13, pp. 242–242 reverse; Bakhtin, 2003, pp. 120–129]. Many representatives of the Tatar service class aristocracy were among the conspirators along with the head of the Mari.

The Turkish-Crimean Astrakhan campaign of 1569 failed, to which the khan did contribute, but Devlet Giray invaded Russia on a large scale in 1571. The Khan declared to the Russian ambassadors that he had undertaken the campaign in order to get Kazan and Astrakhan [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 14, p. 27 reverse–28]. On 24 May Devlet Giray reached Moscow, set the trading quarters on fire, and plundered the suburbs; many peasants and city dwellers died. Leaving the burnt Moscow, the khan wrote to Ivan the Terrible: 'Kazan remains the yurt of our fathers, and Astrakhan is my yurt. Whatever Tsars ruled it were of my clan, and whoever ruled it, we were allies—we provided them with all kinds of supplies. My military cam-

paign against your land has been glorious and felicitous. I have burnt and plundered for the sake of Kazan and Astrakahn... as long as you want to be our friend, you will give us our yurt of Astrakhan and Kazan. If you want to give us all the world's money and gifts, we do not need that. What we want is Kazan and Astrakhan, and money and gifts are ashes. If you do not give what I want, we shall exchange ambassadors. My ambassador is an arrow that I shoot.' The khan wrote threateningly that he now knew roads that led to Moscow and would come with his troops unless the Tsar ceded Kazan and Astrakhan to him [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 13, pp. 407–408 reverse]. Crimean Ulan Yan Magment presented a very accurate account of Devlet Giray's position to the Russian ambassadors: 'The Tsar has decided on demanding Astorokhan and Kazan. Even if the grand prince cedes Kazan and Astorokhan, the Tsar will not be satisfied; the Muslim Tsar will wage war at him even if we cede Kazan and Astorokhan' [Ibid., book 14, p. 30 reverse].

Copies of Selim II's messages to Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible and Crimean Khan Devlet Giray dated 7 October 1571 have been found in the Archive of Istanbul. In his first message the sultan refers to the successful Crimean campaign to demand, in terms of an ultimatum, the Russians to cede Kazan and Astrakhan as originally Muslim-owned lands. He wrote that no relations of peace and amity would be possible between Russia and the Ottoman Empire unless Tsar Ivan met his demand [Usmanov, 1995, pp. 93–101]. In his letter to Devlet Giray the sultan orders that a new invasion of Russia should be undertaken to liberate the above towns. He specifies what localities to attack, with what forces, and what commanders should participate in the campaign [Ibid.] In the summer of 1572 Selim II wrote another letter to Moscow to demand once again that Kazan and Astrakhan should be ceded on the grounds of those being Muslim towns [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 89, book 2, pp. 225–227]. The Turkish sultan's messages leave no doubt that the Ottoman Empire organised and coordinated the anti-Russian undertakings.

In August 1571 messenger A. Shein on his way to Turkey, having been previously informed by a defecting Janissary, a runaway Russian captive and Crimean Tatar prisoners, reported that emissaries, namely Küçük Bezergen, a newly baptised Crimean Tatar who had fled to the Crimea, and Turkish chaush Mustafa, had been sent to Astrakhan and Kazan from Azov along with merchants from Bukhara. They were to get in touch with the Tatars of Astrakhan and find out what the fortress was like, how large the garrison was, and what weak spots it had. After that Mustafa was to stay in Astrakhan, while Bezergen would go further to the Nogai Horde and then to Kazan. 'He was to encourage princes, murzas, and Cossacks in Kazan and Astrakhan to take the Turkish Tsar's side,' A. Shein wrote, 'and promise them rewards from the Turkish Tsar; the Turkish Tsar had sent charters to Astrakhan and Kazan with him. Those princes, murzas, and Cossacks of Astrakhan and Kazan who wanted to serve the Turkish Tsar were ordered to be ready in Astrakhan and Kazan. They were to wait until the Turkish, Crimean, and Nogai people came. The Turkish Tsar intended to wage war against Astrakhan in the summer...' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 89, book 2, pp. 210, 212 reverse–213 reverse]. However, the war in Europe bogged down Turkey, and the invasion did not take place.

The Crimean success triggered a rebellion in the Volga Region. Even contemporaries saw a connection between the two facts. H. Staden believed the burning of Moscow by Devlet Giray to have triggered the rebellion [Staden, 1925, pp. 61, 115]. The rebellion apparently broke out in December 1571, during the mobilisation for the Livonian Front and the collectible of yasak. On 1 December the Tsar sent V. Tyufyakin and G. Meshchersky to Kazan, ordering them 'to gather Kazan princes, Tatars, Cheremises, and Mordovians in Kazan' and to bring them to Novgorod to attack the Swedes [Raztjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, p. 291]. 5 to 7 thousand soldiers in the Tsar's army, deployed in the Volga Region, proved insufficient not only to suppress the rebellion but even to resist it in any significant way. By

the summer of 1572 the rebellion was spreading uncontrollably in every direction—to the Lower Volga Region and the Cis-Urals. The rebels had won control over the larger part of the Middle Volga Region in the spring and winter, thus blocking the Russian garrisons. Astrakhan Tatars and Nogais also took up arms. Rebellious detachments began to raid Vyatka, Perm, Nizhny Novgorod, and Kostroma. A chronicler from Galich reported a Cheremis attack on small towns Suday and Pavluyvo in Chukhloma uyezd on 29 June [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 604]. A Mari legend mentions that the Maris commanded by 'Akmazik slaughtered all Russian commanders' [Scientific Manuscript Fund of the Mari Research Institute, inv. 1, No. 328, p. 75].

A large rebellious detachment was active along the Kama River. Its core consisted of 40 Cheremises; Tatars, Mansi, and Bashkir people had joined it. The Stroganov Chronicle notes that 'the Cheremises... persuaded many an Ostyak, Bashkir, and Buinets man to join them' [Sibirskie letopisi, 2008, p. 5]. The rebels severely damaged the property of the Stroganovs. They killed 87 men of trade and 'vatashchiks' (leaders of industrial groups) near the towns of Konkor and Kergedan [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 1, p. 175]. Describing the rebellion, H. Staden wrote: 'The people of both tsardoms rose¹ and marched towards the grand prince's land, setting on fire many unfortified towns and taking many Russian prisoners, not to mention those killed.' [Staden, 1925, p. 115]. The preserved fragments of Patrol Books of Nizhny Novgorod claimed the villages of Kupalishche and Ustinyino of Beryozopolye Stan as well as the small village of Novinki and the Dudin Monastery, with all its land, to have been 'burnt by the Cheremises at war' and plundered [Anpilogov, 1997, pp. 103, 191, 200, 208]. According to the 1590–1591 Piscovaja kniga, Zauzolskaya and Vezloma volosts included 200 settlements and 112 barrens deserted by the epidemic of 1571 and Cheremis attacks [Piscovy materialy, 1997, pp. 4–5, 78]. The rebels devastated the land and killed peasants of the Saviour Monastery of St. Euthymius

in Suzdal on the Sura and Volga Rivers [Historical Acts, vol. 1, pp. 400–401]. Nizhny Novgorod uyezd presents a vivid illustration to the increased desolation caused by natural disasters in the 1560–1570s and the 'Cheremis War.' While in 1565 the region contained 1,117 apicultural settlements and villages (vyts) and 522.25 settlements and villages (vyts) paying crop tax, their number had been reduced to 337 and 100, respectively, by 1578 [Kudryashova, 2009, pp. 96–97].

The Maris played the leading part in the rebellion and undertook campaigns to distant localities. For instance, they reportedly took part in the siege of Astrakhan along with Tatars and Nogais [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, p. 165].

The tactics of the rebels were largely unchanged. They relied on partisan methods of struggle—ambushing, destroying small detachments of the enemy, suddenly invading the depths of Russian territories, and blocking fortresses. The rebels blocked all the roads. They were still reluctant to fight open battles with large governmental troops and avoided assaults on towns as well as any extensive actions along rivers. Spontaneous as they were, their actions did not lack organisation and coordination. The Russian government and the people had to again face the ghost of a renascent Kazan Khanate.

The rebellion of 1571–1574 was an intricate intertwining of liberation and anti-feudal motives. While the Meadow Mari and the Tatars fought to win back their freedom and independence, the population of the Hill Land was largely determined to put an end to feudalistic exploitation. The difference in goals caused the movement to split into a radical wing and a moderate one. The future defeat of the rebellion was thus predetermined.

The government took the necessary measures in advance. Towns had fortifications and enough weapons, ammunition, and victuals to survive a siege; the garrisons had been reinforced. Still possessing the fortresses, they were able to prepare for the suppression of the rebellion. This same factor helped to prevent some part of the local population from joining the rebellion.

¹ The Kazan and Astrakhan Tsardoms are meant.

To create an international political situation to facilitate the suppression of the rebellion was an objective of paramount importance. The Crimeans posed the greatest danger. As the promised cession of Astrakhan had not taken place, Devlet Giray decided to undertake another crushing campaign against Moscow in the summer of 1572. H. Staden said that he felt so certain of his future success that 'he issued a charter to his merchants and many others to the effect that they could bring their goods to Kazan and Astrakhan and sell them on a duty-free basis for he is the Tsar and Sovereign of All Russia' [Staden, 1925, p. 115]. Staden's work includes a summary of Devlet Giray's plan of conquering the Russian State. He believed it to be quite possible, so he warned European monarchs that they would have to outstrip the Crimean Khan, who was 'intending to win the Russian land' with the help of the Turkish sultan, the Nogais, the Tatars, and the Cheremises' [Ibid., pp. 60–62]. In the late July of 1572 the Crimeans were able to cross the Oka River but suffered a serious defeat in the Battle of Molodi. Having returned to the Crimea, the khan wrote a letter to Ivan the Terrible, trying to downplay the Russian victory and restating his demand that Kazan and Astrakhan should be ceded, emphasising the intention of the Crimeans to fight for those towns until death. However, realising how much the defeat had affected his chances, Devlet Giray changed his tone. The khan wrote that the Russian land was so vast that Ivan the Terrible could easily give up two towns: 'The Tsar and Grand Prince should cede to me Kazan and Astrakhan, or at least Astrakhan alone for my Turkish brother shames me for fightings against the Tsar and Grand Prince without winning either Kazan or Astrakhan. If the Tsar and Grand Prince cedes Astrakhan, I shall never undertake another campaign against the land of the Tsar and Grand Prince as long as I live. And I shall not suffer from hunger, I have the Lithuanians on my left and the Circassians on my other side. I would wage war at them and be content for it would take me as short as two months to go to their land and back. The Tsar and Grand Prince should make peace with me and cede Astrakhan to me for the Turkish ruler shames me' [Russian State Archive of Ancient

Acts, fund 123, book 14, pp. 153 reverse–164 reverse, 168 reverse–69 reverse; Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, p. 167].

Ivan the Terrible's reply to the khan's insistence that he should cede Kazan and Astrakhan was that 'only one sword, that of the Crimea,' exists that could be raised at Russia, but if they ceded what they had conquered, 'then the land of Kazan would become a second sword; the land of Astrakhan, a third one; the Nogais, a fourth one; and the Lithuanian, a fifth one, unless it makes peace with us' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 14, p. 180].

The possibility of being attacked by Siberian Khan Kuchum was eliminated at the same time. He had conquered the Uralian area of Takhchei, administered by the Stroganovs, and liquidated their settlement. Moscow sent Tretyak Chubukov with an embassy to Siberia, and his diplomacy prevented the khan from invading the Russian land for some time. It made it possible not to delay measures to suppress the rebellion. Detachments were formed of Streltsy harquebusiers, volunteers, Cossacks, and Khanty and Mansi people loyal to the government to start military actions against the rebels. Rebels were widely encouraged to turn sides through the widespread granting of amnesty, tax benefits, and the granting of property confiscated from rebels who were defeated. The detachments had to be sent 'against them who betrayed us, the Cheremises, and the Ostyaks, and the Votyaks, and the Nogais, who turned their back to us, to fight against us.' The charter clearly indicates that the government aggressively pursued a policy of splitting the rebels and drawing them over to its side. It was emphasised many times that they would have to fight only against those 'who turned their back on us'; the Ostyaks and Voguliches, 'who are true to us,' were to be engaged in punitive detachments from the beginning. When rebels gave up their struggle and came 'to their friends,' the instruction was to 'order them to leave the robbers and be true to us.' If they were known to be guilty, punishing was forbidden; the order was to provide protection to and even reward them: 'those who used to be robbers and now want to be true to us and can show that they are

shall be promised grants and all kinds of relief as long as they are true to us and join as volunteers against them who betrayed us... ; they shall have the property of those they manage to kill, and their wives and children shall be their slaves. ' It was emphasised that 'nobody shall put to death such prisoners' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 1, pp. 175–176]. The rebellion in the Volga Region was soon suppressed through the undertaken measures. The detachments sent against the rebels 'killed some and caught others alive, and they made them take a šert (oath) that they would be true to the tsar, serve the tsar, and pay tribute to the tsar, and fight against the tsar's enemies without treason; having caught amanats, they sent them to their towns and to the tsar's voivodes in Perm' [Sibirskie letopisi, 2008, pp. 5–6, 52].

A military group of five regiments, gathered in Nizhny Novgorod and Murom, was formed in the Middle Volga Region to suppress the rebellion. Razrjads suggest how serious and important the campaign was: 'boyars and voivodes were innumerable in that campaign.' Razrjads pertaining to Kazan campaigns often contain such notes indicative of the difficulty of the undertaking and the importance that the government attached to the events in the Volga Region.

When the winter of 1572 came, the troops marched off 'against the treacherous Hill and Meadow Cheremises of Kazan.' When the troops had reached the Volga Region, detachments of local garrisons joined them, containing in particular non-Russians who remained loyal to the Tsar, including 'head of service Tatars Vasily Yakovlevich Kuzmin Korovayev' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, p. 226; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 335–336].

Literature presents no detailed descriptions of the winter campaign. Only a piece of Mari folklore tells about the tragic events on the Vyatka and Shurma Rivers, where the Maris, commanded by Akmazik, put up a stout resistance: 'A battle took place in Shurma, very hard-fought and fierce. The Maris suffered a defeat. Akmazik and his wife Unavi were executed... A general slaughter followed the suppression of the Maris' [Scientific Manuscript

Fund of the Mari Research Institute, list 1, No. 328, p. 79]. Arsk was remade into a fortress during the campaign and became a support for the administration in the Arsk Side [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, p. 226]. The areas covered by the rebellion were devastated, the rebels had to 'make obeisance' to the tsar 'for their guilt' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, p. 226; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 335–336]. This was the end of the first stage of the Second Cheremis War. It was the most wide-spread and numerous at that stage.

Crimean princes came to Ryazan during the period from September to October [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 355; Novoselsky, 1948, p. 431]. Some historiographers believe that their motivation was to join the rebels [Osmanskaya imperiya, p. 266; Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 1972, pp. 555–559]. The Nogais continued to act against Astrakhan. A Nogai detachment commanded by murzas Yamgurchey, Aysherkul Abyz, Ishtora Bogatyr, Kudaigul, and Mullah Aley arrived to help the Meadow Mari people [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 214, 276]. The international support enabled the rebels to continue.

In the summer of 1573 an army of the three regiments, consisting of 8,000 men, was sent from Kurmysh to 'the Cheremis land.' Voivodes I. Turenin and F. Lobanov-Rostovsky commanded it [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 336]. This campaign failed. In December 1573 Head of Orshanka Filon Kmita Chernobytsky, referring to reports by his spies in Russia, informed the Polish King Henry Valois and Lithuanian noblemen of the crushing defeat of the Russian Army by the Cheremises and of the siege of Kazan by the rebels and Nogais [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, p. 164].

Ivan the Terrible was convinced that a new large-scale campaign was necessary. As usual, the government first created an international political situation to favour the army's attack. It sent troops to help Astrakhan. The Russians were able to unblock the town and force the rebels off the banks of the Volga River by 'fighting them away up to Kazan' [Acts relating

to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, p. 185]. In the autumn Polish agents reported that the rebellion in the Lower Volga Region had been suppressed, and the Russians had occupied the capital of the Nogai Horde, Saray-Jük [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, p. 185; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, p. 179]. The Nogai Horde that had acted in cooperation with the Maris was soon exterminated. Ivan the Terrible mentioned this in his letter to Nogai prince Din-Ahmad: '... people of the hills of Sviyazhsk, who were true to us, found out that they had betrayed us and marched against them without informing us, and they killed the traitors' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 214, 276]. The Nogais were forced to refuse providing any active assistance to the rebels.

After a truce was concluded with the Swedes on the western front, the government was able to start suppressing the rebellion in the Volga Region. On 6 September the Tsar and the Tsarevich 'decided to undertake a campaign to the land of Kazan in the winter if it was God's will.' Large governmental forces had been gathered in Murom, Yelatma, Ples, Nizhny Novgorod, and Shuya by the winter [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 347–350].

Ivan the Terrible was a talented down-to-earth politician who wanted to rely not exclusively on force but also on diplomacy to appease the krai. Before ordering the troops to start their punitive action, he sent envoys to the rebels 'to ask what they are going to do and whether they wanted to obey him or not. If they want to obey him, they shall catch all the men who initiated this game. If they do not, he shall march his entire army against them and crush them. They must also release all Russians they have captured' [Staden, 1925, p. 115]. Rebels who had given up resistance were granted amnesty. Grants and statutory charters issued by the government promised a normalisation of the tax and duty system as well as the elimination of any abuse by the administration and service people. The court was to be 'free of bureaucracy' and 'duty-free'; elected representatives of the local population had to attend all court proceedings. The people were also entitled to complain about any violence or abuse

directly to the Tsar, without involving the administration [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 47–49]. The moderate wing of the rebellion was satisfied with the conditions: '... the Cheremises of the hills and those of the meadows all came to Murom to make obeisance to the Tsar for their guilt, and the tsar ordered that they should not be attacked; boyars made sure that they made a šert (oath)' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, p. 350]. Ivan the Terrible welcomed representatives of the rebels and 'gave them a grant or large pominki'; they also received 'generous gifts... and enjoyed great wealth after several days' following their oath. Ivan the Terrible had to confiscate some goods from Russian merchants to 'give gifts to the Tatars' for the war and oprichnina had drained both the treasury and the national economy, the latter was in a state of crisis [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, pp. 165–166, 168, 170]. Representatives of the rebels who attended the negotiations on peace 'claimed, on behalf of their land, that they were ready to capture their leaders and asked the Grand Prince to send for his Russian prisoners and they would release them all' [Staden, 1925, p. 115]. Prince I. Mstislavsky and Head of the Russian Office of Ambassadors clerk Andrey Shchelkalov came to Murom to administer the oath of the former rebels [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, p. 350]. Rebels not only agreed to give up resistance but undertook to contribute to the complete appeasement of the krai and go to the Livonian Front [Acts relating to the history of Western Russia, vol. 3, pp. 166, 168, 170]. In the 18th century P. Rychkov in Ufa guberniya recorded a legend on Mari Prince Aturai and other leaders who cooperated with the Russians to subjugate the peoples along the Belaya River [Sepeev, 1975, p. 26].

The unappeasable part of the rebels, primarily Meadow Maris and Tatars, would not lay down their arms and tried desperately to turn the tide during 1574. This renewed the military actions in the west and the invasion by the Crimean Tatars and the Lesser Nogais of the Ryazan Borderland [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 355, 358–359, 368]. Near Kazan rebels burnt down the Monastery

of Zilant, churches, and peasant households and made prisoners of the monastery's peasants [Historical Acts, vol. 1, p. 354]. The rebels were able to defeat a detachment sent against them near Nizhny Novgorod; they killed '36 noblemen and took the rest prisoners' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike, part 18, p. 85].

In April 1574 the Tsar's army undertook a campaign against the Meadow Land. Kokshaysk was built on the Volga River, at the mouth of the Bolshaya Kokshaga and Malaya Kokshaga Rivers, to control the river routes and the Mari territories. Vasily Vlasyev and Afanasy Yesipov designed the town. Prince A. Paletsky and Ya. Naumov were to stay in the town for a year to secure the construction work and complete the suppression of the rebellion. The rebellion died away. Regular rebels were granted amnesty; Ivan the Terrible ordered that their leaders should be 'torn to pieces with bent trees or put on a pike. This was a warning to the entire land' [Staden, 1925, p. 115].

The rebellion of 1571–1574, known as the Second Cheremis War, covered the large area of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions and the Cis-Urals. The rebellious non-Russian population was ethnically and socially diverse. Maris, Tatars, Udmurts, Chuvashes, Mansis, Bashkirs, Nogais, and many more fought shoulder to shoulder. Rebellious detachments contained peasants, Tatar feudal lords, and aristocrats. The rebellion was generally liberationist in nature, though the anti-feudal motive was also important at that time, especially among the rebels of the Hill Land.

After the rebellion of 1571–1574 was suppressed, the tsarist administration found an opportunity to put an end to the 'autonomy' of the Meadow Maris. Control over the Meadow Maris increased; the town of Kokshaysk was built for this purpose; weapons and even horses good enough to use in a battle were taken away from the Mari people. Village heads were appointed to Mari settlements for supervision [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 9, pp. 152–153 reverse, 160]. The loss of independence caused an outflow of the Mari population to the Urals [Sepeev, 1975, p. 41]. Russia was still poorly established in the Cis-Urals, which enabled the Maris to re-

store their freedom and even make raids. Their criminal actions along Ural rivers grew to a scale so large that the government had to send a dedicated flotilla headed by Prince N. Tyufyakin and B. Naryshkin to appease 'the rebellious Cheremises and wean them away from attacking the land of Perm' in 1576 [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 23; Shishonko, 1881, part 1, p. 73].

A new rebellion was brewing up in the Volga Region. The surviving high aristocracy, in the opposition, had been secretly staying in touch with the Crimea and the Nogai Horde. The new Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray II, the Fat (1577–1584), was preparing to attack Russia; he came in contact with the disaffected population of the Volga Region to provoke a rebellion [Karamzin, 1989, Book 3, vol. 9, p. 246; Shcherbatov, 1789, vol. 5, part 3, p. 212]. After Prince Din Ahmad died in May 1578, his brother Prince Urus (1578–1590) came to rule the Nogai Horde. He was volatile, hot-tempered, and he opposed to Russia. He openly entered into an anti-Russian alliance with the Crimea and Turkey. He thus reacted to the intensified Russian colonisation of the Volga Region and Cossack raids [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 179, 220, 231–232; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 8, pp. 252 reverse–253, 377, 384 reverse, 388 reverse, 390 reverse; book 9, pp. 44 reverse–45, 61 reverse, 164, 167–168 reverse; book 10, pp. 29–31 reverse, 37, 65–65 reverse, 127 reverse, 140 reverse–141 reverse, 145, 147 reverse]. The drained state of Russia was no longer unable to buy peace with the Nogais in return for generous gifts. The amount of gifts and money sent to the Horde's noblemen was dwindling [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 182, 191, 205, 208, 218, 226–228, 230, 236, 251, 272; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 127, book 9, p. 99; book 10, p. 90]. Even Nogai murzas, loyal to Moscow, were unable to control their subordinates completely. They wrote to the Russian Tsar that 'they had nothing to appease the people with but for the Tsar's grants' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, p. 183; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 9, p. 46 reverse, 48–48 reverse]. Russian diplomats had to face af-

fronts and beatings when in the Horde; many of them were robbed. The Nogais began to regularly join the Crimeans, the Azov people, and the Lesser Nogais in raids on the Russian borders [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 199–200, 209–212, 223, 228, 236–237, 249, 266, 273, 275, 285–289, 292, 304, 307–308; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 8, pp. 340, 347 reverse; book 9, pp. 170, 173 reverse, 192–193 reverse, 268–269; book 10, pp. 4–5 reverse, 17 reverse–18, 20 reverse–22, 25 reverse–26 reverse, 35 reverse, 39 reverse, 45 reverse]. They began to wander dangerously close to Kazan [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, p. 260]. Nogai detachments invaded the Cis-Urals and tried to collect tribute from the Khantys, Bashkirs, and Udmurts, who were subordinated to the Russian administration [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 8, pp. 214 reverse, 234 reverse, 271 reverse, 274 reverse–275, 332, 391; book 10, p. 131 reverse]. 'Kazan reported that the Nogai people had traveled along the Kama River to attack the Bashkirs and the Ostyaks of Kazan uyezd, and they killed people and robbed them, and the Bashkirs and the Ostyaks gathered together and killed some of them, and they caught three or four of them alive' [Ibid., book 8, pp. 275, 285 reverse].

In late 1579–early 1580 the Russian-Nogai conflict became critical. 'Prince Urus prepared to march against the tsar's borderland of Kazan and Ryazan,... Alaty and Temnikov.' In early 1580 the Nogai prince sent four messengers, headed by Baubek Kupchak, 'to the Meadow Cheremis land.' They were instructed to persuade the Maris to ally with the Nogais against the Russians: '... to make the Cheremises fight at the side of Prince Urus. ' However, the Meadow Maris were not yet ready to rebel and refused to rise up prematurely: 'we should not wage war against the Tsar and Grand Prince. We are too guilty to the Tsar; he has appointed guardians to watch over us and taken away our best horses' [Ibid., book 9, pp. 152–153 reverse, 160]. In spite of the refusal of the Cheremises, the prince prepared for the campaign and 'mounted his horse' on 29 August. Anxious murzas gathered in his camp, 'made him dis-

mount,' and were hardly able to talk him out of waging war against the Russian Tsar. However, Urus and his supporters merely postponed the campaign until winter, intending to attack Astrakhan and the Russian borderlands [Ibid., pp. 153 reverse, 154, 156, reverse–157, 167, 222 reverse, 225 reverse, 238 reverse]. In the spring of 1581 about 25,000 Nogai warriors joined the Crimeans to attack Belyov, Kolomna, and Alaty. 600 Nogais devastated Mordovian villages that August. The Azov people and the Nogais attacked the territory of Alaty again at about the same time [Ibid., book 10, pp. 30 reverse–31 reverse, 58 reverse, 61 reverse–65, 68, 86 reverse, 140, 146 reverse–154, 160 reverse–169, 172–174 reverse, 256–258, 267, 273–280; fund 123, book 19, p. 251; Novoselsky, 1948, p. 432]. The Russian-Nogai conflict escalated until Prince Urus sold Russian ambassador P. Devochkin and his entourage as slaves to Middle Asia [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 10, pp. 140 reverse, 162–162 reverse].

Stirred up by the Siberian khan, the Khanty and Mansi people gathered in a regiment of 680 people commanded by Begbeliy Agtakov, which 22 July attacked the Sylvensky ostrog on the Sylva river and towns on the Chusovaya river 'and took prisoners of dwellers the near villages and settlements, and burnt the villages and settlements down, taking many people and children as prisoners. ' The Stroganovs hurried to form a detachment to defeat the rebels; 'they killed many a man near the towns,' and 'killed many during passages, and captured some others; they caught murza Begbeliy Agtakov alive.' The Khanty and Mansi people 'made obeisance and admitted their fault' after the defeat [Sibirskie letopisi, 1907, pp. 9–10, 57–58].

The activation of the Nogais and the Crimeans as well as Polish King Stephen Báthory's successful attack on the western front, during which he besieged Pskov to threaten Novgorod, created favourable conditions to initiate a new rebellion in the Volga Region and Cis-Urals. The Russian government was aware of the brewing rebellion. It sent warnings to Nizhny Novgorod back in March 1581 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, book 9, pp. 290–291 reverse, 269 reverse].

In the autumn, during mobilisation for the Livonian front and the collection of yasak, the Meadow Mari rose up. The Solovetsky Chronicler contains the following record: 'In the year of 7090... The Cheremises started a fierce war against the Tsar that year' [Koretsky, 1981, p. 240; Tikhomirov, 1951, p. 228]. In the winter of 1581–1582 the Cheboksary and Sviyazhsk garrisons attempted to suppress the rebellion on their own. The large and vanguard regiments gathered in Cheboksary. Ivan Nogotkov-Obolensky commanded the large regiment, while Ivan Volynsky led the vanguard one. The guard regiment formed in Sviyazhsk was headed by Prince Tugush Devlet Bakhtyzovich [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 1, p. 208]. It was presumably composed of dwellers of the Volga Region. The campaign failed. Ivan the Terrible was angry and ordered that the surviving warriors should be beaten by sticks in public [Florya, 1999, p. 380]. The rebellion thus spread to the Hill Land. The Tatars, the Udmurts, the Chuvashes, and the Bashkirs joined it. Rebellious detachments began to attack Russian territories. The rebels 'marched to occupy many towns... , came to the land of the Russian state, as they had done before, and took many prisoners,' wrote the chronicler [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 3]. They posed a threat to Khlynov; villages just three versts away from the town were burnt down. The patrol and piscovaja knigas [scribe's books] for the Vyatka Region, dating back to the early 17th century, often mentioned villages deserted in the 1580s 'because of the Cheremis War,' for instance, Kirdyapino [Vereshchagin, 1906, p. 14; Kibardin, 1912, p. 32]. 24 households were allotted to refugees in the town [Luppov, 1958, p. 74]. Writing about the people of Vyatka, Swedish traveler P. Petreius mentioned the fact that Cheremises 'often attack them with fire and sword and return with plenty of plunder.' [Petreius, 1865, book 4, p. 44]. He wrote that the rebels were capable of 'forming an army of 20,000 warriors.' He described them as skillful and brave men; when they 'march against the enemy, everyone takes up arms, both men and women, to shoot the enemies in front of them and behind, thus forcing them to flee' [Ibid., p. 29]. The loss of

control over the Middle Volga River by the administration cost the treasury 102 poods of honey in 1582 [Dokumenty' Kazanskogo kraja, 1990, p. 42]. The Guard Book on palace settlements and villages in Nizhny Novgorod Region for 1588–1589 reports the extent to which the borderland had been devastated. The large territory of palace and tribute-paying land plots along the right bank of Nizhny Novgorod Krai had been reduced to extreme poverty: at the time when the text was being written, only 2.5% of previously cultivated land was used as plough land. The situation was so critical that no liege tax was imposed on the land in the 1580s [Piscovye materialy, 1997, p. 4]. Out of 14 settlements, 116 villages, and 70 barren lands with 1,044 residential homesteads, 616 were deserted, where 'the Cheremises had burnt down the homesteads.' 'Because of the 'Cheremis War,' many peasants were given tax benefits until 1592. Even though Guard Books for patrimonial and landowners' lands of Nizhny Novgorod have only been preserved in fragments, they are still indicative of the grave damage caused by the invasion of the rebellious Maris. The Cheremises burnt down 47 houses in 7 villages and 2 barren lands and the church along with the courts of the priest and the sexton in the small settlement of Yegoryevsk [Anpilogov, 1977, pp. 6–21, 24–35, 43–44, 47–48, 51–59, 62–63, 66, 110–113, 118, 122, 125, 126, 206, 270, 272, 273, 340, 394]. The Guard Book mentions six churches burnt down [Ibid., pp. 17, 19, 52, 63]. A charter of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius dated March 1592 reports the Cheremis burning down a church on the Pyana River [Shumakov, 1898, p. 15]. The rebels were so successful that Razrjadnaja knigas started once again using the half-forgotten term 'Kazan borderlands' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 7, 14].

The government was apprehensive and had to take urgent measures. On 15 January 1582 it entered into a truce with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This released forces to suppress the rebellion.

The situation in the Crimea was favourable to Russia as well—Devlet Giray's sons and grandsons were contesting for power [Novosel-

sky, 1948, p. 34]. This prevented the Crimean Tatars from making raids.

The Nogais supported the rebels by attacking Russian borders. Their detachments appeared near Novosil, invaded the Cis-Urals, and approached the Kama River in 1582. However, an army of two regiments was sent from Kazan to the Kama River in summer, and they had to retreat [Ibid.; *Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 224].

Garrisons were reinforced in towns close to the focal point of the rebellion, namely Galich, Yuryevets, Polsky, etc. On 15 April troops commanded by F. Lobanov, N. Davydov, and I. Yelizarov were sent by water along the Volga River. Russian naval armies occupied crossings along the Volga, Kama and Vyatka Rivers, thus neutralising the rebels [*Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 224; art 2, p. 7, 16; *Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605*, p. 190].

Two armies were sent against the rebels simultaneously in the autumn. One was to 'fight against the Meadow Cheremises,' while the other's objective was to 'fight against the Hill Cheremises.' A total of 8 regiments were engaged in the campaign [*Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 220, 224, 225; part 2, pp. 5–7]. When the troops arrived in the Volga Region, detachment made up of locals joined them. Charters and the *piscovaja kniga* on Kazan uyezd for 1602–1603 confirm the fact that the population of the Volga Region, primarily service class Tatars, participated in the suppression of the rebellions [*Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd*, 1978, pp. 158, 172–173; *Dokumenty' Kazanskogo kraya*, 1990, p. 50]. However, a local argument broke out among the voivodes before the troops started off, to continue even during the campaign [*Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 220, 225; part 2, pp. 5–10]. The lack of concord among the voivodes prevented them from succeeding. The voivodes attributed their failure to 'thick snow' impeding their action against the rebels. However, the Tsar did not accept the apology. According to Polish nobleman Stanisław Niemojewski, who was staying in Russia during the Time of Troubles, at a meeting of the Duma Ivan the Terrible ordered that voivodes I. Vorotynsky and D. Khvorostinin

should strip themselves of all clothes, wear women's dresses, turn millstones, and make flour until late at night [Zapiski Nemoevskogo, 1907, p. 159].

Military operations against the rebels dragged on. According to a chronicler, the rebels 'resisted the Moscow troops like wild beasts' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 34]. The rebels used partisan methods of struggle and inflicted significant losses on the Tsar's army. The chronicler wrote: '... like snakes sting the man, the Pagans killed men of Moscow in camps and on campaigns; boyars and voivodes were unable to make them change' [Ibid.] The rebels not only repelled attacks but also undertook audacious raids. The Galich Chronicler reports a Cheremis detachment to have appeared on the right tributary of Unzha river, a tributary of the Viga River in Kostroma Region [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 604]. The rebels might have reached the city of Arzamas. *Razrjadnaja kniga*s report that its garrison was reinforced, and a voivode was appointed to lead expeditions [*Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 23]. Records of the Pechersky and Annunciation Monasteries report considerable damage [Akty' nizhegorodskix monasty'rej, 1848, p. 24]. Nevertheless, the rebellion in the Hill Land was suppressed by the spring of 1583. Literature mentions no further punitive campaigns in that direction. The first stage of the rebellion was over, which was characterised by high activity of insurgents, covering a large area, and the largest number of participants.

As before, the government widely used the loyal population of the Volga Region to suppress the rebellion. In a charter Ivan the Terrible ordered voivodes to take 65 rubles from the Treasury 'for Tatar costs so that you can provide food and drinks to the Tatars of Sviyazhsk' [*Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 15–16]. Where people of Kazan and Sviyazhsk are mentioned, this should be interpreted as referring not only to the Russians but also to the locals of the Volga Region. Prince of Arsk Bagish Yakshed was awarded Tersivolost on the Izh River in April 1582 for his contribution to the suppression of the rebellion [Grishkina, 1988, p. 30]. Service class Tatars

Yangildey Yenandarov and Bakrach Yanchurin submitted a petition for land in 1595, referring to their merits in the struggle against the Cheremis to justify the ambition [Dokumenty' Kazanskogo kraya, 1990, pp. 49–59].

During the second stage of the Third Cheremis War, the government resorted to active offensive action and undertook its first summer campaign. A naval army of three regiments was sent to the Volga River on 14 April 1583 to block river routes and crossings. It was then that the fortress of Kozmodemyansk was built to control the Volga River and the Mari-inhabited territory. Troops gathered in the new town in the summer to undertake a punitive campaign against the Meadow Maris. Half of the forces were composed of garrisons of the Volga Region [Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605, pp. 195, 197–199]. Having entered the Meadow Land, the troops formed temporary mobile units (mounted reconnaissance detachments) headed by minor voivodes and inflicted a series of heavy blows on the rebels. The detachment of the large regiment was headed by Fyodor Yanov, Peter Pivov, and Streltsy Head Fyodor Myasoyedov; Smirny Vysheslavtsev commanded the Lithuanian mercenaries. Timofey Lachinov of the vanguard regiment was appointed to the mobile units. According to the chronicler, 'they then fought against the Meadow Land and devastated many an ulus of the Meadow Land... and killed many Tatars and Cheremis'. 'However, the Russians suffered some casualties as well; even the minor voivodes were wounded. Fyodor Yanov 'was wounded in the throat with a spear,' and Peter Pivov 'was wounded in the hand with an arrow' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, p. 229]. The Maris would not lay down their arms and continued to resist.

On 7 November Ivan the Terrible and the boyars decided to send a new army of five regiments 'against the Meadow Cheremis' in the winter of 1583–1584 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, p. 229; Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605, p. 201; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 25–26]. On 25 December the troops were ready; they started off 'for Kazan to fight against the Meadow Cheremis' in early January of 1584 [Razrjad-

naja kniga 1559–1605, p. 201]. The Meadow Land suffered another period of devastation; but the rebels resisted fiercely. Great Russian historian N. Karamzin presented a very accurate account of the events: '... the Cheremis revolt lasted until the end of Ioannes's life, and it was remarkably furious: possessing neither enough force nor enough skill to fight proper battles in the field, those fierce savages, most probably embittered by the cruelty of the Tsar's officials, slaughtered warriors from Moscow on the ashes of their houses, in the woods and in caves, in summer and in winter. What they wanted was independence or death' [Karamzin, 1989, book 3, vol. 9, p. 246]. In spite of the numerous punitive campaigns, the Meadow Mari rebellion had not been suppressed by the summer of 1584. Polish ambassador in Moscow Lew Sapieha wrote in his letter to papal legate Bologneti dated 10 July, 'the Cheremis have released themselves from the yoke' [Solovyov, 1989, book 4, vol. 7, pp. 196–197].

After the death of Ivan the Terrible on 18 March 1584, his mentally defective son Fyodor (1584–1598) took the throne. The Tsar's artful and ambitious brother-in-law Boris Godunov ruled the country on his behalf. The new government relied not only on force but also on diplomacy. According to N. Karamzin, 'Godunov used rather his mind than the sword to appease the rebels; he assured them that the new Tsar would forget the old crimes, like a kind father, and grant pardon to those guilty in case of sincere repentance' [Karamzin, 1989, book 3, vol. 10, pp. 14–15].

In the summer of 1584 a new army was sent to Mari Krai: 'On 20 July of the same year Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Ivanovich of Russia sent his voivodes to Kazan as heads of three regiments to fight against the Meadow Cheremis. The voivodes were allocated as follows: okolnichy and voivode Dmitry Yeletskey and Mikifor Pavlov, son of Chebchyug, were in the large regiment; the vanguard regiment had Roman Mikhaylov, son of Pivov, and Fyodor Yelchaninov; the guard regiment had Prince Ivan, son of Prince Michail, Boryatinsky, and Vasily Birkin' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, p. 346; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 2, p. 38; Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605,

p. 213]. The appointment of D. Yeletsky to be the first voivode was not coincidental. The experienced voivode and diplomat, who had completed the Livonian War, was the best candidate possible to finally appease the krai. The voivodes were not only to suppress the rebels but also to build a new fortress in the centre of the Mari land.

A chronicle record dated 7092 (1584) mentions the construction of the town: 'In the same year Tsarev townlet was built in the Cheremis land' [Tikhomirov, 1951, p. 94]. On 22 November 1584 the Ambassadors' Office ordered ambassadors prince and boyar F. Troyekurov and noble member of the Duma M. Beznin, who were to go to Polish-Lithuanian King Stephen Báthory, to say the following: 'Kazan and Asktrakhan are now subordinated to our Tsar as they used to be subordinated to our Tsar's father Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of Russia. The tsar has appointed voivodes to the two states, and churches and monasteries have been built there. Kazan and Astrakhan are still subordinated to our Tsar' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 79, book 15, pp. 426 reverse–427]. 'And if they say, 'Why did your Tsar appoint voivodes to the land of Kazan?' The ambassadors should say that the remote meadow volosts near Siberia rebelled, and our Tsar sent his voivodes Prince Dmitry Petrovich Yeletsky with companions to reinforce the volosts and to hang the rebels. Our tsar's voivodes found all traitors of the volosts and executed them, and they built a town in the large volost of Tutayev, where the rebellion began. Now our Tsar is established in the land of Kazan, and the people pay yasak to our Tsar as they used to do' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 79, book 15, pp. 427–427 reverse; Karamzin, 1989, book 3, vol. 10, note 30].

On 10 February 1585 officers Ivan Kobylin and Postnik Ogarev were instructed to meet a Polish-Lithuanian messenger approaching Moscow. The instructors supposed that the messenger might inquire about the affairs in the Mari land, so they specified the ambassadors' proper answer: 'If he asks, 'Why did the Tsar send his troops to Kazan this year?' Ivan and Postnik should say: 'People of the mead-

ows rebelled and would not pay their tribute in full. So the town voivodes of Kazan and the suburbs marched mercenary armies against them. Having recognised their fault, they made obeisance to the Tsar. Now they pay the tribute as they used to. The Tsar ordered that a town should be built in the Meadow Land; Tsarev is its name.' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 79, book 15, pp. 554 reverse–555].

In the autumn of 1584 Prince Ivan Nogotkov-Obolensky was appointed voivode of the newly built town, where he went with troops and supplies [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 2, p. 47; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, p. 349]. The krai was still troubled. That is why the Razrjadnaja kniga and chronicles mentions the fact that voivodes 'went to the land of Kazan to fight against the Meadow Cheremises' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605, p. 213]. However, the rebellion had already begun to subside. Troops had been replacing each other; they had depleted the rebels' strength, their detachments had been crushed and their settlements devastated; a church had been built in the centre of their land. The Crimea, Turkey, and the Nogai Horde provided no substantial assistance. The Siberian Khanate had suffered a deadly blow, inflicted by Yermak's Cossacks, and was in its final days. The practice of using not only force but also diplomacy to appease the krai began to yield results. Amnesty and generous gifts were promised to those who would lay down their arms [Shcherbatov, 1789, vol. 6, part 1, p. 14]. According to a chronicle, the Maris 'surrendered to such a righteous Tsar without fighting and blood-spilling and begged for his mercy' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 36; Tatishchev, 1966, vol. 6, p. 282]. A chronicle mentions the fact that 'the Cheremises made obeisance to Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Ivanovich of Russia to strike peace forever in the year 7093' [Tikhomirov, 1951, p. 228].

In the late February messenger Ivan Vsevolozhsky was sent to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was ordered to say that the tsar had 'erected many towns along the Volga and Kama Rivers and appointed many princes and sons of boyars to Kazan and towns in the suburbs of Kazan' [Russian State

Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 79, book 15, p. 608]. The further text of the order contains another mention of Tsarev townlet on the Kokshaga River and mentions Tsaryovosanchursk for the first time: 'And if they ask: 'Why did the Tsar send his troops to Kazan this year?' Ivan shall say: 'The distant people of the meadows rebelled and would not pay their tribute in full or come to voivodes in Kazan and in the suburbs of Kazan. So the town voivodes of Kazan and the suburbs marched mercenary armies against them. Having recognised their fault, they made obeisance to the Tsar. Now they pay the tribute as they used to. So the Tsar ordered that two towns of the Tsar should be erected in the Meadow Land' [Ibid., pp. 608–608 reverse].

The Razrjadnaja kniga contains a record on the construction of Tsaryovosanchursk in 1585: 'In the same year the town of Sanchyurs was erected in the Meadow Land on the Tsar's order; voivodes were allocated among regiments as follows to spare warriors: voivodes Prince Grigory Zasekin and Menshoy Grigoryev, son of Volyn, were in the large regiment; the vanguard regiment had Mikifor Pavlov, son of Chepchyug, and Ivan Yermolayev, son of Tovarysh; the guard regiment had Zamyatnya Ondreyev, son of Bezstuzh' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 64–65; Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, p. 19]. A chronicle, dating back to the late 16th century and published by M. Tikhomirov, says that in the year '(70)93¹ Shanchyugin was erected' [Tikhomirov, 1951, p. 94]. The Maris could have finally stopped rebelling in the spring of 1585.

The resistance lasted the longest in the Cis-Urals, where the Russian administration had little power, and where surviving rebels retreated. The Bashkirs, the Tatars, the East Maris, the Khantys, and the Mansis continued the rebellion there. An army was sent against them from Kazan in the summer of 1585. Fyodor Ivanovich Turov commanded the Tatars loyal to the government. Zaleshenin Volokhov commanded the detachments from Kostroma, Suzdal, Yaroslavl, Vladimir, Arzamas, and other towns in the Upper Volga Region. 'They went

to the lakes in the meadows and fought against the Bashkirs who had returned.' In the following year, 1586, the same heads of detachments undertook another Uralian campaign and 'fought against the Bashkirs and the Siberians... built a fortress' on the Tsar's order. That was the establishment of the fortress of Ufa on the Belaya river [Koretsky, 1968, p. 128].

Characteristically, few representatives of the nobility and feudal lords participated in the rebellion and did not play any important part in it as those classes had fallen in the previous rebellions or left the region to never return. Those who survived either had been forced to move to the central regions of Russia or had been able to prove their worth as adherents of the government through industrious service. The Third Cheremis War involved more peasants than the previous rebellions. Being largely an anti-feudal uprising, it had preserved its national form.

Having returned from their trip to Poland in the summer of 1586, Fyodor Mikhaylovich Troyekurov, Fyodor Andreyevich Pisemsky, and clerk Druzhina Petelin reported that lords in the parliament of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had mentioned to them that the people of Kazan were refusing to obey the Moscow Tsar. The Russian ambassadors replied that 'the people of Kazan still serve our Tsar as they have done. After his father died, our Tsar had many a town erected in the land of Kazan and had the towns in Kazan fortified. Now the people of Kazan are more obedient than ever. What you say is not true' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 79, book 15, p. 363].

The last, fourth, Cheremis War broke out in the winter of 1591–1592, when Russia was fighting a hard war against Sweden and the Crimea. The king and the khan agreed on a joint anti-Russian campaign and initiated the war in 1590. In 1591 the Crimeans managed to fight their way to Moscow for the last time [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, pp. 10–14; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, book 19, p. 186 reverse–187; Novoselsky, 1948, p. 433].

As usual, the rebellion broke out in the early winter and was relatively small-scale. The re-

¹ 7093 corresponds to 1 September 1584–31 August 1585.

cord in the *razrjadnaja kniga* and chronicles is very brief: 'the Meadow Cheremises of 12 volosts in the land of Kazan betrayed the Tsar in winter' [*Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 3, p. 25]. According to I. Massa, they plundered the suburbs as a 'corrupted band, stirred up by several rascals, who were its atamans' [Massa, 1937, p. 36]. An army of the three regiments was sent against the rebels, formed primarily of German, Lithuanian, and Polish mercenaries and garrisons of 'below-lying towns' in the Volga Region. V. Golovin and L. Ladyzhensky commanded the large regiment. F. Golovin and B. Voyeykov led the vanguard regiment. P. Golovin and a head, whose name is not mentioned in the *razrjads*, were appointed to command the guard regiment. Having found out that the army was approaching, 'the rebels scattered away' [*Ibid.*; *Razrjadnaja kniga* 1475–1605, vol. 3, part 3, p. 25].

The erection of another fortress in the Mari land, that of Yaransk, was apparently a direct consequence of the campaign. Being incomparably less wide-spread, numerous, fierce, and long-lasting than the other rebellions, this one completed the epoch of Cheremis Wars, which had lasted for 40 years and was naturally connected to those wars. Thus, it should be studied as part of that period. The end of the small-scale rebellion, the least bloody of all, was that of the Cheremis Wars, though the Maris raised their arms many times in the following years. For instance, Persian diplomat Uruch Beg, who travelled along the Volga in 1599, wrote that there were powerful garrisons in Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod to prevent Tatar and Turkish (?) attacks) [*Proezzhaya po Moskovii*, 1991, pp. 172–176]. Speaking of the Turkish people, the diplomat obviously referred to the Cheremises, whose name he apparently did not know or had forgotten. The population of the Volga Region continued to rise up in the 17th and 18th centuries, but the nature of the

uprisings was different. While the rebels of the Cheremis War fought, to this or that extent, for independence, the further rebellions were rather anti-feudal, merging with the anti-serfdom movement of the Russian peasants, tradespeople, and Cossacks.

As a negative consequence of the conquest of the Middle Volga Region, the indigenous population declined as many people died, emigrated, or were forced to leave the *krai*. The changes cannot be estimated, but *piscovaja kniga*s mention numerous barren lands, which is indicative of their large scale. According to D. Iskhakov, the Tatar population alone dwindled from about 120–240 thousands to 120–170 thousands within fifty years [Iskhakov, 2005, p. 59]. Many of them left their motherland forever and went to the Urals or in other directions. Those who stayed bewailed their lost independence. English traveler J. Horsey, who came to Russia several times for the Muscovy Company during 1573–1591, described the conquest of the Volga Region as follows: 'the ravage has still presented a motif for sad stories and songs with those peoples' [Horsey, 1990, p. 51]. The Tatar population inhabiting territories near Kazan moved out during the events of the latter half of the 16th century, in particular to the Mari land. The Mari-Tatar alliance contributed to it. A group of Tatars appeared near Urzhum and Malmyzh on the Vyatka River, in the current Paranginsky district of the Mari El Republic, now known as the Tsypynsko-Malmyzh subgroup. The local Mari population was partly assimilated by the Tatars [Tatary, 1967, pp. 39–40; Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 270–271].

The end of the Cheremis Wars was also the end of the struggle over the Volga Region, which became part of the Russian State. Islamic states, who used to be actively engaged in regional events, also lost interest in the Middle Volga Region.

CHAPTER 2

The Annexation of the Lower Volga Region by the Muscovite State*Vadim Trepavlov*

Before the mid-16th century Russia was too distant from the lower reaches of the Volga River to interfere with any events there. Moscow's political presence in the region was not notable in the 1540s. An Astrakhan khan Dervish Ali, who had been ousted from power, took shelter in Russia under the Tsar's protection. A number of princes from Hajji Tarkhan were living in the Muscovite state by that time, and the Russian government could choose a candidate for khan that was its liking from among them (Kazan was well-versed in enthroning puppet monarchs). The Nogais insisted on enthroning Dervish Ali, certain that he would be true both to them and to Ivan IV. For some time, the Tsar hesitated since interference on his part in Astrakhan's affairs and opposition to the Astrakhan Khan Yamgurchi could provoke a conflict with Crimea. The lucrative Volga trade, importation of Volga fish to Russia, and the vibrant Astrakhan markets also held the Russian government back from starting a war.

However, the conquest of Kazan encouraged Moscow to extend its influence to the entire Volga Region. The justifications for the conquest of the Kazan Khanate did not apply to that of Astrakhan. None of the real and artificial reasons behind the conquest (to eliminate Tatar raids, release a multitude of Russian captives, gain the acquisition of more arable land for noblemen, control trade routes, and ensure the triumph of Orthodox Christianity over Islam) seemed relevant when it came to Astrakhan—with the exception of the religious motivation. The yurt of the Lower Volga Region had always been relatively safe for Russia as it was remote and surrounded by semi-deserts and not rich in arable land. Therefore, a new motivation appeared to justify the Astrakhan campaign, according to which the Tatar Astrakhan was equivalent to the ancient Tmutarakan,

a holding of Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich (the 11th century) and thus the ancestral domain of the great sovereign [Solovyov, 1989, book 3, p. 468].

* * *

Dervish Ali came to Moscow in October 1551. He sought an audience with the Tsar to make obeisance to him and ask him to 'establish him in Astrakhan.' However, having discussed it with the boyars, the Tsar decided to 'establish Tsar Dervis in the town of Zvenigorod,' for which Dervish left in March 1552. A message was sent to the Nogai allies to inform them that the Astrakhan guest had been kindly received and given a grant; the Tsar wanted Dervish Ali's family, who was living in the Nogai Horde, to be sent to Zvenigorod and promised to dispatch his army 'in vessels, with numerous cannons and harquebuses' against Astrakhan [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 81, 82].

While the Nogai leader bey Yusuf was unenthusiastic about Russia's war against the Astrakhan Khanate (and the inevitable conflict with Crimea), his brother and in fact co-ruler Nuradin¹ Ismail was obsessed with enthroning Dervish Ali there. In 1551–1552 Ismail often proposed to Tsar Ivan that he should march against Yamgurchi to replace the latter with Dervish Ali (just as Sheikh Ali had once been enthroned in Kazan) and promised to aid him in this. He engaged in various manoeuvres to persuade him: he assured him that the pretendant to power was absolutely loyal to the Tsar and the Nogais, suggested that Moscow should take Dervish Ali hostage to guarantee that his father would not betray them, and pointed to

¹ Nuradin was the first person after the bey in the Nogai Horde, a ruler of the Volga Region nomadic territories and the head of the right-wing militia.

the example of the Kabardians, who had twice enthroned khans in Astrakhan.

Ivan IV did not refuse and even concurred, referring to his former friendship with Ak Kobek, but he never forgot to emphasise that the 'Kazan affair' was his top priority. His sought to address the Astrakhan issue after he had conquered Kazan. Ismail continued to press him on the matter—he could not understand why the Tsar kept Dervish Ali in Zvenigorod without either releasing him to the Nogai Horde or sending troops to the Lower Volga Region. Ismail reminded him that the Nogais were unable to conquer Hajji Tarkhan on their own as they lacked the firepower.

The decision was finally taken. The plan was to take the river route, with the Russian army travelling by ship, and the Nogai cavalry proceeding along the bank. If they managed to conquer the town, the Tsar's 'voivodes shall enthrone Tsar Derbysh in Astrakhan as well as Ismail's son or nephew'—apparently as the khan's beglerbeg. Subsequently, Ismail was to initiate a military struggle against bey Yusuf. The terms were set forth in negotiations with the Nogai ambassador in the Russian capital in October 1553 (see [Kniga, 1850, pp. 73–75; Letopisets, 1895, p. 11; Nikonovskaya, 1904, p. 235; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 225; Posol'skie, 2006, p. 131, 133; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 181, inv. 1, file 49, pp. 177 reverse, 178]. Yamgurchi Khan's 'dishonest' reception of the Moscow ambassador S. Avraamov (he was arrested and exiled to a sea island) was contrary to the Khan's previous intention to swear *šert* to Tsar Ivan triggered the war [Nikonovskaya, 1904, p. 235; Zaytsev, 2006, p. 147, 160].

The Tsar made plans to conquer the Astrakhan yurt in the following spring. The official ideological justification of the war included the protection of the Nogai allies against the raids of Khan Yamgurchi (see [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 21, p. 653; Lyzlov, 1787, p. 197; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 181, list 1, file 49, p. 177 reverse].

Mikula Brovtsyn was sent to Ismail in February 1554. He was to explain in confidence

('come close... and speak... softly') how the campaign was to take place, and what part Ismail's Nogais were to play. The Nogais were expected to wait until voivode Yu. Shamyakin-Pronsky's army reached Perevoloka, then send part of their men on ships, while the rest were to go to Astrakhan. They were expected to appoint a beg following the conquest of Astrakhan ('a good prince of theirs to keep the yurt') as well as to provide a retinue and guardians to the new khan, Dervish Ali. The khan was expected to have a Russian advisor. However, Ismail and Dervish Ali could send him back to Rus if they found him unnecessary. Those citizens of Astrakhan who, in all likelihood, would set about fleeing, would have to be reassured and persuaded to come back. When all the arrangements were made, Ismail could send to Ivan IV his proposal on how to reinforce the new regime in the khanate 'so that Tsar Derbysh might live as is in future' [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 141, 142].

Pending the break up of the ice, Prince Shemyakin-Pronsky's army set forth to the south. The army comprised 30,000 men [Zaytsev, 2006, p. 152]. However, their Nogai allies were nowhere to be found at the rendezvous. Ismail did not dare participate in the campaign because it was then, in the summer of 1554, that his fierce battle against bey Yusuf began. The 'Tale' on the conquest of Astrakhan presents a very brief account of his non-engagement—he was 'involved in a war' and thus did not come to Perevoloka [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 181, inv. 1, file 49, p. 177 reverse]. M. Brovtsyn, who was still based at the nuradin's camp, described the situation in greater detail. Even though Ismail ordered his scribe to copy the Tsar's plan of the war, he said that 'he did not care about Astrakhan; what he cared about was his affairs.' However, feeling guilty before his Moscow ally, he sent some of his cavalry to find Dervish Ali and Pronsky on the Volga River to clarify the situation and probably talk them out of advancing towards Hajji Tarkhan, but they had left by the time the Nogais appeared [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 153, 154].

The Russians did not face any resistance when they occupied the capital of the khanate

on 2 July 1554¹. Yamgurchi fled to the Azov steppes (the Russians announced hastily that he had drowned in the Volga River, which was not true [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 59, pp. 448, 450]). Dervish Ali became the ruler of the yurt. He had a local government and protector who was an expert in Tatar and Nogai issues, the highly experienced diplomat Peter Turgenev. Since the Nogais did not participate in the campaign, to introduce the position of 'prince' beglerbeg was out of the question. The interests of the Nogai Horde were generally ignored. Dervish Ali was now obliged to send to Moscow an annual sum of 40,000 altyns (1,200 rubles according to the Russian system), which the Trans-Volga beys had tried to impose on Astrakhan along with sheep, horses, and three thousand sturgeons².

Charters guaranteeing that the population was safe were sent to each ulus within the yurt. Those who were initially scared at the arrival of the 'unbelievers' began to return to their settlements. Speaking of this event, sources mention 17,000 (or 7,000) 'black and nomadic' people—that is, common people, 3,000 Muslim clergymen, and 500 representatives of the ruling elite—begs, murzas, and oglans [Zaytsev, 2006, p. 159]. A deputation representing the Tatar aristocracy appeared before the tsar's voivodes to express their readiness to obey and serve the Tsar of Moscow and the new Khan of Astrakhan.

At first, Dervish Ali remained loyal to his superior rulers—Ivan IV and Ismail (having subverted Yusuf in 1554, the latter became Nogai Bey). He was the latter's maternal nephew and more recently became son-in-law—that is, his daughter's husband. In his correspondence with the Tsar Ismail expressed complete satisfaction and offered further cooperation to reinforce the power of Dervish Ali and the Russian-Nogai

alliance. In particular, he suggested that the people of Astrakhan should guard crossings on the Volga River 'lest (enemies) should reach Astrakhan by water.' Moreover, Ismail wanted to prevent 'armies coming through the fields' from entering the town' [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 155, 156]. They expected Crimea and the ousted Yamgurchi Khan to send their troops.

However, the friendly ambitions of the Russian and Nogai appointees soon vanished. After a short time under the ignominious oversight of the Moscow residents, facing the constant threat of a Crimean invasion, Dervish Ali decided to change his patron and began to make open overtures to Bakhchysaray. The coalition-oriented policy of Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I apparently contributed to the decision. In opposition to Bey Ismail, Dervish Ali wanted to support Nogai murzas 'of the Cossacks'—Bey Yusuf's orphans, who had already persuaded Devlet Giray to help them against Ismail, their father's murderer. Yamgurchi stuck to the Crimean court, too. The former khan had once sent his harquebusiers within the joint army of Yamgurchi and Yusuf's children to subvert Dervish Ali and force the Russians out of Astrakhan. Although the town repelled their attack, Dervish Ali would rather refrain from irritating the numerous aggressive Crimeans.

He invited Prince Khaspulad Giray from Bakhchysaray to be his qalga (successor) and promised Yusuf's orphans aid in their struggle against Ismail. The 'Cossacks' were happy to send away Yamgurchi³ and enter into a šert

¹ I. Zaytsev supposes that in official Russian documents this event could have been artificially dated to the church celebration of the Placing of the Honourable Robe of the Most Holy Mother of God, while the occupation of Astrakhan happened later [Zaytsev, 2006, pp. 153, 154].

² For information from sources about the amounts of Astrakhan payments and analysis, see: [Zaytsev, 2009, p. 163].

³ The unsuccessful Nogai-Crimean storming of Astrakhan happened in autumn 1554. After it Yamgurchi disappeared, and only after almost a year news about his death came. The Kremlin diplomatic department boastfully took the credit for the initiative behind the khan's murder (see: [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 59, p. 479]). However, the Embassy reports said that 'Tsar Yamgurchi was killed by Ghazi mirza' [Posolskiye (Ambassadorial Books), 2006, p. 177]. Therefore, Moscow schemes possibly have nothing to do with it: the founder of the Lesser Nogai Horde in Ciscaucasia Ghazi ibn Urak did not have any contacts with the Russian authorities at the time.

The name of the second to last khan was preserved in the Astrakhan toponymy: The Yamgurchi's bridge across the Kutum River, Yamgurchi's (Ogurchi's) Slo-boda [Zaytsev, 2006, p. 171].

agreement in alliance against the bey with the Ruler of Astrakhan. Dervish Ali helped them to cross the Volga River from the Crimean (western) side to the Nogai (eastern) side.

He thus severed his relations with his Russian protector Turgenev, who had tried to talk the ruler out of the latter's risky scheme. Some sources suggest that Turgenev left Astrakhan voluntarily as it turned into a state hostile to Russia, while others claim that Dervish Ali sent him away [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 156, 157, 177]. On finding out about the changed political orientation of his vassal khan, Ivan IV sent a detachment of the Streltsy commander Grigory Kaftyrev to the south. Kaftyrev encountered Turgenev on his way there, and the two of them entered Astrakhan together. The town was deserted: all its dwellers, including the khan, had fled for fear lest the rumour that the Tsar was going to severely punish them should turn out to be true. After the tsar abolished the tribute imposed on the citizens of Astrakhan for the current year, the refugees came back.

The Tsar of Moscow appointed Leonty Mansurov as his new representative. He resided in 'a small town on the Volga River'—one of two towns with reed walls that apparently formed the Hajji Tarkhan back then. Dervish Ali lived in the other town¹.

In early 1556 the Astrakhan khan broke off his relations with the Moscow patron in a most straightforward way. The Tsar's messengers were killed on his order, and Mansurov fled by ship, barely managing to escape the Tatars who unexpectedly attacked the 'small town.'

Thus, Dervish Ali became Ivan IV's enemy. He was able to prevent a war with Crimea by making concessions and scheming. However, he provoked a new expedition from the north.

The Office of Ambassadors was not exchanging envoys with the camps of prominent Nogai murzas. The Nomads and Moscow were developing another plan to appease the Astrakhan Khanate. However, Ivan IV's experience

when cooperating with the Nogais during the previous conquest of Hajji Tarkhan (1554) was not a good one, and this prevented him from relying on any active assistance from the steppe. Besides, Dervish Ali caused Ismail to fight against his nephews, who had fought their way across the Volga River. Therefore, it was not forces that the bey was to provide but only five to six agents who would reside in the town after the voivodes had occupied it and keep the bey informed of its affairs. Moreover, in case of a defeat in the dynastic struggle, Ismail was expected to seek shelter in no other place but Astrakhan. The voivodes were instructed to 'keep the bey satisfied in Astrakhan' and join him in his struggle against his enemies. If the Tsar failed to conquer Astrakhan, Kazan would host the Nogai Horde [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 187, 188, 211].

In turn, Ismail insisted on a radical solution to the Astrakhan problem. He wanted a large army to be sent to the lower reaches of the Volga River to destroy the town along with its entire population ('to leave not a single house'). If Ivan Vasilyevich thinks that they 'cannot do without the Tsar (Khan.—V. T.) and without the Tatars' after that, he could enthrone Tsarevich Kaybula, who was of the service class and the son of Astrakhan khan Ak Kobek; 'if you want Tatars, we will find Tatars for you' [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 203, 204, 208].

On 25 September 1556 the Russian army occupied the deserted capital of the yurt without a shot, unobstructed, as was the case two years before. The khan and local dwellers fled for fear of an enemy attack. They had previously burnt down the town. The Tsar's voivodes Ivan Cheremisinov and Michail Kolupayev replaced the Chinggisids.

The late Nogai Bey Yusuf's children, who were 'living the Cossack way of life,' wanted to make amends to Moscow for their participation in the Crimean campaign against Astrakhan in the autumn of 1554 and their reliance on the renegade Dervish Ali. They crushed the troops of the runaway Astrakhan khan. The murzas took away the cannons that Devlet Giray had sent from Crimea and transferred them to the voivodes in Astrakhan. 'Derbysh fled to the Azov and further to Mecca' [Kniga, 1850,

¹ A well-founded idea about this topography of Tatar Astrakhan in the 16th century is suggested by I. Zaytsev [Zaytsev, 2006, pp. 167, 168].

pp. 105, 106]¹. His sons as well as part of the Astrakhan nobility took shelter in the Ottoman domain [Puteshestviya, 1954, p. 89; Zaytsev, 2006, p. 174].

* * *

Hajji Tarkhan of the Horde was situated on the western bank of the Volga River and faced the threat of a Crimean attack after its annexation by Russia. In 1558 a new incarnation of the city of Astrakhan was founded on the opposite side, where the Nogai allies lived. Now it would be even more complicated for the previous Turkic population, which had left the town in September 1556, to return. Some of the refugees were taken prisoners by the Don Cossacks and the Nogais²; others moved to the domain of the Girays and Ghazi b. Urak; few returned. Whatever the case, they never resettled in Astrakhan. Perhaps a lapse occurred in the history of the town's Turkic population, which Astrakhan historian V. Viktorin termed 'interstadial,' ending with the mass migration to the Lower Volga Region of the population of the dissolving Nogai Horde over the first three decades of the 17th century (see [Viktorin, 1991, pp. 48, 49])³.

The ruler of the Nogai Horde maintained a low profile during the conquest of the khan-

ate. However, his ambitions and requirements to Tsar Ivan were as high as if he had allowed Russia to annex the Lower Volga Region. When decades had passed, his descendants accepted the unproven version: 'Our great-grandfather Prince Ismail conquered Astrakhan with the tsar's people' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1635, file 4, p. 55] Ivan IV had to patiently address endless petitions from the bey. The following items were on the agenda: the Nogai involvement in the administration of the yurt; charges to be imposed in their favour; what was to happen to the Astrakhan Tumaks; the construction of a new Nogai town.

A message from the bey dated September 1558 indicated that he had made an arrangement with the Tsar on the division of property and power before the decisive Russian campaign of 1556 against Astrakhan. 'When Astrakhan is conquered, you shall have the zhivoty (i.e., property.—V. T.),' Ismail wrote to Ivan, 'and you shall give me the head (i.e. power—V. T.)' [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 279]. However, Ivan IV controlled the entire conquered 'tsardom' on his own. Meanwhile, available documents dated shortly before the campaign contain no reference to any such terms and agreements. Besides, it was not he but Tsarevich Tokhtamysh b. Sheikh Auliar of the service class who allegedly appealed to the locals and was of use against Crimea, whom Ismail had put forth as the Khan of Astrakhan a year before. Again the Tsar ignored the vassal monarch's plan [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 427]. Likewise, Murza Ali b. Yusuf's attempts to obtain the throne of 'Tsar Temir Kutlug' in 1557 failed [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 240]. However, the enthronement plans were sporadic. The bey displayed significantly more persistence in financial issues.

We have already cited his declarations on payments due to him that had been made in favour of the Nogais 'when the Tsar and Tsareviches ruled Astrakhan.' Ismail listed either the exact amount (40,000 altyns) or two-thirds of the tamga (trade duty). 'Why I waited for Astrakhan to be conquered,' he shared his ambitions with Ivan IV, 'is because I hoped to have the whole of Astrakhan. And now not a single por-

¹ Embarking on hajj was a symbolic act. Since the 9th century there was an order in the Islamic world, according to which the ruler's pilgrim journey to Mecca meant his demonstrative refusal of the throne and an acknowledgment of his failure in battle with rivals.

² The order to Mokei Lachinov, who was on his way to 'Cossacking' Nogai mirza Ali ibn Yusuf in February 1557, contains Ivan IV's appeal to release Astrakhan 'black people,' who had been captured by the Yusufoviches when they had defeated Dervish Ali, and to send them back to Astrakhan (if they desired it) [Posolskiye (Ambassadorial Books), 2006, p. 239]. In autumn 1557 Ismail asked the tsar to give him all of the Astrakhan captives that the Russian army would capture from the Don Cossacks. The bey estimated that the influx of new subjects would be a helping hand to him in order to 'build the yurt' [Posolskiye (Ambassadorial Books), 2006, p. 258].

³ The issue remains controversial. See: [Dzhumanov, 2009; Syzranov, 2010]. As a consequence, thanks to the resettlement of several Lesser Nogai uluses in the region, ethnic communities of the Karagash and Kundrov people were formed (see: [Nebol'sin, 1852, pp. 77–108; Viktorin, 1983; Idrisov, 2005]).

tion of the tamga has been given' [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 248, 258, 260, 279, 328]. He intimidated his financial plans to voivode Ivan Chermisin as well but was rebuffed. 'I shall give you nothing without the tsar's consent!' he snapped. 'Send a messenger... to the Tsar' [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 248]. At first, the tsar was perplexed ('We never promised to give Astrakhan to you; neither did we mention the tamga'). Then he explained why Ismail's request could not be granted. First, commerce was not yet well-established in the conquered areas—'Astrakhan has little tamga yet; there is no trading carried out there...' Second, whatever small sums were collected, they were allocated to service class people as wages. What remained was less than one-tenth of revenues collected, not even close to one or two-thirds. To sum up, 'there is no tamga for you now. Shall any tamga be left after wages are paid,' the Tsar's messengers tried to sugar-coat the refusal, 'the Tsar will order that you should get the remaining money' [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 267, 287, 288].

The government and the voivodes did not budge over the issue of territories. Ismail tried to persuade them that his ancestors had lived in the region of Astrakhan and also roamed over the territory of certain localities and islands in the Volga Delta. Besides, he wanted to own both banks of the Volga creek called Buzan, emphasising that these were his minimum ambitions ('It is my hope that you will give me not only the Buzan but every creek of the Volga River'). The Russians wanted evidence of this, which did not exist. Moscow's reply was firm: 'We have found nothing (no information—V. T.) on these places. We have never heard of Nogai murzas in Astrakhan'; 'the information that we have discovered about the Buzan is as follows: the Buzan was the border of Astrakhan during the reigns of previous Tsars... You should order people to roam over your (eastern.—V. T.) side of the Buzan without crossing it'; 'the Buzan has always belonged to the people of Astrakhan as arable land... and Ismail should not claim the Buzan' [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 260; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 6, p. 45, 45 reverse, 49–50, 56 reverse, 57, 80 reverse–81 reverse, 111 reverse, 112, 115, 133 reverse].

Moscow was more willing to make concessions when it came to the Tumaks—sedentary migrants from the Nogai Horde. A large number of them must have accumulated in the Astrakhan Yurt during the internecine feud and famine of the mid-1550s in the Nogai Horde. Now the bey wanted all the rights to manage the Tumaks so that he could conveniently confine their settlements to the Buzan. The Tsar was not against the Nogai citizenship of that sedentary category ('they are free people') but was opposed to their settlement along the Buzan. That would cause constant confrontations between them and the local population since 'the Buzan is what the people of Astrakhan subsist on.' Ivan Vasilyevich recommended Ismail that he should settle his subjects along the Yaik, deep in the Nogai land. He apparently followed the recommendation for in 1562 he reported that his Tumaks 'lived along the Yaik... and came to the Volga River to buy cloth' [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 337; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 6, p. 12 reverse, 13, 26 reverse, 35–36, 56 reverse].

Ismail's dream of governing over a town of his own in the region of Astrakhan and collecting all the revenue generated for the bey's treasury (instead of the Astrakhan tamga) was another issue. The Russians kept appealing to the sober thinking of their noble interlocutor to talk him out of this ambition: 'How can you build a town near another town?' 'You should not build a town close to Astrakhan,' etc. [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 267, 268; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 6, p. 26, 26 reverse].

The Nogai head's solicitations for access to control over or funds of the former Astrakhan Khanate largely failed. One must agree with Ye. Kusheva: the hard line of Moscow's institutions proved stable and successful due to Ismail's insecure status in the Nogai Horde (Kusheva, 1950, p. 246; Kusheva, 1963, p. 193). Formally still victorious and of a high position, he nevertheless had more enemies among his clansmen than did any preceding bey.

* * *

The Russian conquest of Hajji Tarkhan roused the Crimeans' indignation. The idea

of freeing it from the hands of the 'unbelievers' smoldered in Bakhchysaray for decades, and the Girays raised the question every once in a while until their failed attempt in 1569 to reconquer the city in cooperation with the Turks¹. In his charters to Ivan the Terrible, Devlet Giray many times proclaimed his rights to the Astrakhan Yurt. At first, he asserted that the Girays had had their patrimony there, as did Temir Kutlug's descendants: 'The yurt of our grandfathers lies near Astrakhan along the bank of the Volga River. Once they belonged to our fathers, and Temir Kutlug's clan owned it in other times, and they are not strangers to us' ('grandfathers' and 'fathers' should be interpreted as 'ancestors.'—*V. T.*). Then he declared himself the legal hereditary claimant upon the khanates in the Volga Region conquered by the Tsar (as his successor Mehmed Giray II would also do later): 'Kazan and Astrakhan used to be our yurts; you took them from our hands'; 'Crimea and Astrakhan used to be the yurts of our grandfathers and fathers'; 'the reason why we ask for the... Astrakhan Yurt is that the yurt had been owned by our ancestors since ancient times,' and so on. Moscow was firm in its denial of the claims: 'Kazan and Astrakhan have never belonged to the Crimean Tsars; they have never ruled Kazan and Astrakhan, nor enthroned their Tsars there' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, inv. 1, file 13, p. 175; file 14, p. 38 reverse, 159 reverse, 177; file 15, reverse 367].

The rebuff was not flawless, though. First, three Giray khans had ruled Kazan during the first half of the 16th century. Second, the Crimean army is known to have occupied Hajji Tarkhan twice. Mehmed Giray I did enthrone his son Bahadur Giray in Astrakhan in 1523 (although for a short period only since the two Girays were soon killed by Nogais).

In 1572 a Crimean nobleman explained to a Russian ambassador that Devlet Giray's persistence was attributable to his aspiration to save

his reputation before the Ottoman padishah: 'If he does not cede (Ivan IV to the Khan.—*V. T.*) Kazan and Astrakhan, he shall cede at least Astrakhan alone, for my Turkish brother shames me for fighting against the Tsar and grand prince (meaning primarily the Tatar burning of Moscow in 1571—*V. T.*), without conquering either Kazan or Astrakhan.' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123, inv. 1, file 14, p. 169–169 reverse]. It was not the only reason for the Crimean claim over the Lower Volga Region.

It took the Russians many years waging a diplomatic campaign and a significant increase in 'pominki' (gifts) to put an end to such claims of Bakhchysaray to the former Hajji Tarkhan, declarative as they were.

* * *

From the very beginning of the Russian voivodes' administration of the conquered Astrakhan Khanate, their Nogai policy was controversial. Whatever the Tsar promises to Bey Ismail to persuade him to support the conquest of the Lower Volga Region, Moscow devoted the least thought to the interests of their neighbours in the steppe.

As soon as September 1556 voivodes of the newly annexed 'tsardom' I. Cheremisinov and M. Kolupayev reported that they had 'established themselves in the town' to 'stay there without fear, and deployed Cossacks and streletsy warriors to stand along the Volga River, and deprived the Nogais of any freedom and the people of Astrakhan of their right to fish and transport goods' [Nikonovskaya, 1904, p. 274]. Ismail, who was trying to fight back the attack of the hostile murzas, lacked the energy and time to stand up for his authority in Astrakhan against the threat of his menacing Moscow patron. In May 1557 he sent his sons to the voivodes to make an oath of loyalty on behalf of the beys and all of the murzas in his camp. They promised to be 'true in everything' to the tsar and even fraternised with Ivan Cheremisinov. Ismail spent the following winter near the town; his uluses 'were engaged in commerce and spent the winter... freely and peacefully' [Kniga, 1850, p. 109; Letopisets, 1895, p. 71; Nikonovskaya, 1904, p. 281].

¹ Об этой проблеме в контексте русско-крымских и отчасти русско-турецких отношений второй половины XVI в. см. подробно [Виноградов, 2007], в общем контексте отношений между мусульманскими государствами — см.: [Беннигсен, Бериндей, 2009; Карпер д'Анкос, 2009].

When the voivode administration was established, the local governments of the Lower Volga Region were instructed to maintain peace with their nomadic neighbours and 'let the Nogais engage in good trading.' They were expected to provide streltsy harquebusiers to Ismail during internecine conflicts in the east and to shelter him in case of a defeat [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 236, 254, 261, 262]. The Nogais did not doubt the guarantees. At first, they were credulous enough to 'roam and spend the winter... near Astrakhan, engage in commerce, and spent the winter freely and peacefully' [Kniga, 1850, p. 109].

However, in the end, relations between the nomads and the Tsar's appointees were far from idyllic. The voivodeship of Astrakhan remained essentially a Russian enclave. Facing the strange nomadic world of the remote steppe, voivodes wanted to establish themselves as a power that inspired awe in the inhabitants of the neighbouring yurts. Less than a year had passed after the Russian administration was established in Kazan when Cheremisinov 'waged war against (Nogai) uluses and took prisoners.' He would rob and capture nomads trying to get to the Crimean side over a crossing within his jurisdiction. Nogai prisoners were kept in the town; some were sold 'to many lands.'

The lucrative slave trade was not the only motive of the Astrakhan natives who conducted raids in the eastern territories. After the Tatar population of the yurt had fled, the former capital of the khanate and its surrounding territories needed new settlers to provide support services and food for the Russian garrison, which could not rely entirely on the supply from upstream towns. The first campaigns apparently yielded enough prisoners to start forming the population of the 'yurts' in the outskirts of Astrakhan. However far they were from the capital, the Tsar's satraps were unlikely to take the risk of confronting the Nogai Horde, which was weakened but still powerful, for the sole purpose of enrichment. Their actions must have been aimed primarily at populating the empty town and its out regions and increasing the numbers of tribute-paying inhabitants. In one of his letters Ismail leaked the fact that the voivode lured to his side 'our

Tatar people, whom he deceitfully promises to feed.' The bey then switched from describing Cheremisinov's wrongful deeds to asking that the latter should be replaced [Posol'skie, 2006, pp. 253, 259, 260].

Subsequently, Ivan Vyrodkov replaced Ivan Cheremisinov. However, the new voivode's relations with the Nogais were even more tragic. Unlike his predecessor, he allowed emigrants from the Horde to enter the right bank of the Volga River. Many stayed in Astrakhan, and the voivode refused to deliver them to the steppe. Nogais who settled within his domain were to pay a yasak of bread and fish, of course, to the town's treasury and not to the bey's camp. This doubled Ismail's indignation. He demanded that the Tsar should rebuke his satrap and prevent him from acting against Ismail's interests [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 298]. Among others, some of Yusuf's sons settled in Astrakhan, which infuriated the bey.

In 1560 Vyrodkov 'sent his people against Saray-Jük... and took prisoners.' Minor confrontations between Nogais and Russian Astrakhan dwellers over fishing and hunting land and the like were not infrequent. Complaints against the Tsar's appointees accumulated over time. Russian, Lithuanian, and German captives fled to Astrakhan from the Horde; voivodes not only refused to send them back, they even refused to return the horses the formed captives used to escape to the murzas. The English diplomat and traveler A. Jenkinson noted that the only concession that the voivodes could make was to return non-Russian runaways; Russians enjoyed liberation and protection. In order to increase the Slavic population of the land entrusted to him, I. Cheremisinov encouraged Russians in Ismail's territory to run away [Anglijskie, 1937, p. 267; Posol'skie, 2006, p. 259; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 8, p. 4]. The tsarist administration of the Lower Volga Region enriched its cavalry by regularly raiding Nogai herds, which also provoked confusion and protests from the nomadic rulers. Officials did not deign to rob nomadic camps [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 313; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 6, p. 8; file 7, p. 11 reverse].

Such incidents further complicated Ismail's already controversial status among the Mangyt aristocracy. 'Those people of my clan whom I betrayed for you laugh at me when beholding the aggression of Ivan Vyrodkov' [Posol'skie, 2006, p. 324]. The bey was fed up with Russian attacks and Nogai accusations and was beginning to consider allying himself with Bakhchysaray. Although Vyrodkov did not let his envoy see Devlet Giray, Moscow realised that a serious conflict was about to break out in the Lower Volga Region and again decided to replace its appointee in Astrakhan. In the summer of 1561 the voivode was found to be in disfavour, arrested, and brought to court. The affairs of Astrakhan were entrusted to Ignaty Zabolotsky and Grigory Zlobin. Several months later Ivan IV received a charter from Ismail where he accused the new appointees of arranging the citizens' theft of Nogai horses [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 6, p. 8]. Thus, relations between the new Russian administration of the newly annexed 'tsardom' and the neighbouring nomadic peoples were characterised by disputes and scandals from the very beginning.

It was the voivodes who initiated military campaigns on the steppe; the capital was totally unaware of them. Ivan IV was outraged to find out from murzas' letters that Astrakhan kept numerous Nogai prisoners. In 1564 the voivodes received orders to set all of them free [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 7, p. 14 reverse, 21]. However, no general homecoming to the Horde seemed to take place, and the Nogais settled in 'yurts' near the town.

The Nogai grievances were largely limited to complaints to Moscow. It was both dangerous and disadvantageous to the nomads to quarrel with the voivodes, though they sometimes managed to lodge successful accusations against the most impudent satraps. Bread and other victuals supplied by the Tsar arrived via Astrakhan. Monetary grants for beys and murzas were added in the 1580s.

The key function of the Russian administration was to control the crossings on the Lower Volga, primarily that of Astrakhan. The crossing had been active since time long im-

memorial, probably dating back to the days of the Silk Road. In the time of the Golden Horde trade caravans would cross the river near Hajji Tarkhan. The voivodes had to make sure that enemies of the Major Nogais did not enter the left bank and also ensure the unimpeded transport of Nogai envoys and nomadic uluses that roamed on the Crimean side a certain times of the year. To this end, special ships, guardians, and carriers were used.

A procedure for providing and paying for the crossing was developed over several decades; instructions on this procedure were provided to voivodes. Streltsy guard detachments were sent to Volga creeks to prevent those attempting to bypass the tollgate and the customs post. Duties were established for the carriage of foot-passengers (1 denga), horses, and cows (2 dengas per animal), calves, sheep, and loaded carts. The fee could be paid in cattle and 'any lumber' if the travelers had no money. A 'travel charter with the Tsar's seal of the Tsardom of Astrakhan' had to be provided to the carriers; otherwise crossing was forbidden. Only the Bey of the Great Nogai Horde or his ambassadors could move from bank to bank without impediment and free of charge [Historical Acts, vol. 3, pp. 203, 204; Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 2, pp. 87,88]. All limitations applied to Russians as well as to nomadic Nogais and yurt dwellers—semi-sedentary inhabitants of the district of Astrakhan, which were multiplying due to an inflow of migrants from the Nogai Horde.

Famine and poverty forced its dwellers to gather under the protection of the Russian administration in the late 1550s. The voivodes did not offer any material aid at that time [Anglijskie, 1937, pp. 171, 172], but the opportunity to enjoy streltsy protection, trade at the town market, use of the fields and fisheries attracted many poor people from the steppe. The lower reaches of the Volga had traditionally been used by western wing uluses for winter camps, and the Nogai nuradin's subjects spent several months a year near Astrakhan. The voivodes were not opposed. In fact, they seemed to view the approaching nomads as an opportunity to increase the voivodeship by luring them into the 'yurts.' 'You and your people come to our

patrimony of Astrakhan as if it was a town of theirs to roam and stay for the winter,' Ivan IV wrote to Murza Uraz Muhammad in 1581. 'According to our ('your' in the text—*V. T.*) strict order, our voivodes do not block them' (i.e., do not stand in their way.—*V. T.*) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 9, p. 268 reverse].

The term 'yurts' first appeared in reports in the early 1580s. A clerk in an English commercial company K. Barrow described a fire in February 1580 'in a Nogai Tatar settlement three quarters of a mile away from the Astrakhan fortress, which is called yurt.' According to the Englishman, 7,000 local Nogais were 'vassals of the Russian Tsar' [Anglijskie, 1937, p. 266]. It was presumably during that period that the governmental policy of yurt organisation was formed (the issue was previously addressed by the voivodes).

In the spring of 1582 a group of Astrakhan Tatars headed by Toka Ilev was sent to the town from Moscow. The local authorities were obliged to receive them with great respect and provide them comfortable accommodations. Ilev and company were in fact there to recruit nomads as service class Tatars—'they should find new comrades for themselves and new men to serve us in the Nogai uluses.' They were instructed not to release any of the newly recruited Nogais to the capital. The Nogais were to live there, supervised by the voivodes, as 'people of the yurt' to form a separate service class: '... you should treat the people of the yurt with great care; they will be useful to us (Tsar.—*V. T.*) if built (i.e., organised.—*V. T.*) in a better way; we would have more of them in service' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, file 10, p. 248 reverse, 249].

The people of the yurt were divided into contingents of five commanded by group leaders. They could only enter the town without weapons, in small groups accompanied by officers—all this only in the afternoon, when markets were closed. To prevent any conflicts with the authorities, 'yurts' could not be fortified (fencing was permitted in the latter half of the 17th century due to Kalmyk raids). The people of the yurt received weapons only for the winter season, when the Kalmyks were expected;

such weapons would be retrieved before summer. As the Great Nogai Horde dissolved, not only the common ulus people but also murzas, referred to as Astrakhan murzas, took up residence near Astrakhan. They were initially entitled to hold court for yurt people, but the judiciary function was soon entrusted to the voivodes. Such murzas provided amanats (hostages) to the town.

The Russians had borrowed the entire system of hostages from the Turkic Horde's bureaucratic practice, which in turn relied on the old Muslim legacy in relations with nomads. The first amanats were given by Nogai Bey Urus and murzas to Crimean Prince Murad Giray, sent to Astrakhan by Ivan IV in the summer of 1586, in particular, to improve the frayed relations with the Great Nogais. Urus, who at that time intended to make peace with Russia, agreed to send his hostages to the Giray prince. It was not likely that he would send his family members directly to the voivodes. But in fact it was they who were responsible for the Nogai amanats.

When the amanats were determined by drawing lots and being talked into it by their relatives, the murzas agreed to settle in the Hostage Court for a specified period, usually a year, to be replaced by a new murza, 'but they cannot... send them to Astrakhan against their will' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1623, file 1, p. 44]. Only aristocrats possessing no ulus agreed to become amanats for a longer period. Those who had to administer a population of animal breeders would face the threat of their dominion falling apart. Murza Jan Muhammed b. Din Muhammed complained about having been a hostage for over five years, during which 'my enemies have drawn many a man from my ulus... to the field' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 3, p. 12].

As the Nogais lost their power, the voivodes' abuse of amanats grew more blatant. Underage murzas could be taken hostages, which had been previously forbidden (the voivodes would take two children or teenagers for one adult); the use by the Hostage Court to keep those accused or suspected of treason increased; wives and children of 'traitors' were sometimes kept

there. If a *streltsy* detachment was sent to a *ulus* in order to protect it against the Kalmyks or hostile *murzas*, additional *amanats* also ensured its security in the steppe.

Relations between the Astrakhan authorities and the Nogais were largely spontaneous due to their close vicinity throughout the latter half of the 16th century. In the early 17th century the Office of Ambassadors began to gradually and officially delegate its powers in relations with *beys* and *murzas* to the *voivodes*. The *voivodes* were to represent the monarch in his relations with the Great Nogai Horde under an order of Tsar Godunov dated December 1602, for which purpose they were expected to use the title of a lesser Tsar in addition to that of prince and *voivode* in correspondence with Nogai leaders: 'By the grace of God, from the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fyodorovich of All Russia, the Sovereign and Possessor of many states, His Tsar's Majesty, from boyar and *voivode* of Astrakhan' [Akty', 1914, p. 223].

Bey Ishterek and the *murzas* were instructed to report their affairs to Astrakhan and not Moscow. It was the *voivodes*' responsibility to inform the Tsar who would announce his resolutions through the *voivodes* [Akty', 1918, p. 99; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1604, file 3, p. 52].

The general scope of the *voivodes*' authority and responsibilities was not specified in orders issued to them in Moscow upon their appointment. They were expected to exercise supervision over the *uluses* inhabited by the Great Nogais that were scattered over the steppe, prevent any robberies and wrongful deeds towards nomads by the *streltsy* and common dwellers, settle internal Nogai conflicts, ensure the proper treatment and rotation of *amanats*, etc. [Historical Acts, vol. 3, pp. 211–215, 254–258]. It was the Astrakhan *voivodes* who were entrusted with installing Nogai leaders—*beys*, *nuradins*, *kekovats*, and *taibugas*.

* * *

In the early 17th century the Kalmyks appeared in the Lower Volga Region. They separated from the Oirat Mongols. After the Mongol Empire fell in the late 14th century, the Oirats

roamed in the west of what is now Mongolia. In the first half of the 15th century the eastern Mongols and the Chinese forced them to move westwards, losing vast grazing territories; an internecine war among their noblemen broke out. At that time they were represented by five tribal unions: the Chorosos (also known as the Dzungars), the Khoshuts, the Torghuts, the Dörbets, and the Khoids. Taishi princes ruled over them. The Chorosos formed the Dzungar Khanate in the territory of north-west China. The aristocracy of the other Oirat clans did not have power in Dzungaria. The Dörbets, the Torghuts, and the Khoshuts pulled up stakes to move north- and westwards at a slow pace. The dropout Oirat continent was to become known as the Kalmyks.

In the early 17th century the Kalmyks reached Russia's Siberian territory. They ventured on occasional raids but mostly preferred to peacefully coexist with the *voivodes*. The latter benefited from being on friendly terms with their new neighbours as the newly founded Russian settlements had poorly developed economics. Thus, the government wanted to build up trade with the nomads and make arrangements for wool, felt, and foods to be supplied from the steppe. Kalmyk attacks on the Bashkirs and the Siberian Tatars, who had become subjects of the Tsar hoping to obtain protection against the nomads, constituted a grave problem. Moscow ordered local governments to take every reasonable measure to protect their subordinate peoples from the Kalmyks but not to invade taishis dominions, and instead attempt talking them into peaceful cooperation.

Having reached the Siberian borders, the Kalmyks found the best, most fruitful grazing land to be occupied—Russia controlled it. The taishis lacked the might and would not dare start a war as they had against the Nogais. Formal allegiance to Russia seemed to be a good solution. In February 1608, following long negotiations with the *voivodes* of the Siberian Tara fortress, ambassadors of several taishis arrived in Moscow for an audience with Tsar Vasily Shuysky. The latter allowed the Kalmyks to roam within the Muscovite state along the rivers Irtysh, Om, and others

'where they want,' emphasising their obligation to stay subordinated to him 'forever true.' The nearest Russian garrisons were to protect their camps against the Nogais, the Kazakhs, and the Mongols.

Several more tribal unions broke away from the general Oirat group in the 1610–1620s and moved towards the Volga River. Their leaders had to deal with the Russian administration of Astrakhan. They were rather pugnacious and commanded a large cavalry. The voivodes made considerable efforts to secure the land entrusted to them against the newcomers. The government also tried to persuade the Volga taishis to move closer to the Irtysh River, where the Kalmyks were to roam under the agreement. The attempts at persuasion soon ended as the Kalmyk cavalry caught the attention of Moscow's tacticians. Moscow was engaged in a bitter war with Poland, and they needed more troops. The nomads could be used both to protect the state's southern borders and in the European theatre of operation as well.

A long exchange of ambassadors and charters began, during which both parties set forth conditions of their own. The Kalmyks wanted the land in the Lower Volga Region, which they in fact occupied, to be allotted to them, while the Tsar demanded that they should provide hostages to Astrakhan, to which the taishis expressed strong dissent: 'The Kalmyks have never given amanats to anyone since the world has existed, and they never will!..' (quoted by [Batmaev, 1993, p. 98]). The Kalmyks finally became part of Russia after mutual concessions established in two šert agreements dated 1654 and 1657. They embarked on military service straightaway to fight at the command of the Tsar's voivodes. For some time, participating in wars was to remain one of the Kalmyks' principal state obligations. The taishis received their remuneration from the treasury.

The main body of the Kalmyks gathered in the Lower Volga Region in the 17th century to form a new state headed by a khan, subordinated to the Tsar, and in fact within Russia. In 1664 the government formally recognised the statehood of the Kalmyk Khanate. The Tsar presented its leader Monchak with a

mace and a flag to symbolise state power. The vassal Khanate lay on both sides of the Volga River from Astrakhan to Samara and Tsaritsyn, covering the Don and Ural steppes. It was divided into uluses inhabited by three key tribes: Torghut, Dörbets, and Khoshut. The uluses, which were headed by princes known as noyons, were divided into aimag districts led by zaisangs.

Kalmykia lay far from Central Russia, in water-deficient steppes in which very few Russians resided. The voivodes in the nearby towns mostly kept out of the khanate's affairs.

This situation began to change in the first half of the following century. The government embarked upon a new policy of gradually limiting Kalmyk autonomy in tandem with spreading Christianity among them. The gradual economic development of the Lower Volga Regions resulted in the withdrawal of vast grazing and fishing territories. The changes frustrated the steppe-dwellers; the majority of the people came to think that staying within Russia was not to their benefit. In 1771 most of the Kalmyks moved eastwards to their previously abandoned motherland in Central Asia (the so-called Torghout Escape). En route to their destination diseases and confrontations with the Kazakhs significantly reduced their numbers. The Chinese (Qing) administration settled the rest in Xinjiang Province, in the former territory of Dzungaria.

The remnants of the Kalmyk Khanate on the Volga River naturally occupied a much smaller territory on the right bank. The Khanate ceased to exist, and its land became part of Astrakhan guberniya. The Kalmyks were now subordinated to Russian officials, though they preserved a low-level autonomy and the traditional division into uluses, aimags, and khotons. These rudiments of independence were reduced to nothing over the 19th century.

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Russia's advance into the Volga Region in the 16th century resulted in direct daily contact with the culturally alien Turkic Muslims and brought about the establishment of an administrative, fiscal, and religious policy towards the numerous non-Russian population to whom

Russian standards of intrastate relations had been alien. The Moscow administration faced the challenge of adjusting the newly annexed territories and peoples to the new geopolitical situation of being within the territory of Russia, 'under the White Tsar's exalted hand.'

The Russian colonisation of the Volga Region and the Urals had some features that later would characterise its reclamation of eastern territories. It combined organised (governmentally approved) and spontaneous migration. The reasons why the Russians wanted to acquire the territories on and beyond the Volga Region included a quest for vacant land, social stratification, reinforced serfdom in central regions of the state, governmental repression of participants in mass movements (Razin's uprising, the Raskol), and natural disasters—droughts, famine, etc.

The Russian population of Saratov Krai initially inhabited it on a seasonal basis: tribute-paying hunters, fishermen, and forest beekeepers lived in temporary winter settlements. Permanent dwellers began to appear in newly built settlements and villages in the mid-17th century. The governmental policy of building new fortifications and towns as protection against the Cossacks and the nomads, which was initiated in the 1630s, also encouraged the population to opt for permanent residences. Over time, monastery-centred settlements of fishermen appeared. Monastic estates began to form in the late 18th century.

The Lower Volga Region initially served as the state's military outpost in response to the corresponding structure of the Russian population. The country was very poorly populated during the first hundred years after the Astrakhan Khanate was conquered. In the middle of the 17th century A. Olearius noted that 'not a single village' was to be seen within the territory from Tetyushi (120 versts away from Kazan) to Astrakhan [Olearius, 2003, p. 327]. The government would have to build a system of fortified towns in order to maintain the Volga Trade Route. The practice of building continuous fortification lines to protect agricultural settlements, common for Russia's southern borderline territories, was introduced in the middle of the 16th century. The Russian population of the

region finally began to grow as local resources underwent intense development. However, complete agricultural and commercial development was impossible until the Kalmyks left the territory in 1771 [Dubman, 1999, p. 212; Lyubavsky, 1996, pp. 282, 283].

In the 'Tsardom of Kazan' of the latter half of the 16–17th centuries the Russians formed a continuous ethnic aggregation around Sviyazhsk and later also around Tetyushi and along the narrow bank of the Volga River. Local peoples alternated with the Russians in inhabiting the rest of the territory. The Russian population of Astrakhan Krai also kept to the Volga River. People settled along its banks, on islands, and near creeks and ramifications, leaving the surrounding steppe, which would be inconvenient for agriculture, to the nomads.

The natural and climatic conditions of the Central Volga Region enabled the Russians to adjust their economic habits to the new situation. However, as they spread farther east or southwards, the newly annexed territories required increasing economic work, cooperation, and resourcefulness. Initially sparse in number, the migrants faced even greater economic difficulties. Therefore, even urban dwellers and residents of borderline fortresses had to engage in farming in certain areas. Some territories were hardly arable. In 1767 a Syzran voivode reported to the Senate on the causes of crop deficiency, among which he mentioned the following: the local population, 'has given up arable farming for fishing... as a trade requiring less effort than agriculture, thus setting an example for their descendants' [Samarskoe, 2000, p. 189]. As evidence of this, P. Pallas wrote in the following year that the population of Samara was generally engaged in livestock breeding, melon cultivation, and fishing [Samarskoe Povolzh'e, 2000, pp. 207, 208]. A traveler of the 17th century J. Struys emphasised how crucial fishing was to the economy of Astrakhan. In particular, he mentioned their replacing animal fat with fish caviar when fasting [Struys, 1935, p. 211].

Peasants in the Volga Region adopted the three-field system of Central Russia. The extensive grassland rotation system was confined

to a sparsely populated steppe. No proper alternation of winter and spring crops was practiced; surface tillage was common.

Large-scale livestock breeding development mostly took place in the steppe. According to academician Pallas, 'the fertile, pleasant, and very rich in grass country along (the Trans-Volga rivers.—V. T.) Sok, Kinel, and Samara' was 'the best... place of all places suitable for establishing sheep farms in Russia. Even simple Russian sheep are much better than the regular breed and have cleaner wool...' [Samar-skoe Povolzh'e, 2000, p. 199]. The favourable conditions were one of the reasons why the population of the Samara Volga Region was not actively engaged in agriculture. As neighbours of bellicose nomads, they could not but be concerned about livestock security. Stakes mounted in fortresses (Saratov, Tsaritsyn) for defence were also used for stock pens.

The way in which fisheries were reorganised suggests a Tatar influence. Volga salmon was highly valued and famous. However, its population had dwindled by the middle of the 18th century, and fishermen switched to catfish, carp, bream, pike perch, etc. Traditionally, the largest and most lucrative fishery was in the lower reaches of the Volga River.

Volga and Yaik fishermen especially appreciated large fish. Fishermen in the lower reaches of the Volga had an old tradition of setting trap nets of wood arranged in a broken line (to prevent the water from washing it away) across the river to fish for salmon and sturgeon moving upstream to spawn. The Russian population of Astrakhan was sure that the device had a Tatar origin [Markov, 1966, p. 186; Minkh, 1900, pp. 313, 314]. Facing the obstacle, fish accumulated along the trap net, enabling fishermen in boats to choose the largest and most valuable of them.

New Slavic settlers borrowed this method from the local Turks and monopolised it in the early 17th century. In response to the murzas' complaints, the government issued an instruction that the Nogais 'should be denied the right to use trap nets for the tsar will grant them (the murzas.—V. T.) money even without trap nets' [Nogai Book and Scrolls, 1619, file 2, pp. 207, 219]. The people of the ulus initially used net

traps in return for a fee paid to the voivode administration [Nogai Books and Scrolls, 1635, file 2, p. 168]. However, Russian tax farmers were eventually established on the lower reaches of the river. They had the banks of the Volga River and its creeks guarded, so the nomads had no option but to 'use drag-nets and regular nets'—separate devices that were not used in large-scale fishing.

Few as they were, the Nogai fishing locations attracted the attention of avaricious fishermen, and the voivode chancellery along with the Office of Ambassadors had to address numerous claims. Seeing a steppe-dweller with a net or even with a fishing rod on the bank, the bank guard robbed and 'did violence to' him. The predatory approach to land perplexed the nomads: Astrakhan had already appropriated the routes of passage for valuable fish, and 'no large fish like sturgeon ever appears in this water' [Acty', 1918, p. 143; Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 2, p. 151; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, inv. 1, 1604, file 3, p. 207; 1626, file 1, p. 23; 1631, file 2, p. 52; file 3, p. 20]. However, tax-farmers wanted to reinforce their monopoly of Volga fish.

* * *

Russian and Oriental medieval sources date the subordination of the Astrakhan Khanate to 1554, when Ivan IV's army occupied Astrakhan for the first time, and the initially obedient Dervish Ali was in fact appointed khan by the Tsar. The phrase 'of Astrakhan' was then added to the Tsar's title under Ivan IV, the first record of it dating to September 1554, when Moscow sent ambassadors to Bakhchysaray and Vilnius to report on the Astrakhan Victory [Khoroshkevich, 2004, p. 121; Filyushkin, 2006, p. 206]. King Sigismund-August congratulated his 'colleague' in Moscow on 'occupying and subjugating the town of Astrakhan and the entire Horde of Astrakhan and enthroning Tsar Derbish and voivodes' of his. The inscription of the king's charter addressed the grand prince, in particular, 'of Kazan, Astrakhan' [Kniga, 1843, pp. 96, 97].

Having conquered the khanates in the Volga Region, the Russian Tsar (grand prince) replaced, in a way, the previous Tatar khans in

the hierarchy of power. The paradigm of his relations with non-Slavic subjects is indicative of using familiar government institutions to obtain new subjects for the Tsar. The Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates did not cease to exist in formal terms, but the Tsar of Moscow was now considered to be their ruler. Ivan IV mentioned them in his first message to Andrey Kurbsky: 'Those tsardoms have become entirely subordinated to our state' (quoted by [Flo-rya, 2003, p. 42])—they were not liquidated but rather preserved as subordinated parts of the state. Indeed, both territorial units (along with the 'Tsardom of Siberia') existed until Peter the Great's regional reforms of the early 18th century, when they were replaced by guberniyas and provinces.

This is the way foreign witnesses of the latter half of the 16–17th century interpreted the situation: 'The people of Kazan and Astrakhan near the Volga River used to have Tsars of their own... Then Ivan IV subjugated them... The Moscow Tsar applied their title to himself and now calls himself Tsar of both countries' [Daniil, 1876, pp. 59–60]; 'Russian Grand Princes obtained the title of Tsar after the conquest of those states of little importance' [Yul, 1899, p. 157]. Thus, the Tsar of Kazan and the Tsar of Astrakhan are Tatar titles, which the victor borrowed, with 'Tsar' meaning 'Khan.'

The special status of the Tatar tsardoms had occasional surprising manifestations. In 1631 the Archbishop of Astrakhan Macarius declared the Tsardom of Astrakhan to be older than that of Moscow, and thus it was entitled to privileges as high as independence. Thus, Macarius believed the Russian Astrakhan to be the successor of the Khans' yurt despite the fact that town had an exclusively Russian population at that time, while Tatars were not even allowed to enter it for the night for fear of rebellious conspiracies [Karabushchenko, 1995]¹. Members of the voivode administration and service aristocrats of the 'State of Kazan' developed similar ideas during the Time of Troubles in the early 17th century. In that case, however, the reason lay in the intention to pre-

serve true Orthodox Christianity in the context of Polish intervention and general chaos [Er-molaev, 1982, pp. 85, 91]. A certain separatist trend was evident throughout the first century of the voivodeship of Astrakhan.

The steppe along the Volga banks remained poorly populated for a very long period. In 1745 Empress Elizabeth Petrovna ordered that runaway subjects should be found, registered, and settled in 'vacant places' along the Volga River. These amounted to 3,000 people, on whom a poll tax was imposed as soon as they arrived in their new place of residence [Chernyaeva, 1914, p. 112].

Slavic migrants inhabited the territories of the conquered Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates and the Nogai Horde, which had dissolved by the 17th century. They settled together with the old Turkic population. Their mutual influence affected various aspects and spheres of culture. The popularity of the image of the Volga in folklore songs and bylinas was one of the most obvious signs of the Russian colonisation of the Volga Region. The cultural exploration of both free Cossacks and Russian subjects took the form of a cult of the river (for more details, see [Trepavlov, 1997]).

Songs dating back to the 17–18th century provide a vivid insight into the evolution of the great river's image. While more recent works refer to the Volga River only as a ritual element, an abstract 'mother,' songs composed in the 17–18th century still convey the novelty of the Volga landscape to the Russian migrants. It took Russian pioneers, in particular Cossacks of Russian origin, a long time to develop the loving attitude towards the Volga River which the local nomads had. Newly settled Cossacks and peasants had to face it as an awe-inspiring power of nature of a very special temperament to which they had to adjust (as the saying goes, 'the Volga is at times a mother and at times a stepmother' [Volga, 1937, p. 155]. At first, they gazed upon the vast desolate steppe with apprehension. The following sayings most probably date back to that period: 'Even though the Akhtuba² is empty, one should not go there without guardians,' 'One who walked along

¹ In fact, accusations against Makary could have been groundlessly put forward by his opponents.

² Akhtube is the left branch of the Lower Volga.

the Volga soon found his death' [Tereshchenko, 1853, p. 52; Starinny'e, 1899, p. 92]. The Lower Reaches of the Volga River remained a 'strange and distant land' to the Russians even after Volga became 'mother' to Slavic newcomers. A folk song titled 'The Orphan' has lyrics that convey the times:

*Volga the Mother nursed me,
A lightweight willow boat brought me up,
Fast waves were my caring nannies,
The strange and distant land of Astrakhan
brought me up* [Volga, 1937, p. 81].

Descriptions of Astrakhan as a distant and strange land is characteristic. Settlements on the fringes of the state were often compared to other borderlands: 'Far is Astrakhan, but Siberia is farther.' [Starinny'e, 1899, p. 77].

'The Orphan' is essentially a brigand's monologue. Secluded spots along the Volga banks south of Samara hosted free Cossacks and later even offered shelter to outlaws and runaways. The following proverbs refer to this fact: 'He who paid his debts was still unable to avoid the Volga,' 'If you cannot pay your debt, you should go to the Volga' [Starinny'e, 1899, p. 133; Dal, p. 343]—that is, to become a burlak (a person who hauled barges and other vessels upstream) or a brigand. Numerous folk songs representative of the brigands' 'colonisation' of the Volga Region were recorded in the 19th century:

*Our land spreads as wide as you can see,
from Kozlov to Saratov,
to our dear Mother Volga,
To our dear Mother Volga, to our land of
freedom and abundance,
We shall not die there, friends (quoted by
[Milyukov, 2006, p. 247]).
Far, far beyond the Volga lies the steppe,
And life was free and unbridled in that
steppe...
Cossacks and burlaks came together there* [Legendy', 1969, p. 11].

For the longest time the vast steppe on the left bank of the Volga River attracted 'dubious characters' the most. Frequent and large-scale robbery on the river and along its shores did not stop until the 1840s, when steamboats were introduced [Chernyayeva, 1914, pp. 111, 118]¹. Social dropouts who gathered in the region later opted to earn their living as burlaks and loaders for navigating and transporting crops. The central and local authorities were sensitive to the fact that this population was very large and introduced a simplified passport regime in such places [Smirnov, 1999, pp. 34, 35].

When migrating to the Middle and Lower Volga Region, the Russians had to establish contact with local peoples. A unique model for civilisation gradually formed in that large region, combining features of Slavic statehood with Oriental political traditions. The synthesis was essential to Russian civilisation.

¹ About robberies and looting as a constant factor in the life of the Lower Volga Region in the 16–17th centuries, see: [Karabushchenko, 2009, pp. 58–64].

CHAPTER 3

Conquest of the Siberian Khanate and the Start of the Colonisation of Siberia

Damir Iskhakov, Zaytuna Tychinskikh

The starting point of the accession of such a huge region of Russia as Siberia cannot be viewed outside the context of the history of the Tatar people as it would not have happened without the elimination of the Siberian Yurt, the Tatar's state core, which G. Müller rightly calls 'the first and predominant people of Siberia' [Müller, 1999, p. 166]. For a long time the Siberian Tatars controlled the major part of the vast expanse of Western Siberia [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012]. But that is not the only reason as the word 'Siberia' is directly relevant to Tatars and their ethnic ancestors. In fact, in the 14–early 15th centuries the Golden Horde had a specific 'region' called 'Ibir-Sibir'/'Sibir-Ibir,' the name of which is featured in the well-known Tatar phraseological unit 'ybyr-chybyr,' which is practically equivalent to the mythological 'fair folk.' Since in this case the term *ibir* can be seen as a version of *sibir*, it is arguable that the term 'Siberia,' established as gentilic in the early 14th century, comes from the ethnonym '*shibir*'/'*shiber*,' mentioned in the chronicles of the 13th century as one of the groups of 'forest people' conquered by Jochi in 1207. In turn, this ethnonym could be viewed as a modification of the ethnonym *savir/sabir/suvar*, common among the Hunnic-Bulgarian tribes. The latter settled near the Siberian Tatars (they had a *volost* named *Supra*), Ob Ugric people (ethnonym *supra*), and North-Eastern Bashkirs (eponym *Subra*). The historical legacy of the Siberian Tatars also features the '*Sypyr*' people, who are considered either their predecessor, an ethnic component, or a historical core (for the problem review, see [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 51–54]). By the 15th century the terms 'Siberia' or 'Siberian land' are recorded in the Russian chronicles, the latter referring to a principality located 'nearby Tyumen' [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 16–19]. Later on the 'Siberian Chronicles'

suggest that the 'country of Siberia,' 'land of Siberia,' or 'kingdom of Besermyans in Siberia,' all of which imply the Siberian Yurt of Taibugids and the Siberian Khanate, were named after the capital of this land, 'grad Sibir' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36], which also had other names (*Isker*, *Kashlyk*).

* * *

The problem of the accession of Siberia to the Muscovite state was a politicised issue in the national historiography as it was valued depending on the general or current political environment as a 'conquest,' 'reclamation,' or 'colonisation,' which has been described by researchers who apply more neutral terms (acquisition, accession, etc.) The concept of the accession of the large eastern territories across Ural through conquest was prevalent in the pre-revolutionary historiography as it developed up to 1940–1950s and the Soviet period. The Soviet historiography of the latter half of the 20th century preferred the idea of the voluntary annexation of the Siberian people to Russia. This concept was fully established in the country by the 1970s. However, over the last decades of the 20th century, due to the change in ideological attitudes and the increase in national self-awareness, plus the onset of national movements, the idea of a primarily peaceful and voluntary acquisition of Siberian territories by the Muscovite state was reconsidered (for review of the historiography, see [Skrynnikov, 1982; Zuev, 2007]).

The key event that set the stage for the colonisation of Siberia was the conquest of the Siberian Khanate by the Muscovite state. Regardless of the diversity of interpretations of the acquisition of the Siberian lands, Russian historiography is quite specific when it comes to the accession of the Siberian Khanate to the Muscovite

state; it has been deemed a conquest. Nevertheless, the conquest by Russia of the Siberian Yurt, which was also one of the descendants of the Golden Horde, after that of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, was quite a long process that occupied almost the entire latter half of the 16th century and which ended roughly after the death of Khan Kuchum ca. 1598, when Boris Godunov took the title of 'Tsar of Siberia' [Uspensky, 2000, pp. 44–50, 96]. But even then for some time the Kuchum followers continued on fighting the conquerers in an attempt to reclaim their yurt, though, considering the conditions of the 17th century, this was futile.

The political situation in the Cis-Urals and Western Siberia in the 1550s to the beginning of the 1580s **Mutual relations of the Muscovite state and the Siberian Yurt.** After the bloody conquest of the Kazan Khanate, while suppressing the rebellions in the territory that began in 1553, Russian troops pursued the rebels, reaching 'Urzhum and the Mesh River, beyond the great forests and from there all the way to the Bashkir people, who inhabited the Kama River up to Siberia' [Kurbsky, 2001, p. 67]. As a result, some of the Ural groups, well-known in Russian sources of the 16–early 17th centuries as 'Ostyaks,' formerly controlled by the Kazan Khanate, announced their obedience to Moscow [Usmanov, 1960, pp. 72–73; Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 17], which expanded the Muscovite state's sphere of influence in the Central Cis-Urals and the northern part of the Southern Urals to the borders of the Siberian Yurt, which also controlled some regions of the Cis-Urals zone [Usmanov, 1960, p. 57; Tomilov, 1981, pp. 17–18; Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, pp. 58, 71]. The Nogai Horde then played an influential role in the Cis-Urals. During the conquest of Astrakhan by Russian troops the conflict between Yusuf Bey and his brother Ismail escalated, ending in 1554 with the death of the Nogai prince. This marked the beginning of confrontations between different groups in the state [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 270–271], which clearly weakened but did not completely eliminate the influence of Nogais in the Cis-Ural-Western Siberian Region.

In such extraordinary conditions the ambassadors of Taibugids, then the rulers of the Sibe-

rian Yurt, arrived in Moscow. According to the Russian Chronicles, the Siberian ambassadors Tyagrigul and Panyada, sent by the Siberian prince Taibugid Yediger in January 1555, congratulated Ivan IV on his conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan and 'paid obeisance to the Tsar on behalf of Prince Yediger and the entire land to ask him to take their prince and the entire land of Siberia, and impose his tribute on them, and send the vicar (daruga.—*D. I. Z. T.*) to collect the tribute... ' Having listened to the ambassadors and their offer of 'giving the Tsar a sable and the vicar... a Siberian squirrel... from every peasant,' Ivan IV decided to 'take their Prince and the entire land of Siberia and impose his tribute on them and sent his vicar to collect the tribute' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 233; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 248]. Departing for the Siberian Yurt with a 'granted yarliq,' Muscovite ambassador Dmitri Kurov (Nepeitsyn) had to 'lead Prince Yediger and the whole land of Siberia to the truth, draw up a census of the peasants, and collect tribute and customs on roads.' Thus it meant that Moscow would announce its suzerainty over the Siberian Yurt, which since the end of the 15th century had been in the hands of a dynasty of Siberian Princes—the Taibugids from the Burkut clan [Trepavlov, 2007, p. 101; Iskhakov, 2011]. But the Taibugids, who decided to come under the protection of the Muscovite state, could have had another suzerain, which by 1555 had become legally impossible. In regard of this the following record in the 'list' of the archives of Ambassadorial Decrees from 1563–1564 can be of particular interest: 'Column of Siberia 7072 Tashkin the Tatar of the Siberian Tsar Murtaza brought to Moscow' [Kopylov, 1989, p. 79]. The fact that the son of the Tyumen Khan Ibrahim (Ibak/Ivak) Murtaza is mentioned here as the 'Siberian Tsar,' having the hereditary right to the throne of the *Siberian Yurt*, or rather the Khanate of Tyumen, is especially noteworthy. But where exactly Khan Murtaza ruled by 1555 is uncertain (for the analysis of the problem, see [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 62–64]). The manuscript, currently being prepared for publication about the continuator of 'Chinggis-name' by Khivian historian Ötemish Hajji (16th century), contains information that the Shibanids—the sons of the

Tyumen Khan Ibrahim, Sari Sultan, and Murtaza Sultan—'upon growing up took over the entire Transoxiana between the rivers Inrek and Suvnak and Derya-i-Tur, [where Murtaza] became the Khan of the Elifa yurt.' Further on the source notes that the son of Murtaza Kuchum Khan 'fought in Turkestan on the side of Otrar with the entire nation of Kazakhs,' upon becoming the 'Great Padishah in the yurt of Taibuga Ishdeke' [Mirgaleev, 2014, p. 65], it cannot be ruled out that Murtaza himself may have ruled somewhere in the south but not in the Siberian Yurt (apparently, G. Müller based his information on historical narratives and justly thought that Murtaza was the 'Khan of Great Bukhara' [Müller, 1937, p. 196]. However, this does not mean that he could not have been the suzerain of the Siberian Khanate ruler Yediger Taibugid. Although there is another point of view to this problem, for instance, V. Trepavlov believed that until 1552 the suzerains of Taibugids were actually Khans of Kazan [Trepavlov, 2007, p. 101]. Yet, this idea is ill-founded. It is more likely that given the dynastic feuds of 1550s among Shibaniids for the city of Bukhara and the Bukhara vilayet [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 63], the Siberian prince Yediger attempted to change the suzerain in 1555, especially as he was clearly impressed by the Muscovite conquests of the mid-16th century (see statement from Russian Chronicles 'congratulated the Tsar... on his conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan,' said by his representatives: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 248]). Another factor that cannot be overlooked is the influence of the pro-Moscow Ismail, who later became the Bey of the Nogai Horde, on the ruler of the Siberian Yurt Yediger; Ismail was related to Yediger Taibugid (his sister was one of the wives of Yediger's father [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 310], and it seems that Yediger was married to the daughter of the Nogai Bey). Actually Yediger's attempt to come under Moscow's protection can be explained more by the policy of the Shibaniids during the reign of the Bukhara Khan Abdulla II (from 1551–1583 he ruled on behalf of his father), strove to subordinate all of the former lands of the Shiban house to Bukhara [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 372]. When it comes to the Siberian lands, this task was apparently given to Murtaza and his sons, who posed

a direct threat to the reign of prince Yediger in the Siberian Yurt; in November 1557 the latter sent to Moscow a message, saying that his lands 'were at war with the Shibanid Tsarevich' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 285; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 251]. Yediger was clearly scared to lose his power since in his message to Moscow he asked for 'the Tsar and Grand Prince (Ivan IV.—*D. I., Z. T.*) to come... collect their tribute, and let them stay in the Siberian lands' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 59, pp. 479–480].

The Muscovite Tsar took advantage of the political situation to the fullest; in the charter, sent on 22 June 1555 to city of Wilno, the titular of Ivan IV featured a new element, 'lord of the Siberian lands' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 59, p. 470]. Meanwhile, in November 1556 Dmitry Kurov (Nepeitsyn), who had been sent to the Siberian Yurt and having spent more than a year there, returned to Moscow with the Tatar ambassador Boyanda. However, instead of the promised 30,700 sable furs (according to the number of people reported by Yediger) the ambassador brought back a total of 700. In his letter to Ivan IV Yediger explained that he could not collect the entire tribute due to the continuous war with the Shibaniids that he waged in this period. In the meantime, Russian ambassador Nepeitsyn, having returned from Siberia, reported that 'they could have paid the tribute in full but did not want to do so' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 276]. The Muscovite Tsar did not wish to take Yediger's hint and aide him in his fight against the Shibaniids, refusing to accept the explanations given by the Siberian ambassador and so had him imprisoned. Ivan IV was merely interested in receiving tribute; therefore, the Tatar servicemen Devlet-Khozya and Soban Rezanovs were sent to Siberia in order to 'rectify the situation for His Majesty' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 276]. At the same time he sent his ambassadors to collect the tribute from the Yugor princes [Kopylov, 1989, p. 71].

Further on the chronicles state that the Tatar servicemen, sent by the Tsar to Siberia, returned to Moscow in September 1557. Together with

them came an envoy of the Siberian Prince Yediger Istemir, with 'comrades' who 'brought the tribute in full'—that is, 1,000 sables and the road customs of 160 sables [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 285]. This embassy delivered to Moscow a 'šert (oath) charter... with the Prince's seal,' in which Yediger wrote that he had become the 'serf' of the Muscovite Tsar by imposing an 'annual tribute on the entire Siberian land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, p. 258]. This document officially confirmed the vassal relations between the Siberian Yurt and the Muscovite state. What really worth noting is that at the same time the Muscovite state established the same relations with the Nogai Horde [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 108]. It is hardly a coincidence. The Siberian ambassador Boyanda was freed from custody and sent to the Siberian Yurt along with Tatars to collect the next tribute. Already in November 1558 Tatar serviceman Soban Rezanov and the Siberian ambassador again brought the tribute to Moscow [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 313], announcing that by winter the tribute for the following year would arrive. That did not occur; however, the ambassadors from the Siberian Prince Yediger (Chibigen/Chigiben) and from a Shibanid Murtaza as well as from his older son Ahmet Giray (Tashkin and Mamin sheikh) were almost simultaneously in Moscow in 1558. The status of Murtaza is not quite clear here, although some researchers believe that he was already Khan at that time, 'moved his nomad encampments to the forest steppes between the Tobol and Irtysh Rivers' by starting to 'conquer the southern uluses of the Siberian Yurt' [Kopylov, 1989, p. 72]. Even if Khan Murtaza for a short period ruled in the capacity of 'Siberian Khan,' by 1563 he was clearly the actual ruler of the Siberian Yurt; while Prince Yediger and his co-ruler brother Bekbulat were murdered, most likely by Murtaza's younger son Kuchum [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 109; Kopylov, 1989, p. 73; Iskhakov, 2006, p. 63]. Prince Yediger might have even remained in power after acknowledging Khan Murtaza as the ruler. It should be noted that based on the Siberian Tatar narratives G. Müller suggested two versions of the power shift in the Siberian Yurt. According to the first one, after the death of Yediger and Bekbulat the

Khanate was ruled by the son of Bekbulat Seydyak, who then was forced by Kuchum to flee to Bukhara. According to another version, because after Yediger's death his pregnant wife remained alive, the noble families could not agree on who should rule, so they 'sent an embassy to the Khan of the Great Horde Murtaza, asking him to send one of his sons as a new prince' (our emphasis.—*D. I., Z. T.*). Murtaza sent Kuchum, who then was recognised as Khan [Müller, 1937, p. 196]. The fact that Shibanids were invited to the Siberian Yurt can be proved by the following abstract from the Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle about the visit of an ambassador from Yediger Chigiben in 1563: 'The Siberian people (after the ambassador's arrival to Moscow.—*D. I., Z. T.*)... betrayed... assigned another Tsarevich to Siberia' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 313]. The fact that these events happened some time before September 1563 is validated by the response of Ivan IV to the Nogai Prince Ismail, where the Muscovite Tsar mentions Ismail's son-in-law Yediger in the past tense ('was in Siberia in our Yurt'), saying that he wants to assign Ismail's grandson, who was imprisoned in Moscow and who was clearly the son of Yediger from his Nogai wife (see: [Kopylov, 1989, p. 73]. However, the problem is that in the mentioned abstract of the chronicle about 'assigning' the Tsarevich for the Siberian Yurt he was referred to as 'Yediger, Tsarevich of Kazan.' While the name of Prince Yediger could be mistakingly merged with the title 'Tsarevich,' the title of the Kazan Sultan needs some explanation. The only possible explanation for that could be the mistake of the chronicle scribe, who read 'Kazan' [Tsarevich] instead of 'Kazakh' since, according to 'Siberian Chronicles,' Kuchum, who 'beat' the Siberian princes Yediger and Bekbulat, 'crossed the steppe from the Kazakh Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, pp. 32, 48].

So the vassal relations, established between the Taibugids and the Muscovite state in 1555, were broken in 1563 at the latest as the Shibanids took over the Siberian Yurt throne, which Moscow could not prevent because it was involved in the Livonian War. Since the Siberian Shibanids were backed up by the Central Asian branch of the Shiban house represented

by the Bukhara Khan Abdulla II, a confrontation effectively emerged between Moscow and Bukhara for control over the region that was full of fur-bearing resources. It was no coincidence that in his message to the Nogai Prince Ismail dated 22 September 1563 Ivan IV wrote: '... we want to attack that yurt (Siberian.—*D. I. Z. T.*)... and tell your grandson to be in that yurt as well' (quoted by [Kopylov, 1989, p. 73]. On the other hand, Moscow received messages that 'the Siberian Sultan [and] Shibans were boasting of marching on Perm with war' (from the charter of Ivan IV dated 2 January 1564: [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 109]). In fact, since Kuchum Khan rose to power, the Siberian Yurt 'was no threat' to the neighbouring Russian lands [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 18].

There is no information on precisely when Kuchum Murtaza became the Khan of the Siberian Yurt, and whether his reign lasted beyond 1563, yet, according to G. Müller, Khan Murtaza sent him Ahmet Giray along with an army that contained a detachment of religious figures [Müller, 1937, p. 194]. Upon their arrival Kuchum allegedly surrendered the Siberian throne to his elder brother, which may have happened, for instance, in 1574 [Iskhakov, 1997, p. 57; Iskhakov, 2006, p. 64]. But other than during this period of time Kuchum was the real ruler of the Siberian Khanate and contributed to its consolidation [Kopylov, 1989, p. 76; Matveev, Tataurov, 2012].

However, the Muscovite state was not going to give up on the Siberian Yurt that earlier had become its vassal. Therefore, in 1569 Moscow sent the Tatar Aisa to the 'Siberian Tsar' with a charter, apparently to test the waters regarding their future relations. There is an extant reply from Kuchum Khan from 1570, where he mentions the friendly relations that their fathers had, when 'they visited each other.' The Khan suggested rebuilding those relations and thought that he could even recognise him as his 'elder brother.' However, he said nothing about the tributary relations, while calling himself 'a free man,' and then added: 'if you choose peace, we will live in peace, choose war, and we will fight a war' [Collection, 1819, p. 52]. Judging by the information given by Prince Romadanovsky, who delivered that charter of Kuchum

Khan from Perm to Moscow, he was informed through an insider that he was at war with the 'Kazan Tsar,' and if he won, then Kuchum would lose his throne, then 'the Siberian throne would be taken by the Kazakh Tsar.' In fact, in 1569 Kazakh Khan Haqq Nazar and his brother Shigay carried out a major military campaign in the Nogai Horde [Isin, 2004, p. 84], which evidently threatened the Siberian Yurt as well. Hence the conciliatory approach of Kuchum when saying: '... right now I am collecting tribute,... sending my ambassadors to your Tsar and Grand Prince' [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 178]. Bukhara Khan Abdulla, who was then concerned with his internal state problems, was probably unable to send help to the Siberian Yurt. Given the situation, Kuchum Khan—evidently aware of the defeat of Turkish-Crimean troops in 1569 during their campaign in Astrakhan and their falling under the influence of Kazakhs [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 102]—decided to restore the former tributary relations with Moscow, as his message from 1571 said: '... so that the Tsar and Grand Prince took power into his hands and accepted tribute from the entire Siberian land as before' [Collection, 1819, p. 63]. This offer corresponded with the interests of Moscow, and the message to Kuchum Khan dated March 1571 said the following: '... before the Siberian Prince Yediger addresses us, he should collect and send us a year worth of tribute.' Eventually, Ivan IV heard the Khan's petition and 'took him under his wing... and protection, and imposed a tribute on him, a thousand sables a year and a thousand squirrels for the envoy.' Once the Siberian ambassador Taimas confirmed the agreement with the 'šert,' he set off for the Siberian Yurt along with the Muscovite ambassador T. Chebukov, who brought a charter from Ivan IV, which had 'gracious words, friendly mercy, kind intention' for the 'Siberian commander' Kuchum Tsar, and a promise of 'protection for the people of the entire ulus' [Collection, 1819, pp. 63–65]. Nevertheless, the promised yasak, sent from the Siberian Khanate to Moscow in 1571, was the last sign of Kuchum's vassalage [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 20], who was clearly aware of the defeat that the Muscovite state suffered from the Crimeans in 1571, when they completely burnt down the capital during their

campaign against Moscow and the following year invaded the Russian lands [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 111]. Given the 'Cheremis outbreak' in the Middle Cis-Ural region in the summer of 1572, the first to attack the lands of the Stroganovs was Pelym's Prince, who was clearly backed up by Kuchum Khan, and after the counter attacks from the people of the Stroganovs in the Chusovaya river Region in 1573 Sultan Mametkul, brother of Kuchum Khan, marched on the Ural (after 20 June of the same year), including the lands of the Stroganovs and the Mansi, who paid tribute to the Muscovite state. However, it is important to mention that this Siberian invasion was provoked by the Muscovite people as they killed some 'merchants' from Siberia and stole their furs (that were then sent to the Tsar's Treasury) [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 109]. We cannot also rule out the fact then in 1572 the Muscovy troops might have unsuccessfully raided the Siberian Yurt [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 23; Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 104]. These clashes between Muscovy and the Siberian Tatars were caused by their race for power over the yasak population of the Urals [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 21], which most likely was within the sphere of influence of the Siberian Yurt. Since during the attack of the troops, led by Sultan Mametkul, on the Ural Region the people of Moscow ambassador T. Chebukov and the Tatar servicemen accompanying him were captured and killed on route to the hostile Kazakh Khanate [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 112], the first relatively peaceful period of relations between the Muscovite state and Siberian Khanate came to an end.

Apparently, the Stroganovs, who gained control over the vast territory in the Urals, were interested in gaining further support from Moscow to move forward into Siberia and purposefully sent a message to the central authorities when the Mametkul troops entered their lands, saying that the Siberian Sultan not only 'beat up' the Moscow 'ostyaks' (who were actually Turkic groups from the Sylvensky-Irensky basin and Chusovaya river Regions, formerly dependent on the Nogais from the Kazan Khanate and partially on the Siberian Yurt) and took their women and children, but that the Siberian Tatars were 'inspecting the routes' to then 'lead their army to

Perm' [Müller, 1937, p. 339]. But we have to keep in mind that according to the charter from 1574, sent to the Stroganovs by Moscow, they were already receiving lands in the Trans-Ural Region, including the Tobola River Basin ('in Siberian Ukraine, between Siberia and Nogai'), which were said to be empty but were probably formerly controlled by the Nogais [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 111–117], with permission to build there new fortresses [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 104]. So through the Stroganovs the Muscovite state tried to enter the Trans-Ural Region, which obviously affected the interests of the Siberian Yurt.

But in the years 1574–1580 there were no clashes at the Ural-Siberian border, which probably was due to Kuchum Khan being too busy with the internal development of his yurt. The sources mention two visits (in 1572 and 1574) of Islamic missionaries from the Khanate of Bukhara to Siberia, the last one also included Khan's Brother Ahmet Giray, who, as we said earlier, might have taken the Siberian throne (or become the co-ruler of Kuchum) and then was killed after his four-year reign (1574–1578) by his farther-in-law Sultan Shigay, brother of the Kazakh Khan Haqq Nazar (after which he became the Kazakh Khan in 1580). The interests of Kuchum Khan are also evidenced by the fact that he was married to one of the daughters of Shigay Khan and married his daughter off to the Nogai mirza in 1577 (Akmirza, leader of the Eastern Nogais, head of Shikh-mamais) Around that time the eldest son of the Siberian Khan Ali got married to the daughter of Nogai Bey Din Amet [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 189, 193]. This points to the importance for the Siberian Yurt at that time of its relations with the Kazakhs and Nogais, especially with the latter. However, during the meeting of the Siberian Khan with Russian envoys in the Nogai Horde in 1577 the Khan informed them: '... from now on Kuchum wants to be at peace with the Tsar and Grand Prince... , tell him that' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, p. 189]. Hence, the alleged numerous raids by Kuchum Khan on Permian lands and the Stroganov territories in the 1570s can be considered a 'historiographical myth' [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 214]. Furthermore,

when the Pelym detachments controlled by the Stroganovs and Moscow carried out two raids in the Ural lands (1581–1582), the second of which might have included Tatars [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 134–135], the central authorities gave the Stroganovs permission to punish the Pelym Prince, but according to the charter dated 16 November 1582 the policy towards Kuchum Khan was different. They ordered the Stroganovs to send the Cossacks, led by Yermak, back from Siberia to serve in Perm the Great as they disapproved of the Stroganov 'bullying' of the locals and 'creation of bad blood' between the Muscovite authorities and the 'Siberian Saltan' [Müller, 1937, p. 342]. Experiencing serious problems at the last stage of the Livonian War, Moscow was not keen on complicating its relations with Kuchum Khan. The latter also had friendly intentions; in March 1578 Nogai Bey Din-Ahmet received a message from Moscow, which said that Kuchum's ambassador visited them in summer: 'Kuchum Tsar sent us... that the tribute we previously had in the Siberian lands... he wants to give, so we would set our anger aside and be merciful to him' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, p. 281]. D. Lachinov, who was sent to Siberia from Moscow, most likely delivered that tribute.

Kuchum's intention to have friendly relations with Moscow might have had specific reasons, one of them being, as is clear from the Nogai affairs, that at that time the son of Urus, who was then Nuraddin in the Nogai Horde, was at war with the Siberian Yurt and suggested to Ivan IV that he should continue 'fighting with Siberia' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 11, pp. 268–269]. Urus and the Bey of the Nogai Horde Din-Ahmet were not aware of it. However, Moscow did not support Khan mirza, which again shows the unwillingness of Russians to engage in conflict with Kuchum Khan. Later Kuchum married his daughter off to Uraz Muhammad, the son of Din Ahmet Bey, who died in 1578, which only proves, what was said above, that Uraz was known to be oriented towards Moscow [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 322–323, 372–373]. All in all, being dependent on Khan Abdulla II, Kuchum Khan reinforced his alliance with Haqq Nazar Khan in 1579 and then with Shigay, who refused to strain his relations

with Muscovite Rus [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 107], and practically acted according to them, even though the Nogais (or at least some of them) pushed him in the opposite direction.

But the confrontation between the Stroganovs and the Siberian Yurt had its own reasoning; during the second campaign of the Siberian detachments in Ural in 1582, which most likely included the son of Kuchum Khan Ali along with 'Siberian people,' they had a showdown on the Chusovaya riverbank with the Yermak's troop that the Stroganovs employed to protect their lands. After that the detachment of Sultan Ali moved towards Sol Kamskaya and from there to Cherdyn, which they reached in September 1582. That was probably the time when the Stroganovs, who did not care about other Muscovy lands, showed Yermak the routes for raids, while Kuchum Khan was left without the strongest part of his army [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 135–136]. Which is why the military expedition of Yermak, which started in the autumn of 1582 upon the initiative of the Stroganovs, was so far from the eastern policy that Moscow had stood by for such a long time [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 108]. In fact, by the end of the 1570s Moscow was mostly ready to start on the peaceful accession of Siberia, while by 1578 Kuchum Khan was clearly ready to become a vassal to the Muscovite state and proceed to pay tribute. But Yermak's military campaign in Siberia interrupted this process and brought the Muscovite state and Siberian Khanate closer to war.

Yermak's campaign and conquest of the Siberian Khanate. On 1 September 1582 Yermak and his companions, 'enrolled' to serve the Stroganovs, counting 840 people (Yermak had 540 people, Stroganov gave him 300 warriors), armed with harquebusses and guns, supplied with winter boots, clothes, food, and accompanied by local guides and translators of local languages (Tatar, Mansi, Khanty, Permyak), started on their Siberian expedition. According to the Siberian researchers A. Matveev and S. Tataurov, the campaign of ataman Yermak's detachment did not come as a surprise either for the people of West Siberia or for the authorities of the Siberian Khanate. Many people of that state probably heard from their ancestors a

story about a great campaign set in motion by Ivan III in 1483 and carried out by the nautical battalion of voivodes Fyodor Kurbsky and Ivan Saltykov-Travin. In the 16th century Muscovite detachments most probably crossed the Kamen (Ural Mountains) and devastated the local population, taking away their most valuable possession, which was the Siberian furs. On the other hand, Tatar detachments, with their allies princes Khanty and Mansi, regularly crossed the Kamen as well, but in the opposite direction, in order to raid and collect tribute from the local population. Therefore, the news that there was a Russian detachment coming towards them did not cause any extreme reaction from the local population, which is attested to by the peaceful arrival of the Cossacks to Tarkhan small town and the meeting between Yermak and the noble Tatar Kutugai, who was sent there by Kuchum Khan to collect taxes. Another peculiar fact is that Kuchum did not order the Siberian army led by Sultan Mametkul, which was carrying out its campaign in the Kama small towns, to return to the Khanate. It proves that the Khan really expected a peaceful outcome [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, p. 80].

Yermak's campaign in the Siberian lands is discussed in detail in the famous work by R. Skrynnikov [Skrynnikov, 1982], which is why we will only look at the most important points. The detachments of the Cossack ataman Yermak started out from the small town of Lower Chusovaya, owned by the Stroganov merchants. Travelling down the Tura river, the Cossacks conquered the Tatar small towns and defeated their detachments, who fled from the Russian troops armed with firearms, who were relatively unfamiliar to the Siberians. No wonder the Russian historian S. Solovyov used only one sentence to explain how Yermak conquered Siberia so quickly, which is 'The fire-arm beat the bow and arrow.'

After they moved from the Tura to the Tavda River, Yermak's detachments inflicted yet another defeat upon the Tatars in the creek of the Tavda River. The Cossacks made their way along the Tura and Tobol towards the Irtysh River without stopping. According to the Siberian chronicles, there were minor clashes with the Karaul and Berezov yars, the Babasan

yurts, Karachin townlet and elsewhere, none of which really damaged any of the sides.

Meanwhile, waiting for the Russian Cossacks to come, Kuchum Khan settled down in a town not too far away from the capital of the Khanate, Isker town. Kuchum sent the army of Tsarevich Mametkul to face off against Yermak, who was already at the Tobol, but Yermak defeated his army in the area of Babasan on the Tobol riverbank. As they moved along the Tura and Tobol, the Cossacks approached the Irtysh. The next battle took place at the Irtysh, where the army of Mametkul was once again defeated. Here the Cossacks took over the small town of Attik murza. The Cossack detachments moved further towards the capital of the Siberian Khanate, Isker, which was lined with felled trees to prevent the enemy from entering.

The deciding battle happened on 23–25 October 1582 on the right riverbank by the Chuvash Cape, located on the territory of the modern day Tobolsk. The Kuchumers outnumbered the Cossacks, whereas the Cossacks had better weaponry, military training, and discipline. Yermak used his artillery to attack the enemy's camp at night. The Ostyak and Vogul detachments fled in fear of the firearms. The injury of the Tatar leader Tsarevich Mametkul determined the outcome of the battle. The Cossacks came out victorious from this long and brutal battle. Kuchum left Isker overnight on 26 October and headed in a direction unknown to the Cossacks. The same day Yermak's detachments entered the empty capital of the Khanate.

According to A. Matveev and S. Tataurov, the defeat of the troops of Kuchum in the deciding battle by the Chuvash Cape was a result of Taybughids' passivity. They point out that the Siberian Chronicles describing this event never mention any other noble Tatar names, except for the name of Mametkul, who valiantly fought until his last breath. Mametkul had only one faithful khan cavalry and few Khanty and Mansi princes with lightly armed warriors, the majority of whom fled the battlefield during the very first night. Chances are that the Taybughid elite refused to come to the aid of Kuchum under various pretexts and did not lead their warriors to the Chuvash Cape, which significantly weakened the Khan's forces. Since Mametkul

got injured during the battle, he was forced to withdraw his cavalry as he was an experienced commander and politician and had no right to lose his only support, his faithful cavalry, to Yermak. He probably realised perfectly well that even if he beat Yermak at the cost of that loss, he would be left armless against the Taibugid detachments. Such an outcome could also be explained by the fact that right after the battle at Chuvash Cape Kuchum departed from the hostile territory of the Tobol Irtysh region and moved to the Omsk Irtysh River Region, where his supporters resided [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, p. 82]. An extant Tatar narrative, recorded by N. Katanov, says that when Kuchum Khan suffered defeat, he made his way to the east. The Tara murzas allegedly refused to help Kuchum and declined his suggestion to take out citizenship in Bukhara. After visiting the Tara Tatars, Kuchum moved on to the Ayaly Tatars and then further to the south to the Baraba Tatars [Katanov, 1895–1896, pp. 9–10]. So this legend shows that Kuchum had lands in the east. One of the prominent representatives of the Tatar elite, so rarely mentioned in the 'Siberian Chronicles,' was Prince Begish. He was one of the Tatar leaders who stood up to Yermak. I. Fisher describes the event as follows: 'The residents of the area between the Siberian fortress and the Vagay River have already been forced to take out citizenship. But further up it got more challenging. Begash, a noble Tatar man, the first one in those lands, decided to stand up to Yermak. His dwelling was located behind the eastern high bank of the Irtysh River, by a lake that was named after him. Once he heard about the approaching Cossacks, he got himself into the best shape to meet them bravely. He stood with his Tatars on a hill and waited for the Russians. It was a deadly battle that anyone could win, until, eventually, the Russians took over the hill and brought the Tatars down...' [Fisher, 1774, pp. 154–155]. In November Sultan Mametkul and his detachment attempted to attack the Cossacks that left the city, but he suffered defeat.

Having settled in Isker, Yermak acted as if he were the new ruler of the state, accepted the *šert* (oath of allegiance) and imposed tribute on the people. Yermak sent an embassy led by Ivan Koltso to Moscow with generous

gifts and news about the accession of the new land to the Muscovite state. The message sent to Ivan IV from Yermak (according to the Pogodin chronicler) said the following: 'Yermak and his companions wrote to His Majesty, the Tsar and Prince of All Russia, Ivan Vasilyevich the Sovereign... that the Tsardom of Siberia is conquered, and that most of the local people, speaking in foreign languages, Tatars, Ostyaks, and Voguls, were brought in to swear the *šert* to His Majesty... to serve His Majesty and remain faithful to him till the end of time' [Sibirskie letopisi, 1907, pp. 281–282]. According to the legends, upon hearing the news, Ivan the Terrible welcomed the embassy of Yermak with all the honours and celebrations, forgave the Cossacks for all their wrongdoings in the Muscovite lands, and sent them generous gifts and payments, including two brigandines and his own fur coat for Yermak. Ivan IV assigned Princes Semen Bolkhovsky and Ivan Glukhov to the voivodeship in Siberia and sent 300 servicemen along with them, but in reality Yermak still remained the voivode of Siberia. Using their force and diplomacy, the Cossacks imposed tribute on the Tatar uluses and the Ostyak and Vogul volosts along the rivers Tura, Tobol, Tavda, Irtysh, and Lower Ob.

In the spring of 1583 Yermak resumed military actions, defeated the detachments of Mametkul in their own camp on the Vagai riverbank, and captured the Tsarevich. In fact, in 1584 the captive Mametkul was escorted by a detachment of the Cossacks, led by ataman Groza, to Moscow. In the capital Tsar Fyodor enrolled the Sultan in the Russian forces as a 'regimental voivode', and he took part in the 1590 campaign in Sweden and the campaign to subordinate the Tatars [Golodnikov, 1882, p. 8].

In the summer of 1583 Yermak made an attempt to conquer the Tatar settlements along the Irtysh and Ob Rivers, and he also took over Nazym, the capital of the Khanty. In the spring of 1584 he sent Bogdan Bryazga with a group of Cossacks down the Irtysh River. Bryazga battled with the northern Tatar uluses of Nadcin, Karbin, Turtass, and Uvat, conquered the Tatars, and collected yasak from them. Bryazga's campaign in the Ostyak lands continued until the spring of 1585, when he conquered all the Ostyak lands

along the Irtysh, and upon reaching the Ob River, he returned to Isker in May 1585.

In the spring of 1584 Yermak organised campaigns down the Irtysh River and on the banks of the Ob River. He battled his way down to the Lower Tavda, where he imposed yasak on the Tatars who had survived. Meanwhile, the forces of Yermak, who had been at war for two years straight, were growing weak. As the number of people was decreasing, and they were lacking food, shoes, and clothes, Yermak's detachments were gradually losing their combat capability. Meanwhile, Kuchum migrated to the headwaters of the Irtysh, Tobol, and Ishim Rivers, which Yermak's boats could not reach, kept a close eye on the actions and movements of Yermak and his troops, and tried to damage his forces by carrying out unexpected attacks on separate groups of his detachments.

After they destroyed the detachment of Nikita Pan in Nazym (summer 1583), Kuchum's people killed Ivan Koltso and Jacob Mikhaylov, who were at the time on their way from Moscow (March 1584). Ataman Meshcheryak suffered heavy losses, although he managed to defeat Kuchum's detachment (summer 1584). Yermak was killed on the night of 5–6 August 1585 as his detachment of 50 people was ambushed by Kuchum on the Irtysh River. According to the Yesipov's and Remezov's Chronicles, Yermak drowned in the creek of the Vagai River under the weight of his armour. The Siberian scribes also give the Tatar version of Yermak's death, according to which Yermak died by the hand of Kuchum's warrior, the brave and mighty murza Kuchugai (Kutugai), during their night attack on the Cossack camp, as he 'chased Yermak to his high boat, the boat that was already sailing and going down the river, there they quarreled and fought with each other.' Yermak with a sabre in his hand was 'almost beating' Kuchugai, who was armed with a spear, but then the helmet strap of the Cossack ataman untied and exposed his neck. At that moment 'Kuchugai pierced Yermak's throat' [Siberian Chronicles, 1907, p. 321]. The Vagai Tatars have a legend where Yermak dies by the arrow of the brave mergen (archer) Kugutai.

The Cossacks, who were left in Siberia, were becoming so small in number that voivode

Glukhov and the only surviving ataman Matvey Meshcheryak decided to leave Isker on 15 August 1585, sail along the Irtysh and Ob Rivers, and then cross the Ural mountain range to the Muscovite lands. So the Muscovite state lost Siberia two years after it was conquered.

Right after Yermak's death, Kuchum Khan started to regain his authority. The information that substantiated the necessity for building the town of Ufa by the Belaya river, given in Russian sources dating back to 1586, is quite illustrative: '... Kuchum Tsar, fugitive from Siberia, came to the lands of His Majesty... taught the Bashkirs how to nomadise... and started collecting yasak from the Bashkirs' [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 148]. The Siberian Khan was probably collecting yasak only from the territories that previously belonged to the Siberian Yurt (the Siberian road area in Ufa uyezd). By the summer of 1590 he managed to take over a significant part of his former lands, forest steppe, and steppe areas from the Tobol River to Ob and organised the migration of his people from the north to the south along the Irtysh valley. There they built new fortified Tatar settlements. Khan imposed yasak on the Ostyaks once again, which was very important for the economical consolidation of his power and reorganisation of the state in the new environment. He also managed to normalise relations with his southern neighbours—that is, the Nogais, Kazakhs of the Kazakh Khanate. As a result, in 1585–1594 Khan Kuchum was able to revive the Siberian Khanate within the new borders and new territories. However, this state formation turned out to be less sustainable. Nevertheless, Kuchum held out in this unequal battle against the Russian detachments and the Tatars, who had joined them, up until 1598 [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, pp. 47–53].

In 1590 the Ayalyns, who remained faithful to Kuchum, left their settlements and by the order of the khan began to build new small towns elsewhere. The most well-known location turned out to be the Cherny gorodok, which was founded as the Russians forced Kuchum to leave the Tara Irtysh River Region and retreat further to the south. 'As Kuchum learnt about Russians' plan to build a town by the Tara River, he sent Tsarevich Aley to the Ayalyn Tatars to lead them up the Irtysh River to a safe place, where Ku-

chum was located. Aley gathered 150 of these Tatars and led them to an island, called Cherny, where they founded a small town and spent the winter there along with another 50 people from Maly Town. The most prominent out of these Ayalyn Tatars were two yesauls, Mamyk and Seitkul, and two princelings Zuyunduk and Ilgului. From that small town they would go to Lake Vuzyukovo to fish for the Khan. Every day people would go back and forth between the Khan's camp and the small town on the island of Cherny' [Müller, 1999, p. 288]. In December 1594 a Russian detachment of 276 people, led by the epistolary head Boris Domozhirev, took over the Tartar small town of Cherny upon their first attack. However, Kuchum Khan still managed to escape [Müller, 1999, p. 289].

The second conquest of Siberia. While getting no news from Siberia, Boris Godunov, who was practically ruling the country for Tsar Fyodor, decided to send a new voivode and a military detachment to the Kuchum Khanate. The Russians had to conquer the Siberian Khanate all over again as the local population restored their independence after the Cossacks left the city of Isker. Given the circumstances, voivodes were set the task of building forts and fortresses as fortified bases for controlling the region.

In the summer of 1585 the authorities sent voivode Ivan Mansurov with a detachment of Streltsy and Cossacks to Siberia. However, at the time Isker was being ruled by the son of Khan Kuchum Tsarevich Ali. According to the chronicles, after Yermak was killed and the Cossacks left Isker, Ali took control of the capital. He entered the empty city with 'military people' that were the Tatars who stayed loyal to him. When Mansurov's ships entered the Irtysh River, the armed Tatars were occupying the right riverbank by the Chuvash Cape. The voivode learnt that the Cossacks left Isker and went down along the Irtysh River. He issued an order to follow them. As they reached the Ob River, Mansurov's detachment erected a wooden fortress (Obskoy townlet) and spent the winter there, and in the spring, when the rivers had opened up, they returned to the Muscovy lands.

After that Moscow sent there heads of the Streltsy Vasily Sukin, Ivan Myasnoy, and Daniil Chulkov along with three hundred warriors and

a supply of firearms. These detachments did not approach the Kuchum capital on the Irtysh River but instead went up the Tura river to the former Tatar capital Chimgi-Tura and built a fortress named Tyumen in the creek of the Tyumenka river (1586), and a year later (1587) in the creek of the Tobol River in 15 versts from Isker the epistolary head Danila Chulkov founded a fortress named Novaya Sibir (Tobolsk). These fortresses became the main bases of the subsequent Russian advancement into Siberia.

Once the Yermak Cossacks left Isker, the Shibanids and Taibugids resumed their feud. The capital was alternatively taken first by Ali, then by Taibugid Sayid Ahmad (Seydyak) who came from the 'Bukhara lands' and, according to the Remezov's Chronicle, 'entered the city, and defeated Aley and his army, and took his revenge for his father Bekbulat's blood, and took over the homeland of his fathers, and settled in the city' [Siberian Chronicles, 1907, pp. 338–339, 345].

According to the Pogodin copy of the Yesipov's Chronicle, Prince Seydyak, son of Bekbulat—who came 'from Bukhara with all of his house' to the 'grad of Sibir,' meaning Isker—not just conquered it but also 'captured Tsarevich Aley, killed other sons of Kuchum, and banished them from the city,' as he got hold of 'the homeland of his father Bekbulat Kazye'v' [Siberian Chronicles, 2008, p. 289]. This information clearly shows that the war against the Cossacks of Yermak was also complicated by the internal fight between the Shibanids and the Taibugids. Besides this, the latter had support from 'Bukhara' or 'the Bukhara lands,' which probably implies the Kazakhs because by the name of Prince Sayid Ahmad the Russian Chronicles mention 'Tsarevich, Saltan of the Kazakh Horde,' whose name was known to be Uraz Muhammad. When in 1587 the Russians built the Tobol fortress (Novaya Sibir) on the Irtysh River, Isker had already been taken by Taibugid Sayid Ahmad (Seydyak), the son of Bekbulat. The restored Taibugid state, however, had existed only for a short period of time. By the autumn of 1587 Sayid Ahmad and his allies, the Kazakh Tsarevich Uraz Muhammad and the former karacha of Kuchum Kadir Ali Bek from the Jalair clan, were taken captive by the Russians. The Sibe-

rian Chronicles describe these events as follows. Sayid Ahmad along with Uraz Muhammad and Kadir Ali Bek were enjoying themselves in falconry on the Knyaz [Princely] meadow, not too far away from the Russian fortress. Danila Chulkov found out about it and invited Sayid Ahmad with his companions to a feast, where he brutally tied them up and killed Sayyid Ahmad's escorts. Soon after that the Tobolsk Streltsy of Danila Chulkov burnt Isker down, and the Tatars never occupied it again. Here is how the Kazan historian G. Fayzrahmanov evaluated those events and the short-term reign of Sayid Ahmad: 'As he banished Ali and took over the throne, Seydyak did not live up to the expectations of the Siberian Tatars and made it easy to conquer his people' [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, p. 205].

In the 1590s the Russians built a chain of fortresses in Siberia. As they were located on the strategically high points and the key places by the rivers, they turned into a solid military defensive basis for the further colonisation of the land and taking control of the local population. In the late 16th century the Russians gradually moved further and strengthened the military post points, first along the rivers Tura, Pyshma, Tobol, Tavda and then along the Lozva, Pelym, Sosva, Tara, Ket and Ob Rivers. As it conquered the new territories, Moscow adopted a frontier strategy by creating fortress-outposts on the newly annexed lands. In this case they used their experience of conquering the Volga-Ural Region.

The numerous attempts of Khan Kuchum in the 1590s to gather the forces and change the momentum, by attacking the clusters of Russian forces, or to conquer a major Russian fortress resulted in his defeat because the Russian military posts were better armed and clearly surpassed the warriors of Khan Kuchum in numbers. Thus, the military and political initiative gradually went to the Russian side.

In 1594 they founded a new fortified border point, the city of Tara, the construction of which was strategically crucial for the process of reclamation and retention of the Siberian territories and in the fight with Khan Kuchum, which he realised and tried to sabotage. In 1594 Tsar Fyodor sent Prince Andrey Yeletsky to build in the place of, or nearby, the Tatar town of Yalym a new city.

Among all of the Siberian cities, Tara was of special importance up until the end of the 17th century as it was a military outpost and an obstacle on the way of Kuchumoviches, Kalmyks, and other 'military' people. As noted by P. Nebolsin, it was built 'to completely destroy his (Kuchum's.—*D. I., Z. T.*) harmful for us influence in these lands,' when 'the order to build a new city of Tara in the middle of the volosts within Kuchum's power came' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 116], meaning that the main objective of the Russian city was to 'force Tsar Kuchum out.' For the construction of Tara were engaged the Tatar servicemen and soldiers composed of 1,200 horsemen and more than 500 infantry from Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Tetyushi, Tyumen, Tobolsk, Tabory, and Koshuki. 'There were Yermak's Cossacks, Streltsy, Polish Cossacks, Lithuanians, Cherkasy, Bashkirs, and Tatars' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 116]. The Tsar assigned 147 foot soldiers to Yeletsky. There were 300 Bashkirs, 100 Kazan, and 100 Zainsk Tatars led by Mamly Maltsev from Ufa. The mounted troops, sent to Siberia under the leadership of Mamly Maltsev, numbered 554 people. All of these people first arrived in Tobolsk, where they were joined by Andrey Yeletsky and his people. The total size of the army sent to build Tara was 1,541 people. The Tatars and Bashkirs accounted for more than two-thirds (1,030 people) of the detachment, and only 511 people were Russians, Polish, Lithuanians, and others. When the city was finished, 550 horsemen of Mamly, 50 horsemen of Bayazit, 300 horsemen and 150 infantry of Irtysh Tatars, 50 mounted Tyumen Tatars, 50 mounted Tatars from Tabory and Koshuki were sent back. Whereas 50 Tatars headed by Baibakhta stayed in the newly built city of Tara for the winter [Atlasi, 2005, pp. 81–82].

Moscow also made attempts to pacify potential allies of Kuchum, including the Pelym Prince Ablegerim, which is why on his lands the city of Pelym was built. The Prince and his family were supposed to 'lure the Pelym Prince Ablegerim, and his elder son Tagai, as well as his nephews and grandsons... lured and tormented, along with their best people, who caused the most trouble...,' 'and his wives and children and people to be fought and beaten and their town to be burnt,' except for his youngest son and his

family, who were supposed to be held hostage in Tobolsk [Müller, 1999, pp. 340–341]. In 1593 a detachment, led by the voivodes N. Trakhaniov and P. Gorchakov, was sent to conquer the ally of Khan Kuchum, the Prince of the Pelym principedom Ablegerim. As a result, Pelym was conquered, and Ablegerim's son and grandson were sent to Moscow as captives. The ruler of 'Pegaya Horde,' which united the tribes of Selkups and Kets in the basins of Narym and Ob Rivers and numbered more than 400 people, Prince Vonya persistently defended his independence from Moscow. The Russian documents dating back to the 16th century said that 'he did not pay yasak himself and from his people either.' Unwilling to kneel before Moscow, Prince Vonya formed an alliance with Khan Kuchum, who then reached the 'Pegaya Horde.' However, very soon this strong ally of Kuchum was defeated on the Middle Ob River. In order to conquer the Pegaya Horde, the Russians built a city named Narym in the middle of the Selkup lands.

After the Pelym principedom, the Koda principedom lost its independence as well. In 1593 in the lower section of the Northern Sosva River a detachment of servicemen, led by voivode Nikifor Trakhaniov, founded a new defence centre—the city of Berezov. The following year, a city named Surgut was built in the lands of Prince Bardak. Afterwards, the Cossacks with the help of the Koda Khanty started annexing new territories in the lower reaches of the Ob River, where they built the town of Obdorsk in 1595.

In 1604 they built the city of Tomsk in the lower section of the Tom' river, which then became the major defence base for conquering and defending the Middle Ob region. In 1618 a small fortress, the Kuznetsk fortress, emerged in the land of the Kuznetsk Tatars. Later on it expanded and turned into the centre of a separate uyezd, but right up before the beginning of the 18th century it remained the outermost and the farthest Russian city in the south of Western Siberia. According to the well-known historian N. Nikitin, the foundation of Kuznetsk finished the first stage of the annexation of Siberia to Russia. With it are connected the annexations of almost every west-Siberian territory to the Russian state and the drastic change in the po-

litical environment in the Trans-Urals [Nikitin, 2001, p. 17].

Thus, during this period the tactics of the Russian invasion in Siberia was based on the organisation of the defence points within the annexed territories, from which they carried out their further military advances on new unseized lands.

The fall of the Khanate. After the capture of Seydyak, Isker was abandoned. In 16 versts from the former capital of the Siberian Khanate, the Russians founded a new capital of Siberia, the city of Tobolsk, which in 1590 came out from under the control of Tyumen and became a new voivodeship centre. Tobolsk served as a place for the gathering of significant military forces, assigned to Siberia from Russia.

Having lost his power in Isker, Khan Kuchum was still threatening the new Russian lands, by roaming as a nomad across the steppe and occasionally attacking the Russian fortresses and Tatar volosts that turned to Moscow's side. The central authority and Siberian voivodes continuously made attempts to subdue Kuchum diplomatically as well as by taking military actions. The methods included the pursuit to make Kuchum Khan to take out Russian citizenship. However, Khan Kuchum refused all attempts to negotiate. The attempts to talk Kuchum into serving the Russian state were made until the end of the early 1580s. The researchers believe that the Muscovite state was not losing its hopes in resolving the situation peacefully as they wanted to avoid mass casualties before they had finished the development and consolidation of their power in Siberia and also to get a hold of Kuchum Khan as a subject, which would increase the authority of Russia on the global stage [Ryabinina, 2011, p. 92]. Which is why the documents dating back to 1593–1594, sent to the Russian voivodes during the construction of the city on the Tara River, ordered them not only to protect themselves from the raids of Khan Kuchum but also to try and persuade him to turn to the Russian side: '... if he makes obeisance and accepts the offer, sends his son Tsarevich as a pledge to His Majesty to Moscow...' [Müller, 1999, p. 348]. However, the Khan kept his hopes up to get help, including military, and take his Khanate back. Which is why, though having lost

many of his people, he refused to accept the flattering offers of the Russian authorities: 'I did not go to the Tsar by the royal charter voluntarily as I was safe and sound, but there is no point in going to the Tsar for the saber.' Another method of fighting against Kuchum was to try and 'force Tsar Kuchum out' [Historical Acts, vol. 2, p. 7]. In order to do that, they forced the yasak volosts, which paid Kuchum tribute, to take out Russian citizenship [Müller, 1999, pp. 247–249] and built new Russian fortresses on their lands.

Great efforts were made to catch Khan Kuchum, but they were all unsuccessful. In 1591 a detachment, composed of Tobolsk servicemen led by voivode Vladimir Koltsov-Mosalsky, caught up with the army of Khan Kuchum by the Ishim River and inflicted defeat upon them near the Chilikul Lake. But Khan Kuchum managed to escape. Nevertheless, this event significantly weakened his future military actions, so that the Khan even tried to restore his relationships with Moscow; there is an extant charter of the Khan from 1593–1594, where he asked the Muscovy Tsar to absolve him, give him the Siberian Yurt as a vassal state, and release Sultan Mametkul from captivity [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 216]. In reality, it was probably just a trick of the desperate Siberian Khan, who in 1595–1596 sought help from the Khan of Bukhara Abdulla. However, the latter could not help him as he was busy fighting for the Khwarezm [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 216–217]. In 1595 Kuchum's army suffered another defeat, inflicted by the detachment of voivode Boris Domozhirov. Kuchum escaped captivity yet again. In 1597 Kuchum's detachments attempted to conquer Tara, but they failed. He still kept on trying to make an agreement with the Russian authorities, which is seen in his charter sent to the voivodes of the city of Tara in 1597: 'And now let us try to make peace... and I truly want to make peace.' But at the same time Kuchum threatened the Russian authorities: '... along with the Nogai, we will stand on two sides, and the Royal Treasury will waver' [Collection, 1819, p. 131]. On the other hand, the Muscovy Tsar Fyodor in his message offered him to become a service Tsar and even promised him an assignment to the Siberian Yurt [Ibid.]. However, Kuchum kept on refusing the offers as he probably did not trust Moscow.

Then Khan Kuchum restored his power in Baraba, but in 1598 the Tara voivode A. Voyeykov led a campaign against him.

In August 1598 the united Russian-Tatar detachment, of 400 people in total (I. Shcheglov mentions a much bigger number, namely '700 Russians and 300 Tatars' [Shcheglov, 1883]) under the leadership of voivode Andrey Voyeykov departed from Tara and after long searches and minor showdowns with the enemy in the Baraba steppe found the main forces of Khan Kuchum, which numbered more than 500 people, near the Irmen River, an estuary of the Ob River. In the course of the long and tough battle the army of Kuchum was destroyed. The majority of Khan Kuchum's family was captured. According to the list of captives, sent by voivode A. Voyeykov and dated 4 September 1598, during the showdown they captured five sons of the Khan (Tsareviches Asmanak, Shaim, Bibadsha, Molla, Kumysh), eight tsarinas 'Kuchum's wives,' and as many daughters [Historical Acts, vol. 2, p. 6]. Apart from the Khan Kuchum's family, the list of captives included the daughter and two granddaughters of the Nogai Prince, five princes, and murzas. The captive Kuchumers were sent to Moscow. According to the document, 6 princes, 10 murzas, 5 atalyks (also presumably princes), Khan's father-in-law, and their 'companions' were killed. They also killed 150 'servicemen,' who tried to swim across the Ob River, and 50 captives, some of them were 'beaten,' some of them 'hanged'; Kuchum's brother, Sultan Iliten, and the Khan's son were killed as well [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 193–194].

In the 'Nakaz' of 1598 to the Russian ambassador Alexander Fyodorovich Zhirovoy-Zasekin, he was ordered to describe the events as follows: '...the people of His Majesty found Kuchum Tsar in the field, killed Kuchum Tsar, his brother Iliten Tsarevich, and his children, and his nephews, and with them three tsareviches, and most of the princes, and killed more than a thousand people and murzas, and captured five tsareviches, Kuchum's children, Asmanak Tsarevich with his brothers, ten tsarinas of Kuchum, and children of his wives, and eight Kuchum's daughters along with the best murzas of more than three hundred people, and brought them to His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince Boris

Fyodorovich, the Ruler of All Russia, and devastated the uluses of Kuchum... ' [Proceedings of the Eastern Department of the Russian Archaeological Society, 1892, vol. 21, pp. 50–51]. However, Khan Kuchum managed to get away this time around as well. And he had his son Ali, and some of his attendants were with him. Voyeykov tried to chase after Kuchum but failed, so did the ambassadors sent to negotiate with the Khan. He declined the offer to make peace with the Russian Tsar, sent from Tara with sayyid Tul Mamet, to which he replied that he was going to Nogais and sending his son [Ali] to Bukhara [Historical Acts, vol. 2, p. 7].

This victory was the most crucial stage of the Russian invasion of Siberia. The historiography does not have any recordings of what might have happened to Kuchum afterwards, except for some confusing and contradictory information about the time and place of his death. After his defeat Kuchum fled to the beginnings of the Irtysh River and, according to S. Remezov, 'stole a great number of horses from the Kalmyks' on his way. However, the Kalmyks caught the offender and 'killed many Kuchumers and took their herds of horses back.' Along with a few of his supporters Kuchum arrived in the Nogai lands, where he was killed, whereas his people 'came up to the city of Tobolsk and agreed to pay yasak, some of them embraced Christianity and were included to serve in the list of newly Christianised, murzas and murziches, 300 people, were enrolled at the services and assigned payments of 15 and 7 rubles. And they were given a Russian Head, an official' [Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus', 1989, pp. 567–568]. G. Müller gives two possible directions of Kuchum's flight—'to the Kazakh Horde' or to the Nogais (Manghits) [Müller, 1999, p. 293]. Which is why it is impossible to determine the accurate date and place of Khan Kuchum's death as the sources contradict each other. For instance, the charter of the Tsar Michail Fyodorovich mentions the year 1598, whereas the historians, based on the fact that his son Ali became the Khan in 1601, believe that Kuchum died in 1601. The Tatar historian Kh. Atlasi along with Abu al-Ghazi believed that Khan Kuchum died in the tribe of Manghits (which was connected to the rulers of Bukhara). Those places might have even been

Kuchum's homeland, where, as he had lost his Khanate, he probably went to spend his last days. 'He did not degrade himself by exchanging his freedom, which was his most prized possession, for something else. As any other great man, he acknowledged either victory or death. The Khan preferred to die than to be held captive' [Atlasi, 2005, p. 81]. It seems that these words by Kh. Atlasi reflect on the real character of Kuchum as a prominent historical figure, statesman, who even after losing his yurt continued to fight for it for almost two decades and, despite all of the promises, preferred to wander and fight, who, having lost everything—the state, his family—did not derogate from his beliefs and views. Although, by 1597 the Khan realised that he had lost since his charter to the voivodes of Tara says the following: '... I did not give you Siberia, you took it away from me' [Collection, 1819, p. 131]. The 19th century historian P. Nebolsin characterises Kuchum along the same lines: 'Kuchum tenaciously fought against Yermak, and during that fight he degraded neither his title, nor his dignity, he did not kneel before the conquerer but took his revenge according to the spirit of the time, both secretly and openly, and, finally, was left to roam the steppe for seventeen years. Driven by his greatness, he preferred to fall by the strokes of fate rather than bring dishonour to his name by voluntarily surrendering to those who he believed to be his oppressors and enemies...' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 114]. The modern historians also have similar views: 'In the years 1585–1594 Khan Kuchum made incredible efforts and managed to revive the Siberian Khanate within new borders and new territories. However, this state formation turned out to be less sustainable. Nevertheless, Kuchum held out in this unequal battle against the Russian detachments and the Tatars, who joined them, up until 1598. And there is hardly any other historical figure in Eurasia that could do more in a situation like this' [Siberian Collection of works, 2012, p. 86].

Nevertheless, we have to admit that the characterisations of Kuchum, quoted above, are not quite typical for the Russian historiography, and there is no objective characterisation of Khan Kuchum in Russia up to this day. The historical literature still has some traces of

the Medieval historiographical traditions of the 17th century, historical stereotypes aimed exclusively at justification of the colonisation of Siberia, which is why the figures that were opposed to others, who protected their homeland from conquerers, were idealised.

Despite some differences in regard of the date of death of Khan Kuchum ibn Murtaza, ca. 1599–1600, the Muscovy side, as it is noted in the report of the Russian embassy headed by A. Vlashev to the Holy Roman Empire, had already considered the Siberian Tsardom to be their land [Trepavlov, 2012, p. 69], whereas the titular of Boris Godunov featured a new element, the title of the 'Tsar of Siberia' [Uspensky, 2000, pp. 49–50, 96], which was physically proven by the 'Siberian crown' [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, p. 102] that might have been specially made for the Muscovy royalty or taken from the Siberian Yurt during the conquest. Ultimately, the image of this crown, as being one of the main symbols of the Russian state, was included in the 'emblem of the Empire,' according to the registered decree of 1667 'Royal Title and State Stamp,' which featured 'three crowns, symbolising three Great Kingdoms of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia' [Soboleva, 2006, p. 187].

The Siberian Yurt (Siberian Khanate) fell for several reasons. First of all, Khan Kuchum and his descendants 'were doomed within the context of the starting crisis of the steppe state coming under the pressure of developing settled states. This process was logical for that period, and the fall of the Siberian Khanate was one of the components for the gradual extinction of the nomadic power phenomena in Eurasia [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, pp. 108–109]. We also can agree with A. Matveev and S. Tataurov that the heir of the Golden Horde followed the Golden Horde traditions in regard of the state organisation, which were already fading away; Khan Kuchum 'did not manage to create... while forming a full-fledged, for Middle Asia, state in Western Siberia... something more appropriate for that time period' [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, p. 224]. The Muscovite state was definitely much stronger than the Siberian Khanate, when it came to the economy and military forces. The Siberian Tatars, armed according to the steppe traditions and using old military tactics, were

not prepared to stand up against new types of weapon (firstly, firearms) and new tactics (military towns) [Khudyakov, 2000, pp. 268–271; Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 108]. Another reason for the Siberian Khanate's downfall was the internal conflicts between the Taibugids and Shibaniids, which started as early as in the end of the 15–early 16th centuries. It seems like the consolidation of the nomadic (semi-nomadic) and settled populations of the Khanate was also not quite finished. Islam, which was still developing during the reign of Khan Kuchum, was not there in time as an ideology that would unify the people of the state. The Shibaniids also failed to 'propose a single ideology that could bring everyone together' [Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina, 2009, p. 108]. Finally, the Siberian Yurt became a part of the Islam world during the period of its general downfall.

The fight of the Kuchumoviches. With the death of Kuchum, the race for power in Siberia did not come to an end, it lasted throughout 17th century, and the sons and grandsons of Kuchum were the ones who led it. They constituted a serious threat to the new power as the Tatars and other Siberian people saw them as true rulers of the country.

As the Pogodinsky Chronicler reports about the number of sons of Kuchum: 'And Tsar Kuchum had in all ten sons' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, pp. 133, 137]. V. Trepavlov gives an approximate list of them: Ali ('Aley'), Kanay, Altanay, Ishim (Ish-Mohammed), Hajjim (Asim), Abul-Khair, Asmanak, Khanchubar, Babadsha (Bey-Padishah), Keday, Kubey-Murad, Chuvak, Mollah, Shaim (Shekh-Mohammed) [Trepavlov, 2012, p. 62]. A different list of sultans of Kuchums is provided by the continuator of Ötemish Hajji. On his list there are 8 names, 6 of which coincide with the data in Russian sources [Mirgaleev, 2014, p. 65]. The Kuchumoviches, first under command of their father, and after his death independently, tried to resist the growing presence of the Muscovite state in Siberia [Trepavlov, 2012, p. 62].

They nomadised with faithful to them groups in the steppes and heads of the Ishim, the Irtysh, and the Tobol Rivers, sometimes reaching the Yaik and Ufa uyezds. Having learnt about the death of his father, Tsarevich Ali, who at that

moment was somewhere near the head of the Tobol River, declared himself as the Khan. The recognition of Ali Khan by that part of the Tatars, who were with him, is mentioned in one of the Russian documents—the charter of the Ufa voivode M. Nagoy to the Tyumen voivode L. Shcherbatov of March 1601: 'And their big brother Tsarevich Ali, Kuchum's son, and they call him the Tsar' [Müller, 2000, p. 196]. The title of Khan Ali b. Kuchum is mentioned also by the continuator of Ötemish Hajji [Mirgaleev, 2014, p. 65], which confirms the information of the Russian source. Sh. Marjani, whose sources in this case are unknown, also marks Ali among the Siberian khans [Märcani, 1989, p. 186; Trepavlov, 2012, p. 67]. However, the title of Khan Ali was not recognised probably by all the Tatars: in 1603 the Tatar informer tells the Russians that 'his court, his best people,' who had nomadised in another place with sultans Kanai and Asim, consider that it would be better to put in another son of Kuchum as Tsar, Kanay, since the 'Tsarina Chepshan,' Ali's mother, is of humble origin [Müller, 2000, p. 209]. The Moscow side was not eager to recognise the monarchic status of Ali, which Kuchum once had. V. Trepavlov's remarkable argument, concerning sequence of recognition of the Russian Tsar as the possessor and, thus, inclusions of new objects in his title: 'In his time Ivan IV turned into 'Kazan Tsar' in the lifetime of Yadgar-Muhammad, the last Khan of Kazan. However, he lost the war with Moscow, was taken captive, was among the state attendants, was converted to Christianity, and though continuing to be referred to as the Tsar, he justified by his humility the devolution of the Khanate under the rule of the winner. The last Astrakhan Khan Dervish Ali, when the Russian army approached, left his town, 'ran to Azov and from there to Mecca.' As for the invincible for the Russian governors Kuchum, they had to wait for his death to declare the official right to his yurt,' which happened not earlier than 1599–1600 [Trepavlov, 2012, pp. 72, 69]. It is remarkable that at the beginning of 1600 the Kazakh sultan Uraz Muhammad, who had been captive in 1588 in Russia together with the Siberian prince Sayid Ahmet Taibugid, was suddenly enthroned in the Kasimov Khanate, the throne of which remained unoccupied for a long

time (approximately since 1590) [Belyakov, 2011, p. 274]. Probably at that time it was not necessary. By 1600, as the Siberian native Kadir Ali Beg noted, 'the throne of Tura' (Tahte Tura), by which the Siberian Khanate was obviously meant, submitted to 'padishah' Boris Fyodorovich [Kadiyr Gali bāk, 2011, p. 10]. Therefore it might have happened that the act of enthronement of the Kazakh sultan, having Siberia natives in his suite, in the Kasimov Khanate, was connected with the actual accession of the Siberian Khanate to the Muscovite state. In this context it may seem conspicuous that in 1614, after Uraz Muhammad, the Kasimov Khanate was given to the Siberian tsarevich, the grandson of Kuchum Khan, Araslan b. Ali [Belyakov, 2011, p. 274].

However, a Kuchumovich Khan Ali could hardly count on the support of the Bukhara Khanate, where—after the death of Taukel the Kazakh khan in 1598 during a campaign against the Bukhara Khanate of Abdulla II khan—the throne had come to his son Abd Al-Mumin, who was killed by rebellious emirs in 1599. Pir-Muhammad Khan, the elderly uncle of the latter, replaced him, but he governed not long, and after him a new dynasty came into power—Ashtarkhanids, under the reign of whom was also a part of the Kazakhs. Nevertheless, the clashes between Kazakhs from other groups with Ashtarkhanids continued, which is evidence that during this period the interests of the Bukhara dynastic leaders were centred on Middle Asia [History of Kazakhstan, 2010, pp. 405–410].

It seems that the nomadic camp of Ali, which was at first near the head of Ishim River, moved then to the east, 'closer to Siberia towards Tobolsk' [Trepavlov, 2012, p. 65], and in 1603 it was already '7 days away from Tyumen' [Müller, 2000, p. 209]. In 1603 Ali got help from the Nogais and was going to attack Tyumen [Müller, 2000, p. 211], but the news that the Russians had released from captivity several wives of Kuchum prevented him from doing so as this was exactly the goal behind his planned attack. However, according to some not really clear data, which is given by the continuator of Ötemish Hajji, his alliance with the Nogais was fragile. The following data is noted there: 'To get an

army (or for its consolidation) Galikhan came to the famous Ishtirak-Beg (a Nogai Bey, who became the governor of the Nogai Horde on the basis of a grant given by Tsar Boris in 1600.—D. I., Z. T.). However, that one said that 'the son of my brother cannot attach me to himself, and did not help him, and took away the money that remained from the great father.' Then Ali, 'losing hope, put his dead son's body (who died while passing over the famous Jan Sebuk on the Yaik River) on the back of his horse and buried him in the fortress of Ufi located on the bank of the Ak Ideli River' [Mirgaleev, 2014, p. 65, the translation was corrected by us]. Besides, this information shows that from time to time Ali was in the Southern Cis-Urals, where there were groups dependent on him, but he returned, nevertheless, 'to the Tobol River' close 'to Tyumen' (1605, 1607, 1608, see [Müller, 2000, pp. 223, 231, 234, 243]). Eventually, in 1608 he was taken prisoner by the Russians, ending up in the Muscovite state, he was granted lands near Yaroslavl, keeping the title of 'Siberian Tsarevich,' and near the end of his life he moved to his grandson, to the city of Kasimov.

Later his brother Ishim declared himself Ali Khan, which happened in a peculiar way: in 1601 at the request of the elder brothers he arrived in Ufa with his other brother Kubey-Murad, in connection with the preparations for abandoning all the Kuchumoviches to the Russian authorities. However, they did not come to an agreement, and Ishim and his brother were sent to the centre of the Muscovite state, where they lived for some time, and then they probably escaped from there [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 251–346]. It is known that Ishim married the daughter of the Kalmyk Taishi in order to enhance relations with the Kalmyks. However, as the continuator of Utemysh-Hajji states, Ishim was only called a sultan, indicating that 'at the time of Gali Khan their yurt fell apart and dissipated' [Mirgaleev, 2014, p. 65]. Though the Russian authorities knew that Ishim was 'the Tsar' (see the charter of 1616 [Müller, 2000, p. 274]), they preferred to call him 'Tsarevich' because the title of 'Siberian Tsar' already belonged to the ruler of Moscow.

During this period continuous rebellions broke out among the local population of the

former Siberian yurt. In 1609 they prepared a joint rebellion of the Tobolsk, Tyumen, Turin Tatars, the Verkhotur, Pelym, Berezov, and the Surgut Voguls and Ostyaks. The Tyumen Tatars hoped for support from the Kalmyks in the rebellion, expecting to occupy the city of Tyumen together with them and to kill off all the Russians. However, the plot was uncovered before the rebellion managed to break out, and the ringleaders of it forfeited their lives. In 1616 Tyumen service men and yasak Tatars of the Tersyatskaya volost 'betrayed.'

A detachment of horse Cossacks together with 'Lithuanians' and service Tatars was sent from Tyumen, it was headed by ataman Stepan Molchanov. The rebellion was crushed. Then Ishim 'Tsar' supported by Kalmyk Taishi and 500 of 'military people' wanted to 'march against the Siberian towns and against Ufa' (October 1616) [Müller, 2000, p. 274]. The next year the Yasak Tatars of Yantur with 'companions' from Tyumen uyezd 'betrayed,' for the subjection of which the Cossacks and service Tatars were sent. During those years Ishim Khan, who was closely connected with the Kalmyks, continued to be obviously staying near the yurt of his father, for example, in 1623 he wandered 'on the Tobol River,' a 7-day trip 'from Tyumen' [Müller, 2000, p. 348]. Thereafter, according to the sources, it becomes clear that the Russian authorities were betrayed in 1629 by the Tatars of 'the main volosts' (Barabinskaya, Chatskaya, etc.) of Tara uyezd, who had partially left to join the Kalmyks [Müller, 2000, pp. 399–401]. By that time the rebellious Siberian Tatars had already been under the authority of Ablay Ishim. In 1629 the Tobolsk voivode A. Trubetskoy sent the son of boyar Dmitry Cherkasov and the yurt service Tatar Aitkul Kizylbayev to Baraba in order to 'arrange' the betraying Tatars, 'so that they would come under the monarchic imperial hand as before' [Müller, 2000, p. 401]. Later on in the same year in the town of Tara the yurt and volost Tatars raised up in rebellion. The battle against the rebellious Tatars took place near lake Chan. In this battle 'many were killed, and in the villages many living were taken captive and were carried away into Russian captivity with those taken in the villages of Tara uyezd, and drove away the horses and cows. ' The

surviving 'betrayers' left to join Baraba Prince Kogutayk who soon sent supplicants to Tobolsk 'to ask the sovereign humbly about their faults. ' At the same time from Tobolsk to Lower Nitsynsky settlements they sent the notice that 'from Tara volosts one of the Kuchumoviches may come—Tsarevich Ablagerim (Ablaygerim) (he was the son of Ishim Khan)—with the 'Kalmyk people' [Müller, 2000, p. 417], which indicates that the Kuchumoviches were among the Kalmyks. [Müller, 2000, pp. 418–419].

In November 1631 Kuchum's grandsons Tsareviches Ablaygerim and Davletkirey with the Kalmyk allies attacked Tara uyezd. Service people were sent from Tobolsk and Tara to help the assailed volosts. The army, consisting of service people and Tatars, was headed by the ordered head Fyodor Sharapov, the Tatar head Ivan Vnukov, and the son of boyar Bogdan Arshinsky. From Tara against the Kalmyks were sent the head Yarofey Zabolotsky, the Tatar head Voin Dementyev, the ataman Vlas Kalachnikov, the son of boyar Grigory Bakachov with the Tara service people, Lithuanians, Cossack horsemen, and yurt service Tatars. Having joined up near the Ishim River, the service men chased after the Kalmyks. In this battle they managed to defeat the detachments of the Kalmyks and to take many captives who were later taken to Tara for sale. [Müller, 2000, pp. 448, 459]. Later the same year the Tara volosts were again attacked by the Kalmyks together with people of Tsarevich Ishim. In 1632 they undertook a new campaign from Tyumen against the Kalmyks under the leadership of Ilya Baksheyev, the head of the service Tatars, and Ivan Voinov, the Cossack ataman. A battle was fought on the Tobol River in which the Cossacks came out victorious. They received an ample sovereign award for this victory: 'they ordered us to give the Tatar head Ilya Baksheyev a supplement of one ruble to his previous 10-ruble annual salary; ataman Ivan Voinov, one ruble on top of his 12-ruble salary; and Ilya Baksheyev, 3 rubles; and the rest of the Tyumen service people—they ordered us to give sons of boyars, and the Lithuanians, and Cossack horsemen, and yurt service Tatars 119 rubles. 'In the spring of 1633 they sent a detachment, which consisted of 90 people of 'Lithuanians

and Cossack horsemen' and 100 yurt service Tatars, on a 'campaign against the grandchildren of Kuchum and with them against the Tara yurt Tatars, who had betrayed their Sovereign, and against the military Kalmyk people, who were at war in Tyumen uyezd of Alybayev yurt' [Müller, 2000, pp. 462–463, 466]. In September 1634 a new attack took place of the Kalmyks against Tara. Almost all the Russian and the Tatar villages located near the city were burnt to ashes, and the inhabitants, who did not manage to take refuge in the city, were taken captive or killed [Müller, 2000, p. 479].

In 1635 the Kalmyks, Tara and Tyumen Tatars with them, headed by the children of Tsarevich Ishim, came to Chubar sloboda. They 'burnt down the sloboda and killed or captured the service people, and the local peasants, and their wives, and children, and took others prisoners; and in another settlement on the Cape of Artaban they burnt down 18 homesteads and proceeded towards the fortress. ' The heads Boris Tolbuzin and Michail Baykashin from Tobolsk, Ilya Baksheyev from Tyumen, Grigory Baykachev from Tara together with the Tobolsk, Tyumen, and Tara service people and the yurt Tatars were sent against them. They 'killed and captured many Kalmyks but did not find the grandchildren of Kuchum because they wandered with the Kalmyk Taishis, with Shuktey, and with Menrytay... ' [Müller, 2000, pp. 500–501]. Military groups were then sent from Tobolsk and Tyumen to search for the 'grandchildren of Kuchum,' but it was difficult to find them because they were far from Tyumen [Müller, 2000, pp. 506, 516–518].

The local authorities tried to persuade the brother of the above-mentioned Ablagerim Davletkirey to come under the rule of the Russian authorities [Müller, 2000, pp. 519–520], but he obviously did not want to submit, planning an attack on the Russian possessions, and there were many Tatars with him: Tyumen, Tara, Ufa Tatars. In 1641 Tsarevich Davletkirey attacked the Russian and the Tatar volosts. They sent service people on a campaign against him which was headed by Ilya Baksheyev: 'and those service people found this Devlet Giray in the Kalmyk camps, and there was a fight with him and... Ilya Baksheyev, the head of

the Tatars, with the service people killed many Kalmyks and took prisoners' [Müller, 2000, pp. 130, 555, 559].

One of the greatest attacks took place in 1648, under the leadership of Tsarevich Devlet Giray. The last and very serious rebellion took place in 1662–1664, when the Bashkirs with the last unbroken Kuchumoviches rose up. Their plan was to occupy all Russian cities, to make Tobolsk their capital, and to enthrone Devlet Giray. However, these plans did not have any real foundations. This rebellion was crushed with great difficulty and with extreme atrocity.

Under the influence of the Kuchumoviches the non-Russian population of the Western Siberia hoped that the Siberian Khanate would recover to 'as it was during the rule of Tsar Kuchum.' As the well-known Russian historian S. Bakhrushin wrote: 'This proves that the Siberian Khanate, despite its weakness, was a viable organism. It is impossible to eliminate the history of this Khanate from the history of the USSR. During the entire 17th century the Western Siberians considered themselves connected with the Kuchum dynasty and at various times incited rebellions trying to recover Kuchum's state. All this shows that contacts of the state structure in Western Siberia were rather strong before the arrival of the Russians' [Bakhrushin, 1955].

Evaluating the results of the long and persistent fight of Kuchum Khan's children and grandsons for the return of the Khanate, the well-known Moscow historian V. Trepavlov concluded that 'the successors of Kuchum Khan 'were not lucky' with the epoch. They found themselves in the way of two powerful historical processes of the 17th century—eastwards expansion of the Muscovite state and the western migration of the Oirats. Either of these political forces immensely surpassed the camp of comrades-in-arms of the Tsareviches-'Cossacks' in the number of participants, resource potential, certainty of purposes and plans, diplomatic sophistication of the leaders... Finding themselves between the Russian hammer and the Kalmyk anvil, the Siberian

Tatar dynasties had no chance for a successful revenge and the revival of their lost yurt' [Trepavlov, 2012, p. 143].

The future of the Kuchum successors developed in different ways. It is known that since 1582 the relatives of Kuchum Khan were taken captive. In the Muscovite state various privileges were provided for the Kuchumoviches who remained in Siberia. At state banquets at the court they enjoyed honours as the Siberian tsareviches, they were given pride of place above the boyars, they were granted lands, ancestral lands, and forage. Many descendants from Siberia lived in Kasimov [Belyakov, 2011, p. 300]. The erstwhile Siberian khan Ali b. Kuchum also lodged there according to his petition of 1641–1642 (most likely, in the court of Sayyid-Burkhan, his grandson) (died in 1649 [Belyakov, 2011, p. 301]).

In 1614 a Kuchumovich Arslan, the son of Ali, was appointed governor of the Kasimov Khanate by Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich as it has already been stated. Arslan governed in Kasimov from 1614 to 1626. After his death the governor was Kuchum's great-grandson Sayyid-Burkhan, after receiving baptism and taking the name of Vasily Arslanovich (died in 1679). He had two daughters: Yevdokiya and Domna. Yevdokiya married M. Naryshkin, the brother of Tsarina Natalya Kirillovna, mother of Peter I, Domna married Prince Yu. Khilkov. The family of princes was also from the second son of Kuchum Altanay, who had two sons called Tsareviches Dost-Soltan (after receiving baptism Pyotr/Peter) and Ish (Aleksey). Kuchum's son Abul-Khair, after being captured in 1591, also lived in Russia. In 1600 he was baptised under the name of Andrey. His son was Fyodor Andreyevich Nogotkov. The son of F. Nogotkov was the Siberian Tsarevich Vasily Fyodorovich, the father of the Siberian Tsarevich Roman Vasilyevich. Tsareviches married daughters of boyars, received ancestral lands and estates, and, therefore becoming assimilated, replenished the upper class of the Russian aristocracy. Some of them remained Muslims, being part of the Kasimov Tatars [Sharifullina, 1991].

Section II

Tatar People as a Part of Russian State in the Latter Half of 16–17th Centuries



CHAPTER 1

The State Policy of Colonisation of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia in the Latter Half of 16–17th Centuries**§1. Incorporation of Tatars into the Russian Legal Space in the Latter Half of the 16–First Half of 17th Centuries***Aydar Nogmanov*

After the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, the Russian government was faced with the challenge of familiarising its population with the socioeconomic and political order of Russia.

Moscow rulers had some experience with ethnic groups of non-Russians, which could be used in the initial period of colonisation of the Middle Volga Region. Finno-Ugric tribes (Karelians, Merya, Muroma, Ves, Izhorians, Veps, Zyrians (Komi), Permians, Ostyaks (Khants), Voguls (Mansi), Samoyeds (Nenets), Sami, Mordvins), well before the taking of Kazan, were ruled by Moscow. Besides this, the Finno-Ugric component of the ethnic picture of the Muscovite state was complemented by Turkic component, represented by separate groups of service class Tatar people, at various times finding themselves in the service of Russian Princes.

Due to lack of sources, it is difficult to define the legal status of the non-Russian population in the Muscovite state. Particularly, the information about the situation of Finno-Ugric peoples is extremely poor and fragmentary. According to S. Herberstein, the rulers of Moscow almost did not interfere in their internal affairs, giving them the right to live according to their own customs and laws, satisfied with the recognition of their supremacy and paying tribute [Herberstein, 1988, pp. 152, 157, 163, 203]. However, evidence suggests that during the process of mutual acculturation the Finno-Ugric population experienced strong influence from Eastern Slavs, not only in the form of economic and administrative impact but also in the form of linguistic and religious assimilation [Kappeler, 1996, p. 19].

More information survived about Tatars (in the 16–17th centuries, social ethnonym, denoting military noblemen of the Golden Horde and Late Golden Horde states.—*A.N.*) who since the 14th century began to move ('ot"ezzhat") to the service of Russian Princes. The consequences of these transfers were different and in many respects were determined by the choice of religion. Tatars converted to orthodoxy and settled near the courts of Moscow rulers, actively integrated into the Russian environment and assimilated within two to three generations. Change of religion was a condition for entrance into Moscow feudal elite. That was the path followed by the forefathers of the Godunovs, Saburovs, Derzhavins, Urusovs, Baskakovs, Yusupovs, and dozens of other well-known Russian noble families.

Tatar service class people, who did not want to abandon Islam, concentrated in several Tatar enclaves that emerged in different places of contemporary Central Russia. As a rule, they formed around Russian cities¹ at various times given in possession ('v kormlenie') to Tatar 'Tsars and Tsareviches. ' The populations of these enclaves became known as Tatar service class people.

The most important Tatar enclave was the Kasimov Khanate that performed an exceptional and incomparable function in Russian geopolitics in the 16–17th centuries. Accord-

¹ It is notable that Kashira and Zvenigorod were among the cities that were traditionally inherited by the Moscow princes' eldest sons. Moreover, the cities of Yuryevets-Polsky and Surozhsky Stan (present day Istra in the Moscow Region) were mentioned in different times as appanages of Tatar Khans.

ing to O. Zotova, Kasimov was the main 'caisson' for a 'smooth, unhurried assimilation' by Muscovy, increasingly composed of Tatar elite among its subjects [Zotov, 1993, p. 116], becoming the main nursery of the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional beginning of the early Empire [ibid., p. 121]. Moscow Princes did not intervene in the internal affairs of the Kasimov Khanate and other Tatar enclaves as long as their rulers remained politically loyal. In many ways, therefore, despite the presence of a notable Tatar component in the feudal elite of the Muscovite state, we did not find any traces of its presence in the legislation. This fully applies to other ethnic groups. Their status was not defined by written legislation but regulated by legal tradition, political conditions, and other factors.

The Sudebnik [Law Book] of 1550—the main legal set of the Muscovite state—contains only one article that refers to non-Russian people, and these are not the subjects of the Russian Tsars but foreigners who arrived in Moscow for trade or diplomatic affairs. Art. 27 of the Code regulated the procedures for settling disputes between them and Russian people [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985, p. 101]. There is the reason to believe that the article was written originally for the Europeans, and the purpose of its incorporation to the Muscovite legislation was to promote the development of trade and diplomatic relations with the west. Due to lack of sources, it is hard to judge how this rule, in a summarised form, first time appearing in the Sudebnik of 1497 [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985, p. 61], was applied to nationals of Kazan and other Tatar Khanates, arriving in Muscovy on ambassadorial and commercial matters. In any case, after 1552 the Kazan Tatars even theoretically withdrew from the scope of this article as they became subjects of Russian Tsars.

The lack of written laws did not mean lack of position in Russian ruling circles, with respect to Muslims. It was established over decades and determined by the usual non-acceptance of peoples of other faiths by people of the Middle Ages. In the case of the Kazan Tatars this was superimposed by historical grievances,

geopolitical ambitions of the Muscovite grand princes, the desire of Russian boyars and noblemen to seize new fertile lands ('podraskaya zemlitsa'), the desire of merchants to capture the Volga trade route to the east, etc.

A particular impact on the authorities was provided by the position of the Russian Orthodox Church, which regarded the Middle Volga as a field for missionary activities. Starting from 1549 church circles increasingly called for a struggle against gentile Kazan Tatars and to spread orthodoxy, and sources from the years 1549–1550 talk about an additional motive—to release Christian prisoners [Kappeler, 1982, p. 79]. It was self-evident and clear even for a Russian man of the 19th century (see [Solovyov, 1989, vol. 3, vol. 6, p. 461]), to say nothing of contemporaries for whom these calls played a mobilising role.

Ideologies and the church regime itself in the middle of the 16th century are most fully reflected in the Stoglav—a collection of orders of the local church council in the year 1551. Decision of the church council, which constituted one hundred chapters, are executed in the form of answers from senior church hierarchs to the questions of Ivan IV about the Church 'structure.' Among the issues considered by the Stoglav was combating heresies, superstitions, and remnants of paganism. The attitude towards Islam and Muslims is reflected in question 21, which denoted the concern of supreme power over the following phenomenon: '...people in churches of God in the cathedrals and parish churches stand without fear and in taqiyahs (tubeteikas.—A.N.) and in caps, and with staves ' [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985, p. 273]. The custom of entering a Church with caps was a result of the passion of Moscow society for Oriental apparel, primarily Turkish fashions [Batunsky, 1983, p. 174]. It is no wonder that the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church would be against such an innovation, in particular Sylvester and metropolitan Makary, who in literature was considered as the author of this question [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985, p. 425].

The aggregate position of the supreme Orthodox clergy on this situation was defined

in chapter 39 'About taqiyahs of the ungodly Mehmed' in the Stoglav, establishing a ban on the wearing of tubeteikas by Orthodox persons [ibid., p. 301]. In addition to the categorical rejection by the Russian church of Muslim customs, the reason for the ban could have been the then-current political situation—that is, the military confrontation between Moscow and Kazan, which had become irreversible by that time.

The attitude to the Islamic world as hostile was reflected in the decisions of the Council on the redemption of Russian prisoners, the number of which was quite significant in the 15–16th centuries due to numerous wars. Captured wealthy people could redeem themselves. Redemption of ordinary prisoners was the affair of the boyars, clergy, the population and organised on the initiative of the Tsar. This was mainly due to concerns about financial and economic welfare of the State, which suffered from a decrease in the number of tax payers; its economic and military needs [Schmidt, 1961, p. 34]. However, the religious motives here were also important as evidenced by the 10th question in 'O polonen-nikakh,' raised by Ivan IV before the church council (see [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985, p. 270]). The redemption of prisoners from Muslim captivity, including from Kazan, was presented by the Tsar as a charitable deed, which the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, of course, could not be against, agreeing to help secular authorities in raising funds (see chapter 72 Stoglav on the redemption of the captives: [Ibid, p. 355]).

These specific examples characterise the general condition of Russian legislation in the middle of the 16th century. Despite the fact that the establishment of a supreme power already took the form of laws, which were compiled into Law Books of the years 1497 and 1550, the legal relations in the Muscovite state were determined primarily by customary laws oriented towards Russian Orthodox persons. Their manual application to the territory of the Kazan Khanate meant an inevitable conflict with the legal traditions of local peoples, particularly the Tatars. Having adopted Islam a long time ago, they also embraced Islamic law (Sharia),

which was not limited to just the legislative settings. Accumulating in itself legal, moral, and religious laws, Sharia pervaded all aspects of life in Tatar society, thus regulating not only public but also private relations as well as the conduct of a person or groups of people in different situations.

In these circumstances the Russian Government faced a difficult job to adapt the conditions of the legislation of Muscovy to the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Middle Volga Region. The process of replacing the previous legal provisions with the new could not be fast. Actions and protests of non-Russian populations forced authorities to soften policies, and the fundamental differences in political traditions, religion, language, and culture hindered integration. We can confidently assert that after 1552 on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate came a period of transition, when the old and new regulations coexisted simultaneously.

Due to the total destruction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz Archive in the 16–17th centuries and the current records documentation of 'prikaznye palaty' and 'izby' (administrative offices) of the Volga cities, we can only judge about forms of coexistence of the two legal systems and their evolution over time, with a high degree of conditionality. Undoubtedly, the Muscovy regulations were introduced primarily to consolidate Russian domination in the most important areas—that is, governance, judiciary, and land law.

The first management decision of Ivan IV, after the conquest of Kazan, was the division of the Kazan Khanate territory into two administrative areas: the entire left-bank area comprised Kazan uyezd and the right bank, Sviyazhsk uyezd. Approximately in 1555 Cheboksary uyezd was separated from the latter. Each uyezd [district] reported directly to Moscow and was independent in relation to each other. However, in official documents they often act as single area of the Russian State—Kazan Land [Chuvashia, 1986, p. 68]. In the historical literature, as a synonym for this concept often used was the term 'Kazan Krai' [Ermolaev, 1980; Ermolaev, 1982; Dokumenty Kazanskogo kraya, 1990, etc.].

To manage the Kazan Land, the Kazan Palace, or Kazan Palace Prikaz, was created in Moscow. This was a universal agency that administered all other functions of all other prikazes on the newly-annexed territories, which were supervising Russian lands, administering political, judicial, military, fiscal, and financial matters, building fortress cities, the distribution of estates, military and patrol service of nobility, sons of boyars, streltsy, cossacks, non-Russian service class people, collecting of yasak, carrying out duties by tyaglo [tribute or a tax] paying population, yamskaya service, etc. [Dimitriev, 1986b, p. 51].

Local administration was carried out by Kazan Palace through the voivodes, which were the commanders of the garrisons endowed with administrative, fiscal, and judicial authority (to learn more about the principles of the organisation of local administration of the Kazan region, see [Ermolaev, 1982]). It is important to note that it is the Kazan Land where the voivodeship administration was first formed, which by the 1610s was spread over the whole territory of the Russian State. This fact makes the history of the region extremely important in terms of the political development of Russia. We will note that the number of appointed voivodes varied from 3 to 5 in Kazan and Sviyazhsk; 1 to 3, in Cheboksary; 1 to 2, in other cities. In the so-called suburbs of Kazan uyezd (Arsk, Tetyushi, Laishev, Alat) voivodes or 'golovy' [heads]—(military and administrative post in Russia in the 16–17th centuries—*A.N.*) were appointed. To control the local population, special 'Tatar heads' from Russian Noblemen and their children were appointed. They dispensed justice among the non-Russian population, 'reporting to the boyars and voivodes, judge impartially, together with best people, who would be elected by the Land [community].' The heads also led detachments of yasak-people in military campaigns. The 'best people' in Kazan Land were the local feudal stratum: Tatar murzas, Chuvash, Mari, Udmurt sotnia and desyatnia princelings and tarkhans, who—in addition to participating in court—were appointed as

Sotniks and Pyatidesyatniks of non-Russian volost' and sotnias. Village chiefs were elected from yasak people.

Electiveness of the officials at the grass-roots level tells of the presence of the Zemstvo system elements in the Kazan region, introduced in Russia in the middle of the 16th century. However, county institutions as such were not successful there. Anti-Muscovy actions of non-Russian populations, which were periodically observed throughout the latter half of the 16th century, required a strong government that could be provided only by a voivodeship.

An indispensable condition for the introduction of this system was the elimination of Khan's administration and the exclusion of local feudal lords from administrative authority. This was greatly contributed by the so-called Kazan War of 1552–1557, a revolt of the non-Russian peoples against the annexation of the lands of the former Kazan Khanate to Russia (for more info about these events, see [Ermolaev, 1982, pp. 16–26]). During the suppression of the uprising a large part of the Tatar feudal elites was physically destroyed. Only during the fall of 1555 a total of 1,560 of 'imennyy lyudej'—Tatar princes, murzas, sotnia princeling and lutchi cossacks—were killed' [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 102]. Nikon Chronicle, summing up the story about the events of 1552–1557, writes: 'the best people of Kazan, their princes and murzas and cossacks, who behaved recklessly, all died' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 222]. Surviving representatives of the Tatar nobility, whose loyalty was in doubt, were transferred to the internal area of the Muscovite state. Thus, conditions were created for the unhindered planting of the Russian management system on the former lands of the Kazan Khanate. However, the special status of the Khanate as the first foreign state included into Muscovy resulted in saving on its territory of certain elements of the former management system. Most notable of these was the use of the name 'Kazan Tsardom' not only in the title of the Russian Tsar but also in the management terminology. According to Kappeler, this was because, as inconspicuously as possible, the power of the Tsar had to be linked with the

power of Khan and thus strengthen own authority in terms of the then-current views on legality [Kappeler, 1982, p. 97].

The local government also preserved its peculiarities. At the very least, Muscovy took over Khanate administrative system for non-Russian regions. They operated indirectly through representatives of the local nobility, *sotniks* and *pyatidesyatniks*, who depended on the city *voivodes* but were independent from other local officials. Between lower administrative units ('*pyatidesyatnya*' or 'five hundred' and '*sotnya*' or 'one hundred') and '*uyezd*' [district], traditional *darugas* (*dorogas*) were retained in Kazan *uyezd*. Management, taxation, and duties system, borrowed from Khan's era, includes, according to V. Dimitriev *yasak* taxation, honey and marten tributes with duties, military duty not only of the service class people but also *yasak* people [Dimitriev, 1986a, p. 71]. The confirmation that much remained unchanged in local areas also comes from the fact that in the first decades after the conquest of the Khanate the agreement reached with the non-Russians to still use the Tatar language and dates according to the Muslim calendar [Kappeler, 1982, p. 97].

Altogether, the management system, prevailing in the Kazan region after 1552, combined elements of both direct and indirect domination over conquered peoples. The management model of the Muscovite state was being established in the occupied territories gradually, taking into account local conditions. Existing relationships, including sociolegal aspect, were altered only to the extent that was necessary to allow a smooth transition of power.

The legal basis for the activity of the Russian administration was the *Sudebnik* [Law Book] of 1550, Tsar's edicts, and injunctions to *voivodes*. Moreover, the Law Book, due to objective reasons, which did not take into account local realities, acted as a kind of a legal landmark, algorithm of actions to be taken in certain situations. The powers of the representatives of central and local authorities rested on its authority, but the efficient solution of numerous management issues were mostly administered through Tsar's edicts, and injunc-

tions to *voivodes*. Edicts generally consisted of an instruction on specific current issues, with a trace in the legislation. Injunctions were typically public legal documents of a complex nature, affecting different management areas, so that they were recognised as valuable sources for studies of policy of autocracy in the Middle Volga Region.

According to I. Ermolaev, the practice of written injunctions took some time to appear, and at first, these were given orally [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 39]. The possibility of the first written injunction (*Nakaz*) being composed the researcher dates back to 1555 [Ibid., p. 40], referring to the phrase 'and by the *voivode*...to act by the sovereign's injunction in everything...' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 259] in the '*nakaznaya pamyat*' of Ivan IV to Archbishop Gury sent in May 1555 to Kazan to organise activities of newly established Kazan Diocese. *Ustavnaya gramota* to *volosts* of the Kazan Land 1574, researched by V. Dimitriev, helps to reconstruct the details of injunctions to some extent [Dimitriev, 1986, pp. 65–75]. The charter appeared in the wake of the 1571–1573 uprising as a manifestation of Imperial 'mercy' to the participants who repented. These circumstances make it similar to the injunction to P. Shuysky, issued during the Kazan War of 1552–1557. According to the charter, the *voivodes* and other representatives of local administrations were obliged to ensure taxation from *yasak* people, their fulfillment of duties (particularly town work, i.e., the obligation to cut and haul timber, build towns (fortresses) and military service, implement measures to prevent anti-government struggle, establishing surveillance of behaviour of the local population, suppress public protests, and prevent looting and robberies.

By its content, the charter of 1574 coincides with injunctions to Kazan *voivodes* in the 17th century. Unfortunately, injunctions written before 1613 did not survive, but there is reason to believe that their base content would have been stereotypical [Dimitriev, 1986b, p. 53]. The main idea of the injunction was to maintain Russian rule in Kazan Land, thus ensuring control over turbulent areas. With this aim in mind, in the first years after annexation of the

region to Russia the non-Russian population was forbidden to engage in blacksmithing and silver businesses, to avoid the manufacturing of weapons. There was also a ban on the sale of weapons and military equipment, iron, copper, lead, tin, and the sale of metal tools was limited [Dimitriev, 1977, pp. 55–65.] The institution of *amanats* (hostage taking) was widely used in the management: hostages were taken from *yasak* people communities to the cities, and these would be answerable by their lives for their people to pay *yasak* duties and that their communities behaved. They were held in *amanats* (Tatar) courtyards [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 101]. The institution of hostage taking existed in the Kazan Krai until the end of the 17th century and is mentioned for the last time in the Injunction of 1686 to P. Urusov and A. Sokovnin [Dimitriev, 1974, p. 373].

Judicial proceedings on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate were also carried out under the *Sudebnik* of 1550, Tsar edicts, and injunctions to *voivodes*. The Court, as was already noted, was held by Russian nobles and sons of boyars, with the participation of the 'best people' elected from non-Russian population. Statutory charter of 1574 contained provisions forbidding Tsar's Administration from causing resentment among the local population, taking offerings and bribes from them, and prescribed to manage and judge without procrastination. In case of violation of laws, violence, or arbitrariness from the part of boyars, *voivodes*, clerks, and heads, the population was allowed to complain directly to the Tsar, who promised to protect non-Russian subjects from tyranny [Dimitriev, 1986a, pp. 65–75]. Of course, all this had mostly formal rather than practical significance. The range of issues dealt with in court, according to the same charter of 1574, was confined to criminal offenses ('extortion' and robbery) as well as crimes against the State ('theft'). Thus, outside the formal court remained a wide range of civil law fields, including property and family. This suggests that even quite a long time after 1552 the legal proceedings (at least in the non-Russian *volosts* of Kazan Land) along with Russian law were in place in accordance with Shariah Law among

Tatars, and among pagan peoples, according to customary law.

To consolidate its power in the region, the Government used the Orthodox Church as well. A. Kappeler drew attention to the interpretation of events in the Russian Chronicles related to the campaign of 1552 against Kazan and the conquest of that city. In the picture of the chroniclers, they appear in the form of a crusade against Islam [Kappeler, 1996, p. 28]. In connection with this, the algorithm of actions of Muscovite authorities was largely predetermined after the military victory. Kazan, like Astrakhan a little later, 'after becoming Russian cities, also became cities of Christianity' [Solo- vyov, 1989, b. 4, vol. 7, p. 66]. The first activities of the authorities on the territory of the conquered Kazan Khanate had a pronounced anti-Muslim nature. A few months later, after the seizure of Kazan, on 8 January 1553, Utyamysh Giray, the former Kazan Khan, was baptised in Moscow. In the end of February of the same year another Kazan Khan Yade- gar (Yädegär Möxämmäd) was baptised. Thus were created the preconditions for the commencement of active Christianisation of the local population because in the eyes of them the former 'legitimate' rulers of Khanate could no longer serve as the banner of the struggle for the faith [Kashtanov, 1970a, pp. 164–165].

At the same time, the Government took steps to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church in the conquered region, primarily through propagation of monastic landownership there. On 1 February 1553 Ivan IV granted three immunity charters to the largest spiritual feudal lords of Russian State—Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius. One of the charters provided it with 'a place for the Church and courtyard' in the Kazan Kremlin. S. Kashtanov notes the originality of this decision because the Tsar, as a rule, did not issue charters for the foundation of monasteries or churches [Ibid., p. 165]. The emergence of a charter with such content the author connects with the role of political and ideological outpost of the monastery and church in the centre of the conquered Kazan Khanate. Besides Kazan, the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius received land grants in

Sviyazhsk and the adjacent territory. In 1554–1555 the charters for land grants in Kazan Krai were received by Kazan Cathedral of the Spaso-Preobrazhenskij, Bogoroditsky Monastery of Sviyazhsk, Zilant monastery [Ibid., pp. 172–174]. The active distribution of lands to Russian monasteries in the Kazan Krai continued during the years 1550–1570. Lands granted to monasteries in 1550 were concentrated in the southern suburbs of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, in areas to the south-east and south of Kazan, in extreme southern edges of developed Kazan Land in Tetyushi, Kamskoye Ustye, and Zakamye as well as in the areas of the coast of the Volga River where there were crossings from the Mountain Side to the Meadow Side and from the Meadow Side across the Kazanka River to Kazan. An analysis of the territories composition with land grants by S. Kashtanov showed the targeted nature of the land grants: church-monastic landownership was implemented in places where it was more convenient to approach Kazan. These important strategic sites were to serve as the domains of monasteries and churches, to ensure that none of the internal and external enemies of the Tsar could find support here when trying to capture the former capital of the Kazan Khanate [Kashtanov, 1970a, p. 174]. In this area, troubled and distant from the Centre, it was important to have economically strong monasteries. Therefore, the Government rarely refused them 'new land grants' [Mustafina, 1985, p. 80].

One of the key events in the transformation of the Middle Volga Region into the part of 'Great' Russia was the establishment of the Kazan Diocese on 3 February 1555. The significance of its establishment, in the eyes of the Government, is confirmed by the fact that the Kazan Archbishopric in the Church hierarchy was placed in second place after the Novgorod Archbishopric, and higher than Rostov [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 250]. Hegumen (abbot) of the Selizharov Monastery Gury (Rugotin) from Tver became the Bishop. Before his departure to the destination point in May 1555, he received the Tsar's 'nakaznaya pamyat'—that is, an instruction determining the responsibilities and authorities of the spiritual shepherd [Acts of the Archeo-

graphic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 259–261]. This is the first legislative document that gives an idea of the religious policies pursued by the tsarist government on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate. According to the document, the primary mission of Gury in Kazan was baptising of the non-Russian population, particularly the Tatars. The content of the document was certainly affected by the general political situation in the region where the Kazan War of 1552–1557 took place.

To avoid extra reasons for resentment, they were instructed to refrain from forcible Christianisation and baptise only those Tatars who themselves wished to be baptised. The most capable of the baptised were supposed to be taught the 'Christian law' and to be protected and even invited to the archbishops table [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 259]. Among the non-Russian population rumors were deliberately spread that at the Archbishop people could find justice from the arbitrariness of the secular authorities. The payment for such an intercession was baptism. The document stipulated that if a Tatar was guilty of something and 'ran' to the Archbishop, they should not be surrendered to a voivode in case they wish to adopt orthodoxy. By agreement of the religious and secular authorities, such situations were provoked artificially. Secular authorities by various contrivances forced offenders to seek protection from the Church: 'Let the Archbishop hold Council with the viceroy and voivode: concerning Tatars with small guilt, and be they endangered with a penalty, while the penalty is not imposed, and they (voivodes) tell this to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop shall speak to free those from guilt, although he will not be asked from them to do so.' [ibid., p. 260]. The powers of Gury were so grand that he was allowed to 'ask the governor to set free' even those sentenced to death.

In addition, to the duties of Spiritual Shepherd over 'voivodes, sons of boyars, and the newly baptised,' the Archbishop had the right to interfere in the affairs of local government [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 260]. To stimulate the activity of Gury, he was granted a large salary for those times [Solovyov, 1989, b. 4, vol. 7, p. 68]. Thus, the

role of the Orthodox Church in Kazan Krai was not restricted to the sphere of spiritual affairs. A. Gradovsky rightfully noted that in the system of state administration at the local level 'the centres of the spiritual administration have the same, if not more important, role than the administrative centres' [Gradovsky, 1899, pp. 372–373].

The contents of 'nakaznaya pamyat' of 1555, together with data from other sources, shows that in the first years of autocracy in the Middle Volga Region the practice of the adoption of the Orthodox faith has become a prerequisite for forgiveness or mitigation of punishment for Muslims and pagans who committed crimes. This method of pressure on the non-Russian population remained as part of the arsenal of the Tsar's government in subsequent centuries. Only the list of crimes for which mitigation was possible was changed.

In this same period various other forms were being developed and tested for the promotion of baptism. Absence of sources does not allow us to list the ones that were used directly on the territory of the Kazan Krai. However, there are indications that the methods and forms of stimulation of the newly-baptised were versatile for different regions of residence of non-Russian peoples. Their form is given by the Tsar charter to the Votyaks of Syryan volost of Sloboda uyezd (Northern Vyatka Land) dated February 1557. It promised Votyaks 'to give three years of benefits' for adoption of the Orthodox faith and contained a detailed list of duties and taxes, which they were exempted from having to pay [Istoriya, 1937, p. 147]. The important point of the document was the notation about the three-year duration of the benefits, which later became the standard and later was codified during Peter I's rule [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 6, No. 3637].

It was quite likely that different forms of stimulation of baptism were originally tested on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate and then were extended to Vyatka Land and other regions. An indirect proof thereof was the results of the missionary activity of Gury evaluated by S. Solovyov as rather successful [Solovyov, 1989, b. 4, vol. 7, p. 68]. Under the

conditions when the Central Government instructed to desist from forced Christianisation, success could be achieved only with the help of material incentives.

Considering the policy of the State in the Middle Volga Region in the second half of the 16th century, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the practical interests and possibilities of the secular authorities in the region did not always coincide with the interests of the Orthodox clergy. If the Russian Church had a missionary function in the first place, then the Kazan Palace Prikaz and voivodes on the local level had to balance their ideological predilections with objective realities. In particular, when building relations with the Tatar population they had to take into account the Turkish factor. Russian envoys in Istanbul tried to bring to the consciousness of the Ottoman rulers, who were spiritual leaders of the Muslim world and custodians of the holy mosques in Mecca and Medina, the idea of non-oppression of Muslims in Russia. In 1570 Ivan IV's ambassador Ivan Novosiltsev reported to Sultan Selim II (1566–1574):...now our Sovereign placed Tsarevich Saip-Bulat in the town of Kasimov, mosques and cemeteries were ordered to be arranged according to the Besermyan law, and our Sovereign did not take away any of its will; and if our Sovereign were to violate the Besermyan law, he would have never ordered to place Saip-Bulat among our land, following the Besermyan law' [Solovyov, 1989, b. 3, vol. 6, p. 586]. In 1584 Messenger Blagov was sent to Istanbul to inform Sultan Murad III (1574–1595) of the enthronement of Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich. In a letter to the Sultan it was highlighted '...that the Islamic faith has nowhere impingements in Russia: Kasimov mosques are owned by Muslim Mustafalej' [Solovyov, 1989, b. 4, vol. 7, p. 262].

Such statements were somewhat a degree of craftiness. Kasimov historically served as a kind of reservation, in which Russian Government, guided by diplomatic considerations, maintained a semblance of Tatar autonomy, including in matters of faith. Tolerance of Muslims in Kasimov did not guarantee the same attitude towards the population of the former

Kazan Khanate. However, we cannot but agree with S. Senyutkin, who noted that missionary activity in Nizhny Novgorod province in the second half of the 16th century was carried out not by the forces of the secular Administration but rather the monasteries [Senyutkin, 2001, p. 23]. There is reason to believe that the situation in Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds was similar.

The numerous duties of Kazan voivodes, the main of which was preventing the slightest manifestation of separatism by the non-Russian peoples, forced them to uphold the maximum balanced policy avoiding excesses on religious grounds. Pragmatism of the secular authorities caused discontent in the Russian Orthodox Church that accused the local administration of inactivity. The expression of this discontent can be seen in the Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich's charter to Kazan voivodes I. Vorotynsky and A. Vyazemsky as of 18 July 1593 [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439]. Almost four decades separated it from the interim memorandum of 1555, which allows drawing some conclusions about missionary activities in the Kazan Krai during the latter half of the 16th century.

The main among them was the formation of a special group of the non-Russian population—the newly-baptised from among the Tatar service class people and yasak people. Most newly-baptised adopted the Christian faith under the influence of the Tsar's edicts, which provided benefits to newly baptised former non-Christians [Istoriya, 1937, p. 147]. For many, especially for the Tatars, the conversion to orthodoxy was a formal act, as evidenced by the message of Kazan Metropolitan Hermogenes to Fyodor Ivanovich quoted in the letter of 1593 [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 436].

Of particular concern to Hermogenes was Islam's restoration of lost positions through the resumption of the construction of mosques, including one in Kazan. 'First,—reads the text of the letter—forty years after the seizure of Kazan there were no mosques in the Tatar sloboda, but now they are being built close to the posad' [Ibid., p. 437]. This was done, according to Hermogenes, with the direct complicity

of Kazan voivodes. He accused them in ignoring the edicts of Ivan the Terrible and Fyodor Ivanovich that prohibited such construction [Ibid., p. 438].

There are no references to specific prohibitory acts in the petition, but it is very likely that they did exist. The State would have hardly allowed the proliferation of ideologies competing with orthodoxy, despite the enunciation in *Nakaznaya Pamyat'* of 1555 about the principle of voluntary Christianisation of the non-Russian population. The mosques, as the material embodiment of Islam, were most vulnerable to persecution.

The regulatory part of the charter is interesting. Not so much with a frequently quoted order to the voivodes—'order you to destroy all the Tatar mosques, and in the future you will forbid the building of new mosques without consent...' [Firsov, 1866, pp. 213–214; Mozharovsky, 1880, pp. 26–27; Grigoryev, 1948, pp. 226–286; Iskhaki, 1991, p. 23]—as with the many measures relating to the newly-baptised: 'in Kazan uyezd and in the suburbs all the newly-baptised should be re-registered with their wives, and children, and with people,' moved to Kazan, and told to build themselves 'households' in specially assigned sloboda for their residence 'among the Russians and far away from Tatars' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 437]. Where necessary, they were instructed to use violence. Those unwilling to leave their homes should be 'ordered to post bail, and others sent to prison, and force them to relocate to the sloboda' [Ibid.]. Special attention was paid to following Christian rites by the newly-baptised. Failure to follow rites and homilies of the 'spiritual fathers' led to reprisals from the part of secular authorities, who were ordered to 'subdue, imprison, beat, and place in irons' [Ibid., p. 438].

Similar requirements for new 'brothers-in-faith' show the low efficiency of missionary work in the Kazan Krai. Tatars who converted to Christianity did not follow its rites. Their number was negligible if the newly-baptised from the whole Kazan uyezd were supposed to be settled in a single sloboda under the watchful eyes of secular and spiritual authorities. Thus, by the end of the 16th century the main

concern of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Middle Volga Region was not the further spread of Christianity but the desire to retain those previously converted to the Orthodox faith.

The analysis of the missionary work in the province until the beginning of the 20th century shows that the successes or failures of this process were largely determined by the personal qualities of people as well as the nature of the interaction of spiritual authorities with secular authorities. In the second half of the 16th century a direct correlation between the results of the Christianisation and degree of participation in it was established. An increase in the number of the baptised in those or other periods almost always resulted from having active support of the secular authorities. Conversely, without the assistance of the State, the results of missionary work were as a rule deplorable. It is not coincidental that Metropolitan Hermogenes accused voivodes I. Vorotynsky and A. Vyazemsky in 'carelessness,' when it came to the construction of mosques.

Methods and tools for the Christianisation were also greatly dependent on historical conditions and features of the environment, where Orthodoxy was cultivated [Makarov, 1973, p. 48]. Anti-Muslim activity at the Kazan Krai blossomed within the first years of Russian colonisation when the mosques were destroyed, and the mullahs were dispersed. Faced with armed resistance of the non-Russian population in 1555, the autocrats moved towards more balanced forms of missionary activity, relying on voluntary Christianisation. However, as soon as Islam began to restore its position, the order immediately followed to 'remove all mosques.' This cyclicity, alternating periods of severe pressure on Islam with periods of relative religious tolerance, was characteristic for Church-Islamic relations also in the 17–19th centuries.

The social policy of the Tsar's government in the latter half of the 16th century involved relations with the Tatar feudal nobility. This part of the Tatar society was the bearer of the traditions of statehood and thus was potentially dangerous for Muscovy. The most active and

popular representatives were destroyed during the campaigns of Ivan IV and Kazan War of 1552–1557. Some apparently emigrated to the Crimea [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 25]. Survivors, whose loyalty was in doubt, were moved to reside in the internal areas of the Muscovite state. The resettlement process was difficult, sometimes accompanied with violence. The second Novgorod Chronicle tells about 60 Kazan Tatars who were imprisoned in Novgorod's prisons for several years. In 1555 they were baptised or, in case of refusal, drowned [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, p. 157]. Such cruelty is explained by the fact that they probably were prisoners of war captured during the seizure of Kazan or during Kazan War of 1552–1557.

In general, the relocation of Tatars into the central regions of Russia took place without any incidents, accompanied by their hiring into service and granting of land in exchange for service. When in the early 1570s Crimean Khan Devlet I Giray demanded Ivan IV that he should return Kazan and Astrakhan, the messenger of the Tsar in Crimea the boyar A. Nagoy responded to this demand with the words: 'in Kazan, in the city and posad [trading quarters], and in villages our Sovereign placed Churches, brought Russian people, villages and volosts were handed to sons of boyars for estates; big and middle Kazan people and all the Tatars were removed and given estates and volosts in Muscovite towns, and others—in Novgorod and Pskov' [Solovyov, 1989, book 3, vol. 6, p. 580]. N. Pavlov-Silvansky reported about the giving to Tatar service class people of estates in Kashira, Pronsk, and Zaraysk uyezds [Pavlov-Silvansky, 2000, p. 93]. The geography of their estates allows us to judge legislative acts of the 17th century, which refer to Moscow, Borov, Serpukhov, Kolomna, Kashira, Yaroslavl, and Romanov Tatars [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 86]. Separation from their motherland, material dependence on the State, and the Russian environment forced immigrants to adapt to the new realities and ultimately ensure their loyalty to the supreme power.

Physical destruction and eviction from the Kazan Krai of supreme and middle Tatar feudal nobility essentially determined its face and predestined the fate of those remaining. Most of them were the lower strata of Tatar service class, people who owned small estates. For them the conquest of the Kazan Khanate resulted in the change of one feudal suzerain by another. The analysis of the sources shows that during the disbursement of lands to Russian service class people, the Archbishop, and monasteries the Muscovite Government had confined itself to lands belonging to Khan's family and those Tatar aristocrats hostile to Moscow. The material interests of small land holders were not affected, which contributed to their relatively smooth integration into the new feudal vertical.

Thus, the feudal lords of the former Kazan Khanate, whom the Russian authorities were build relations with, were generally loyal to the Muscovite Government. This factor should be taken into account when analysing the policy pursued in the Kazan Krai during the latter half of the 16th century. After 1557 it could not have been as tough as it was in the preceding five years. The main aim of the Government was retaining and 'pacifying' the conquered territory. It sought at any cost to avoid new rioting of the non-Russian population, especially from 1558 when the Livonian War started, which involved the main military forces of the Russian army. In this regard, we should agree with A. Kappeler, who characterised the policies of the Central Government in the region as restrained and cautious [Kappeler, 1982, p. 121].

Without the aid of Tatar feudal nobility and feudal elites of other non-Russian people, the tsarist government would not have been able to control the yasak population of the Middle Volga Region and collect taxes from it. Therefore, the Tatar service class people were provided with rights reminiscent of those of the Russian service class (but were not merged with them). They were endowed with estates and fiefdoms '...on the basis identical with the nobility and sons of boyars' [Vladimirsky-Budanov, 1905, p. 127] they were granted 'apicultural swaths' and 'beaver hunting grounds,' allowed to own transport, taverns, etc. [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 64].

A significant part of Tatar feudal lords, mainly from Kazan uyezd, yasak holders in the Khanate registered their lands as estates [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 103]. This is confirmed by the materials of the cadasters [Piscovaya kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, p. 39]. Service class Tatars were given a part of the lands expropriated from the Tatar aristocracy. Some Tatar princes and murzas, descendants of feudal lords of the Kazan Khanate era, retained their ancestral old estates, receiving Letters patent from Russian Tsars. The Piscovaya kniga of Kazan uyezd of 1603 lists five Tatar great landowners, and the book by S. Volynsky four decades later (1646) lists about three of them [Mustafina, 1985, p. 41].

In feudal society land titles of various categories of the population meant the fulfillment of certain obligations. Tatar feudals, survivors of the events of 1552–1557, had military, diplomatic, border guard, policing duties and were partly involved in administrative functions. During military campaigns they were either included in the regiments of noble militia or took the lead of sotnias and the militia detachments from Kazan Land [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 103]. Sources report about the involvement of the service class Tatars in protecting the Russian-Swedish frontier in 1555 [Supplements to Historical Acts, vol. 1, pp. 128–131], in Livonian Campaigns in 1558 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 290], against Lithuanian Land in 1562 (under the leadership of Khan Shah Ali, voivodes I. Sheremetev and I. Vorontsov) [Ibid., p. 340] and in 1563 (under the leadership of voivode V. Buturlin) [Ibid., p. 385], during the March on Velikiye Luki of 1565 (led by Shah Ali and voivodes I. Belsky and D. Yuryev) [Sinbirskij sbornik, 1844, pp. 6–7]. On 1 December 1571 Ivan IV sent voivodes V. Tyufyakin and G. Meshchersky to Kazan, asking them to 'to call up Kazan Princes and Tatars and Cheremis and Mordva and lead them to Veliky Novgorod as soon as possible.' [Ibid., p. 33]. It is also known about the participation of Kazan Tatars in campaigns against the Crimeans and other battles [Razrjadnaka kniga 1475–1598, pp. 155–227; Dimitriev, 1963, pp. 134–135; Belyaev, 1846, pp. 17–18]. According to R. Stepanov, 'in the 16th century there was not a single military

campaign of the Muscovy government against Livonians, Crimean Tatars, Lithuanians, where numerous Tatar horse troops were not used' [Stepanov, 1964, p. 63]. Used as guards and in intelligence operations, they certainly bore heavy losses. Perhaps in this way was being implemented, not openly but in practice, the policy of gradual extermination of the most efficient part of the Tatar male population.

Provision of granted lands and other benefits in return for military and other services allowed the Autocracy to control and manipulate the feudal Tatar nobility. Raising service class Tatars over other groups of the Kazan Krai population, the Government achieved a dual task. First, it created a social layer that could be relied upon for administrative and military matters. Second, it provided the conditions for religious and ethnic assimilation of the Tatar feudal elite. While in the first decades after the conquest of the Kazan Khanate religion did not play a significant role in determining the granting of lands and other privileges [Firsov, 1866, p. 109], as time went on that situation changed. The stronger became the relationship between the Tatar feudal class and Russian service class, the more the feudal class became dependent on the State, the more manifested was the desire to link material and social status of the serving Tatars with their religious affiliation. For that purpose, incentive methods were used, particularly, presenting the baptised with lands and peasants (see [Mustafina, 1985, p. 111]).

In general, by the end of the 16th century the tsarist government made some progress in the integration of the peoples of the former Kazan Khanate into the composition of the Russian state. Commitment to prudent policies, preservation of succession elements in the administration, taxation, and social structure of the population led to a form of coexistence that met the interests of both the State and the non-Russian peoples. Missionary aspirations of the Orthodox Church, so noticeable in the early 1550s, subsequently were constrained by the secular authorities because this objectively contradicted the focus on the preservation of stability and security of Russian domination in the Kazan Krai.

This policy generally continued in the first half of the 17th century, to which the events of the beginning of the century contributed. The turbulent period of the reign of Ivan IV undermined the socioeconomic situation in Russia, primarily in its interior. In the following decades the situation was exacerbated to such an extent that Russian statehood itself was being challenged. Crop failures that led to many years of hunger, rebellion led by Ivan Bolotnikov, 'impostors,' Polish and Swedish intervention triggered unprecedented crises in the government and society, which took the Russian State a long time to overcome.

During this period one of the most important trends in autocracy politics towards Tatars came out. During tough times for Russian statehood associated with wars, rebellions, crop failures, epidemics, etc., the Government's attention to this population group consistently weakened. This confirmation does not contradict the fact that Tatars, especially from the service class, representing a significant military force, were in the foreground throughout the Time of Troubles (see [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 161–183, 194, 198, 203–206, etc.; Senyutkin, 2001, pp. 46–67]). They took an active part in the rebellions of 1606–1611 against the Central Government. At the same time, the Tatar service class was represented in the troops loyal to Vasiliy IV Shuysky.

The confirmation of the important role of the Tatars in the events of the beginning of the 17th century was an invitation of their representatives on 30 June 1611 to the Zemsky Sobor ("assembly of the land"), which defined the State structure and political orders in Russia during the period of foreign intervention. Signatures by Tatar murzas are on the 'prigovor' (resolution) of the Assembly of 1613 that elected Michail Romanov to the throne [Cherepnin, 1978, pp. 173–174, 230]. Running ahead of this story, we can note that those were not the only clear evidences of Tatar participation in the legislative decisions of the 17th century.

However, it is clear that in the conditions of the 'Time of Troubles' successive ruling factions in Moscow cared little for the non-Russian peoples living on the edges of the State.

Systemic legislative activity in the State during this period was almost terminated, being replaced with a multitude of administrative orders, often contradictory, on current pressing issues. During the two decades after the charter of 1593, issued by Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich, not a single legislative document appeared, which was related to the legal and socioeconomic situation of the Tatar population and its spiritual life. As soon as Russia recovered from the crises, the Tatars came into the view of legislators once again.

The first in chronological order in a number of such legislation is the Edict of 1615, which institutionalised land acquisitions of Tatar service class people during the Time of Troubles [*Zakonodatel'ny'e akty*', 1986, p. 86]. They occurred by means of granting from the official authorities and unauthorised seizure of unoccupied lands earlier belonging to Russian landowners. This practice was so widespread that the Central Government was obliged to decide in this matter by issuing an edict. At the same time, along with Tatar land seizures, the same actions carried out by Russian landowners were legalised [*Ibid.*, p. 85]. Legitimation involved even land grants made by the 'impostors.' This was done in order to maintain stability in Russian society and to consolidate the ruling class of the country.

The Edict of 1615 marked the beginning of a series of legislative acts relating to land tenure and land use by the Tatar population. This interest on the part of the authorities was due to objective reasons and general trends in the development of legislation. The 17th century holds a prominent place in the development of feudal-serf system in Russia. This period is characterised by the strengthening of the feudal land ownership, further expansion of private, mostly *pomest'e* [service estate] ownership. The legislation fixed and directed these processes, as reflected in legal acts addressed to the representatives of the Tatar feudal class, princes, *murzas*, and Tatar service class people.

Among the legislative acts of the first half of the 17th century an edict 'On Banning the Noblemen and Sons of Boyars to Buy, Receive, Mortgage, and Hire Tatar Lands' should be noted, which was held not later than 30 April 1635

and gave valuable information on the status of the Tatar land tenure in the designated period [*Ibid.*, pp. 165–166]. The direct reason for issuing the edict was the petition of *Murzas* and Tatars from *Arzamas* against 'Arzamas *Murzas* and Tatars, who did not want to serve, and sold and pledged their domains and estates to nobles from Moscow and other cities, sons of boyars, and other officials' [*Ibid.*].

The government response to the petition was the introduction of a total ban on transactions with the lands of Tatar feudal lords, which can be evaluated in two ways. On the one hand, the prohibition had positive consequences for Tatar possession. A special land fund was created, land redistribution was possible only inside the Tatar feudal class. This separation allowed avoiding the erosion of granted lands, their transfer into the hands of Russian landlords and, consequently, contributed to the conservation of the Tatar service class people as a special ethnosocial category. On the other hand, the establishment of a similar order infringed the ownership rights of Tatar feudal lords. N. Firsov compared the restrictions imposed with the idea that 'if it was legitimised that the payment for work cannot be used in full rights of ownership, it cannot be used to purchase something from one people but applicable to buy from others' [Firsov, 1866, p. 110]. Because of this, the land lost a significant proportion of its value from the point of view of Tatar landowners.

A ban on those operations with land of non-Russian feudal lords implied that the possessions of Russian military should be redistributed only between them, but in practice this was not the case. An analysis of the sources shows that this rule appeared quite early, but due to its unsatisfactory performance by the supreme power had to repeat the prohibitions on land transactions between Russian feudal lords and non-Russian ones. One of the first such legal acts became a boyar verdict, issued before 27 November 1613 and prescribing to give vacant manors of foreigners only to foreigners [*Zakonodatel'ny'e akty*', 1986, p. 82]. Interest to this piece of legislation is not accidental. In the 17th century the legal situation of foreigners was in many ways similar to the situation of

Tatar service class people, which was due to the religious factor. Unlike in the 18th century, when foreigners were actively incorporated into the Russian ruling elite, and their religious affiliation was not important, priority being given to their competencies, in the 17th century belonging to the non-Orthodox denominations played a significant role in terms of career and relations with others. The Germans, English, Danes, and other Europeans, being in the Russian service mostly as military specialists [Kalinichev, 1954, pp. 64–66], were tolerated but never considered as 'own people' because the canons of their faith, although Christian in essence, were not recognised in the State, whose pillar was the Orthodoxy. The Tatar-Muslims were in a similar situation. This specified circumstance allows projecting the legislation acts, directed towards foreigners, towards Tatars and vice versa. It was a matter of course, when a legal rule, relating to one of these two groups, was later extended to another. In particular, the prototype of such an Edict of 1635 can be considered an Edict 'On Banning Foreigners from Selling and Exchanging Their Local and Votchina [patrimonial] Estates' issued before 8 May 1630.

The advent of the Edict of 1635 tells of Governmental attempts to support non-Russian land tenure, but in practice the seizure of Tatar and foreigner lands by Russian landlords, both using legal and illegal means, continued. Despite the fact that land loss disrupted the existence of non-Russian service class people, as a special military-service corporation, as well as the fiscal solvency of the yasak population, the government here was powerless. It could not act directly against the interests of the Russian service class nobility, the backbone of its rule. Inter-ethnic deals continued, mostly in favour of the Russian owners. No wonder that the Edict of 1635 was addressed, first of all, to Russian noblemen and 'sons of boyars' [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 166].

The content of the Edict testifies to such an important phenomenon such as the evasion of military service by the Tatar service class. The document reported that some Arzamas Murzas and Tatars who, having sold, pledged, or

rented their local and manorial lands, 'went to live to Kazan and Sviyazhsk, and Kazan suburbs, and Tatar and Cheremis villages' [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 166]. It should be noted that Tatars were not an exception in this regard. During the reign of Michail Fyodorovich, which is marked by severe wars, the Russian army increasingly faced shortages of men. Military people (nobles, sons of boyars, foreigners, cossacks), living in different areas of the State, according to S. Solovyov, 'did not want to part with their warm, calm places and families and go on long, arduous, and dangerous marches' [Solovyov, 1990, p. 262], so many of them 'had been declared as missing' (i.e., in hiding—A.N.).

The appearance of the Edict of 1635 was probably connected to the Russian-Polish war of 1632–1634. In the army of the boyar B. Shein, who besieged Smolensk in 1632, were 1,667 Tatars [Chernov, 1954, p. 169]. By the summer of 1633, after a series of failures, a massive desertion began from the army [Pavlov-Silvansky, 2000, p. 164]. To avoid defeat, to assist Shein, they hastily organised the march of 'all Tatar atamans, cossacks under the command of the newly-baptised' Princes D. Cherkassky and D. Pozharsky [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, pp. 292–300]. S. Solovyov says that in the troops there were supposed to be 'the Kazan Tatars and Murzas in the number of 275 people; Sviyazhsk murzas, Tatars, and the newly-baptised, 205; Kurmysh Tatars and Tarkhans, 155; Kasimov Tatars, 508; Temnikov Tatars, 550; Kadomsk, 347; Alator, 359; Arzamas, 220 [Solovyov, 1990, p. 269]—2,619 soldiers in total.

The condition of the sources does not allow us to judge on how many military people gathered finally to take part in the campaign and how many of them were directly involved in the fighting. Obviously, the government was forced to leave a part of the serving Alatur Tatars in place since the war in the west could exacerbate the existing threat of attacks of nomads of the Crimea and Azov Regions [Senyutkin, 2001, p. 69]. However, there is no doubt that a part of the service class Tatars evaded military service, otherwise the Edict of

1635 would not have appeared. Perhaps a personified kind of legislative document was due to the fact that the largest number of avoiders were from Arzamas uyezd. There is no reliable information, including on its implications for the Tatars after the release of this Edict. Only the penalty for such offenses is known. According to the Russian law, desertion from the battlefield of a service class man would result in depriving of half of his estate and monetary salary. Second desertion from the regiment resulted in whipping, deprivation of 50 quarters of the estate salary; finally, the third desertion resulted in deprivation of the entire estate [Pavlov-Silvansky, 2000, p. 164].

In addition to the unwillingness to fight, typical for Russian service class people, there were other reasons for Tatars to evade military service. According to Ye. Chernyshev evidences, by the mid-17th century the vast majority of service class Tatars had no peasants. For example, in 1646 there were 619 courtyards of service class Tatar landlords in Kazan uyezd. Among them 449 landlords (72.3%) had peasants and landless people [Chernyshev, 1963, p. 182]. The remaining 170 could barely count 25 people with more or less big estates. Most service class Tatars owned land, but they had only one or two peasant yards or two–three yard men, serving the landowner, but not cultivating the land [Ibid.]. In addition to the shortage of workers, Tatar tenure faced the problem of land shortage, partially explained by unjust reward for service. Nizhny Novgorod historian A. Orlov noted: 'If by the end of the 16th century the land of Russian service class people were at least 100 chets (quarters), Tatars, regardless of title, were endowed with estates not exceeding 15–20 chets, usually in the wastelands, without peasants' [Orlov, 1992, pp. 61–62]. It is clear that the revenues from these estates were modest and did not provide a decent living for their owners. In these circumstances a natural desire of Tatars was to somehow sell this land, being freed from the obligation to serve and often to die for this land.

Reflecting on the reasons for the abandonment of the estates by Tatars, we should not forget about another distinctive policy of the Russian State. It is expressed in the desire to

tear off the service class Tatars from their familiar environment, which might contribute to the consolidation of the Tatar feudal class, and thus preserve its ethnic and religious identity. This is why the Tatars were moved to the midlands of Russia, among the Russian population. Therefore, the abandonment of their estates and escape to their historical homelands can be regarded as a form of resistance to the impending Russification and assimilation.

Another story that deserves attention, when considering the legislative policy in the first half of the 17th century, is the attitude of the State towards Islam and its followers. According to A. Kappeler, during this period the Government had made no visible efforts to change the religious status quo in favour of orthodoxy since transitions to Christianity, if they did happen, affected only individual representatives of the Tatar aristocracy that received money or land in return [Kappeler, 1982, p. 166]. At the same time, an analysis of legislative sources indicates that the situation in the religious area was not that favourable for the Muslims.

During the Time of Troubles missionary activity in the Middle Volga Region experienced a decline due to objective reasons. However, with the return of F. Romanov (1554–1633), the father Tsar Michail Romanov in 1619 from Polish captivity, the situation began to change. 'The powerful, willful, politically experienced, and state-minded Philaret Nikitich Romanov... joined the order of the Saint Patriarch, becoming the second 'Grand Sovereign,' who 'in fact governed many tsar and military affairs until his death,' so wrote about this historical figure A. Presnyakov [Presnyakov, 1990, p. 18]. The concentration of secular authority in the hands of the head of the Russian Orthodox Church had a negative impact on the situation with the Tatar feudal nobility. The first steps were taken to limit its ownership rights under the reign of Philaret. This was reflected in the edict issued before 16 July 1622 [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 113]. Commenting on this legislative act, V. Paneyakh noted: 'Caused by religious fanaticism and intolerance, the edict had been prepared probably under the influence of Patriarch Philaret' [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1987, p. 146].

The main goal of the Edict of 1622 was the destruction of cohabitation practice of landlords and patrimonial Muslims with Orthodox serfs that belonged to them. To do this, the entire mass of serfs, which was owned by the unbaptised Tatars, was divided into two parts. The lowest part of the serfs, called in the edict 'field' serfs, remained in the possession of the Tatar landlords. However, they were forbidden to reside in 'manor courtyards' and were instructed to settle outside the estates of the landowners in specially designated individual courtyards. Tatars were not allowed to possess the second category—'military serfs'—irrespective of their place of residence. This was justified by that the mobile military life made it impossible to avoid contacts, shared accommodation, and meals of Orthodox serfs and their unbaptised lords. To 'avoid Muslim Tatar influence on Russians' [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 113], it was decided to eliminate the very possibility of such situations by using legislation. It should be noted that attempts to segregate the Orthodox people from the influence of Muslims were made even earlier. In particular, the Edict of 1622, with a reference to previous laws, instructed Russian Orthodox people 'to be freed from the Tatars' [Ibid.]. The release time of these edicts is unknown, but judging by the situation, in the early 1620 they were not being implemented.

The situation with Latvian serfs, dependent on Tatar landlords and wishing to adopt orthodoxy, was resolved differently than with the Russian people. Lawmakers forbade the Latvians from becoming baptised if their intention to change their faith was caused by a desire to escape their serf dependence [Ibid.]. The inclusion of this limitation in the Edict of 1622 shows the controversial nature of this legislative document. On the one hand, the edict was one of the earliest of the known legal acts prohibiting non-Christians to own Orthodox dependent people. On the other hand, leaving Latvian serfs in Muslim property showed that in the first quarter of the 17th century the adoption of orthodoxy or intention to do this did not become a factor that guaranteed liberation from serfdom. Gradually, the threat of losing depen-

dent people, who adopted Christianity, became the strongest lever of pressure on non-Russian feudal lords and a means for encouraging them to change their own faith.

Similar contradictions in legislation, according to A. Kappeler, were the result of fluctuations in policy and defensive tactics of the Government, which in the first half of the 17th century showed tolerance towards the non-Orthodox, while defending Christians from heathen and Islamic influences [Kappeler, 1982, p. 165]. While agreeing in general with this allegation, it must be stressed that the emergence of the Edict of 1622 still was a violation of the prevailing status quo and marked the tendency of Governmental offense not only against Islam but also against other religions common in the Russian State. On the cusp of 1627–1628 the Edict appeared 'On Banning Non-Orthodox Foreigners to Own Orthodox People Living in Urban Courtyards' [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 138]. Content-wise, it is similar to the Edict of 1622 and applies to standards against the Tatars and all foreigners living in Russia. Subsequently, these provisions entered the Sobornoye Ulozheniye [Council Code] of 1649 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 128–129]. Thus, there are grounds to suppose that they 'experimented' with laws on the Tatars, which subsequently received national application.

For the objectivity of this picture, it should be noted that legal restrictions of 1620 affected only the Tatar serving class, which owned serfs of the Orthodox confession. The rest were not affected. In addition, there is a need to define clearly the essence of the imposed restrictions. They cannot be described as religious restrictions literally as they do not infringe the religious feelings of Tatar feudal lords. They characterise more exactly the ownership rights restrictions based on religious grounds. This is a fundamental difference between the situation in the 1620s with the facts that took place in the town of Romanov (today the city of Tutayev, Yaroslavl oblast) two decades later.

In October 1647 local voivode A. Malyshkin imprisoned Romanov serving class Tatars D. Isupov, D. Yansyrykov, and Ch. Mamedku-

lov. They were placed in irons and forcibly coerced to convert to Orthodoxy. Unable to 'suffer torments from him, the Romanov voivode Aleksey Malyshkin,' the Tatars consented to convert; however, upon gaining their liberty, they complained to Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich about the deeds of the voivode requesting: '...pity us, your serfs, do not order us to convert to Orthodoxy, but let us live with our Busurman faith' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 3, p. 118].

In this particular case, a direct infringement of the religious rights of the Tatar population occurred. In defence of the supreme power, it should be noted that the actions of A. Malyshkin occurred without its knowledge, by private initiative of the voivode. A. Kappeler believes this fact is the only example of enforced baptism of Tatars in the first half of the 17th century, which occurred not in the Middle Volga Region but in the Upper Volga Region [Kappeler, 1982, p. 165]. However, the attitude of the Tsar and his entourage towards this event is indicative. In his charter to A. Malyshkin as of 21 December 1647 Aleksey Mikhaylovich graciously 'admonishes' Romanov voivode, not punishing him and not deposing him for arbitrariness

[Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 3, p. 119]. Moreover, he clearly expressed his support for the actions of A. Malyshkin, though encouraging him to keep with the voluntary methods of the Christianisation. In this regard, the charter of 1647 coincides with the 'interim memorandum' of 1555 to the Kazan Archbishop Gury.

Thus, in the first half of the 17th century the religious policy of the State experienced fairly serious fluctuations. In general, the Central Government did not make visible efforts to change the religious situation in favour of orthodoxy, but individual attempts to abuse the non-Christians, mainly representatives of Tatar feudal nobles, did occur. The factors that suppressed anti-Muslim aspirations of the Russian ruling circles were the military interests of the State, which was carrying out an active foreign policy. Detachments of service class Tatars and other non-Russian peoples played an important role in the traditional local military system. Limiting ownership rights of Tatar feudal lords led to their impoverishment and hence the impossibility of them carrying out military service. These considerations forced the Government to avoid forceful measures against Islam.

§2. The Tatar Population in the Russian Legislation in the Latter Half of the 17th Century

Aydar Nogmanov

The Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 on the legal status of the Tatar population of the Volga Region. Among the legislative sources, determining the status of the Tatars in the Russian State in the second half of the 16–17th centuries, the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 holds a peculiar place. It differs from the other legislative acts of the feudal era not only by its large size but also by its role in the history of Russian law. The Ulozheniye became the result of all the previous laws of the Muscovite state [Vladimirsky-Budanov, 1905, p. 231], a most important code, issued by the government before Peter the Great [Filippov, 1912, p. 297]. It allows us to use this legislative monument not only in order to analyse the Russian legislation

of the mid-17th century but also to reconstruct the legal norms of the preceding period, which is particularly important, taking into account the scarcity of legislative materials about the Tatars of that time.

The Ulozheniye provides important information on the sociolegal, economic, and political history of Russia. Yet, its contents does not reflect many realities of the time. Following traditions, the compilers of the code, first of all, focused on the regulation of relations, which were a priority for the purposes of state and public order [Debolsky, 1904, p. 86]. Therefore, a prominent place in the Ulozheniye is given to the definitions of state sovereignty, security, citizenship, military duty, state political crimes,

and the issues of substantive, and procedural law and the judicial procedure were elaborated. The lawmakers paid particular attention to the regulation of land legal relations, regulation of the rights, and responsibilities of various categories of the population, primarily of the nobility as a dominant military service class.

At the same time, almost no law sections related to the public relations were reflected there. In particular, there is no systematic presentation of family law closely related to the customary and church law. In the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye* of 1649, therefore, the areas of law, where the differences between the Russian and non-Russian population were the most significant, were not represented. In general, the mono-ethnic orientation of the code is obvious. The *Ulozheniye* was created for the Russian noblemen, craftsmen, peasants, serfs, etc. However, the legislators could not completely ignore the fact of turning Russia into a multinational state. The attitude of the authorities towards the non-Russian peoples manifested primarily in the sections of the code regulating the religious sphere and land law.

The maintenance of the authority of the Orthodox Church as an essential attribute of autocratic power is one of the main ideas enshrined in the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye*. It is not by chance that in a specific classification of the offenses recorded there the first place is taken by the crimes against the Church (chapter 1—'On the Blasphemers and the Rebels against the Church'), which are followed by the crimes against the State and the emperor (chapter 2), against the administrative order (chapter 3–9) [Mankov, 1980, p. 217].

It was the *Ulozheniye* of 1649 that gave Orthodoxy the status of official state religion, at the same time granting the Russian church the exclusive right of carrying out missionary propaganda in the state. It does not so far include the rules so typical of 18th century legislation, according to which the Tatars, inducing pagan peoples of the Volga Region if adopting Islam, were punished [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5333; vol. 11, No. 8664; vol. 13, No. 9631]. However, any actions of that kind towards the Russian pop-

ulation were severely suppressed. 'And if an unorthodox tries by force or deceit to compel the Russian man to his unorthodox religion and circumcises him, and if it is proven, then that unorthodox will be found and executed, burnt mercilessly by fire,' reads article 24 of chapter 22 'The Edict on Offences Punishable by Death and on Offences Entailing not Death but Punishment' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 156].

The inclusion of such an article in the all-Russia code is quite representative. It proves that the government recognised the existence of the Muslim problem in Russia and at the same time expressed its view on this issue. Maybe from a formal point of view, it would be more appropriate to place this article in chapter 1 devoted to religious subjects [Ibid., p. 3]. However, its presence in the chapter uniting the articles punishing those culpable of serious criminal offences is remarkable in itself and gives rise to thought.

Multi-confessionality of the Russian state was reflected in the other articles of the *Ulozheniye* in particular connected with the judicial procedures. During the court proceedings, interrogations, and 'searches' the testimony of witnesses, claimants, and defendants, who were made to take their oath, had to be verified. In such cases the Russian people kissed the cross, the 'foreigners' of Christian religion 'put' a cross, and 'princes, both the murzas and the Tatars, and the Chuvash, and the Cheremis, and all yasak people' swore 'according to their belief on šert [oath of allegiance]' [Ibid., p. 71]. The concept of 'šert' meant that the Muslims swore on the Quran, and the pagans swore according to their custom. In relation of nationalities of the Volga Region, such regulation was enshrined for the first time in the edict that appeared before 31 March 1625 [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, pp. 123–124], but there is no doubt that it dates back to an earlier period. In the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye* the oath taking 'on šert' is mentioned in article 161 of chapter 10 'On the Court' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 41] and article 3 of chapter 14 'On the Kissing of the Cross' [Ibid., p. 71].

The presence of these articles in the code allowed M. Fedorov and A. Man'kov to draw the conclusion that in the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 the customs of the non-Russian peoples had been recognised, and the possibility of the use of their customary law had been legally recorded [Fedorov, 1978, pp. 20–24; Mankov, 1980, p. 236]. Agreeing with this statement, it is still necessary to emphasise that this step was a forced one for the autocracy. The legislators came to a conclusion that the oath had to be taken according to the religion professed by the person who testified. Otherwise it would not bind him in any way.

Much attention in the Sobornoye Ulozheniye was paid to the regulation of the land legal relationship, in particular to the manorial lands as one of the dominating forms of feudal property (chapter 16, including 69 articles) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 74–87]. Articles 41–45 are directly related to the Tatar population of the Volga Region [Ibid., pp. 80–81]. Certainly, their contents does not provide a complete picture of the legal status of the Tatars that were landowners. They reflected only the regulations that singled this group out from the entire Russian feudal class. Undeniably, the rules recorded in the other articles of this chapter, especially the ones regulating the status of foreigners who were in the Russian service, concerned also the Tatars.

It has already been mentioned above about the similarity between the edicts addressed to the representatives of this social layer and the acts relating to the Tatars. The religious reasons led to the fact that in legal relations the Tatars in the service were closer to the foreigners than to the Russian service class people. It gives the grounds to consider, with some reservations, the legal norms concerning the foreigners, applicable to the Tatar population as well. From the 69 articles of chapter 16 'On Manorial Lands' the notion 'foreigners' occurs in the text of ten articles (3, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 30, 31, 32, 46.—*A.N.*). However, only article 14 emphasised their status concerning the land issue. According to this article, the escheated lands of a foreigner, from which a certain part was given 'for a living' to his wife and children, were told to be allotted among the 'foreigners'

of the same kin, who had no estate or had a small one. It was forbidden to give away such lands to anyone else. At the same time, to counterbalance the situation, it was ordered 'not to give the estates of the Russian people to the foreigners' [Ibid., p. 76]. Thus, the Sobornoye Ulozheniye finally legalised and enshrined the norm, known by the edicts of the 1610–1620s, which prescribed that the estates of 'foreigners' were circulating only among the foreigners, and the estates of Russian landowners, among the Russians [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 82, p. 85, pp. 96–97].

The exception from this rule was represented only by the articles about marriage. For example, article 18 allowed the widow of a 'foreigner' to marry a Russian man with her estate as a dowry, in this way it was allotted to the Russian kin [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 77]. The introduction of such a rule, according to the state's aspiration, aimed at the official use of the lands given to the family of a service man after his death. At first sight, the opposite situation is observed in article 19. The widow of the Russian nobleman or 'son of boyar' marries a 'foreigner' with her estate, and it is also assigned to her new husband. However, there is an essential detail making the norms established by these two articles not equivalent to each other. According to article 19, the 'foreigner' must be baptised: 'And if the widow of a nobleman or son of boyars is proposed to by a baptised foreigner, that widow with her estate should marry a baptised foreigner' [Ibid.].

The other articles where the 'foreigners' are mentioned are devoted to the allotment of the estates (art. 13) and patrimonial estates obtained by service (art. 16) 'for a living' to the wives of the person who was killed in the service (art. 30), who died in the service (art. 31), died at home (art. 32) [Ibid., p. 76, pp. 78–79]. The financial aid was provided to the same extent and on the same conditions as to the Russian service class people. It indicates that the prevailing tendency in the middle of the 17th century was the absence of separation of the substantive law for foreigner-landowners from the general legislative practice. There is the evidence relating directly to the Tatar population

of the Volga-Ural Region. So, the text of art. 45 of chapter 18 'On Printing Taxes' demonstrates that the taxes collected from petitions of the non-Russian population of the former Kazan Khanate were the same [Ibid, p. 105]. Meanwhile, there was no full equivalence of the social status of both Tatars and foreigners with the status of the Russian land owners. Otherwise, the legislators just would not put them in the code separately.

The existing differences are revealed most of all in articles 41–45 of chapter 16 'On Manorial Lands' [Ibid., pp. 174–187]. Actually, they represent the generalised and processed clauses of the legislative documents of the first half of the 17th century, already known to us, which regulated the land rights of non-Russian feudal lords of the Volga Region. Thus, article 41, which finally allotted former manorial lands of Russian feudal lords, acquired in the period of the Time of Troubles, to the Tatar and Mordovian service class people [Ibid., p. 80], is the version of the Edict of 1615 [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 85]. The desolate 'ancient' Russian lands distributed to these people in earlier times belonged to the Tatars on conditions that they remain in service. Similarly to article 14, concerning the 'foreigners' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 76], the law forbade to distribute the Russian manorial lands among the representatives of the ruling classes of the Tatar and Mordovian nationalities. Withdrawal of the lands allocated to these peoples was equally forbidden [Ibid., p. 80].

According to A. Mankov, the government's prohibition to carry out any kinds of operations with the land outside the class and ethnic framework reflected the aspiration of the supreme power to keep and strengthen the positions of local feudal lords as its support among the nationalities of the Volga Region [Mankov, 1980, p. 61]. This was especially brightly shown in article 43 forbidding all the categories of Russian service class people, beginning with the boyars, to expropriate (purchase, exchange, rent—*A.N.*) manorial lands of 'the princes and murza' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 80–81]. We already

met a similar practice in the edict that appeared before 30 April 1635 [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, pp. 165–166], which gives us the grounds to regard it as one of the sources of the article of the Ulozheniye in question. However, the compilers of the code went further than the authors of the mentioned edict, having brought the yasak lands belonging to the Chuvashes, the Maris, the Udmurts, and the Bashkirs under this ban. From the point of view of legislators, the inclusion of such norms in the code meant the securing of the Tsar's property status on the territory where the yasak people lived [Mankov, 1980, p. 61].

The influence of the Edict of 1635 is also felt in article 45. Besides this, the edict states the fact that the serving murza and the Tatars strove in different ways to get rid of the lands they owned in order to be exempted from the service. The government's attitude towards this phenomenon in the mid-1630s was expressed in the introduction of a ban on carrying out such operations, stated in the most general way. In article 45 of chapter 16 of the Ulozheniye of 1649, this ban is formulated in the clearest way: 'the murza and the Tatars should not ravage their estates and go to the other cities and villages in order to avoid the service: they should live on their estates, and patrimonial estates, and own them, as it was arranged [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 81].

The inclusion of such norms in the structure of the code demonstrates the concern of the Tsar's government regarding the specified phenomenon. The time that passed from the moment of the publication of the Edict of 1635 only aggravated the situation. From the text of article 45 it follows that some Tatar landowners, quite consciously, by using various repressive measures (imposing of exorbitant taxes, robbery, and violence), compelled their peasants to run away [Ibid.]. The estates became desolate, and the Tatars, having rented them somehow to the Russian people or having just abandoned them, evaded service. Those people whose guilt was established, according to the Ulozheniye, 'had to be punished as the Tsar specified' [Ibid.]. As we see, the law did not

establish any concrete penalty. However, one can suppose that it was very serious, not lighter than the punishment for giving refuge to a runaway: '...and those who provide hospitality to the runaway murza and the Tatars should be severely punished, and they should be strictly told not to give refuge to the runaway murza and the Tatars in the future' [Ibid.]. Thus, the contents of article 43 and article 45 of chapter 16 'On Manorial Lands' reveals the legal registration by the middle of the 17th century of special land fund, which included the estates of the non-Russian feudal lords. The lands from this fund were under the patronage of the supreme power, they could not be alienated by the Russian service class people and were redistributed only among the representatives of this group of population.

This rule was not absolute. The compilers of the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye* provided an exception by putting the following rule in article 44: '... and from those princes and murza and the Tatars, and the Mordvins, and the Chuvashes, and the Cheremis, and the Votyaks who were baptised: from those newly-baptised people the manorial lands should not be taken away and they should not be given to the Tatars [Ibid.]. The meaning of this rule can be interpreted in different ways. It is not clear what concrete faults resulted in the withdrawal of lands from the non-Russian feudal lords. Anyway, the article definitely guaranteed the guilty person amnesty and preservation of the estate land in exchange for his adoption of Christianity. In that way, for the sake of religious interests the government broke the principle of indivisibility of the land fund belonging to the non-Russian peoples because a baptised Tatar, Chuvash, or Mordvin passed into another corporation closed for his fellow believers. At the same time, the tendency known from 1550s, which made the baptising a sort of a 'payment' for the release from punishment or the preservation of certain privileges, was developed.

The existence of an ethno-confessional inequality inside the Russian service class is also seen in article 42 [Ibid., p. 80]. According to it, the service class Tatars were deprived of the so-called 'obrok lands'—that is, the lands from which they paid certain taxes to the state and

which did not belong to them legally. However, the government, according to A. Mankov, aimed at passing those lands to the estates of Russian noblemen. [Mankov, 1980, p. 64]. Strengthening in this way the land ownership of Russian noblemen, the state not only weakened the positions of the non-Russian feudal lords of the Volga Region but also consciously sacrificed its fiscal interests as the obrok lands were an essential source of money inflows into the Treasury [Mankov, 2003, p. 85].

The relations of land property displayed in articles 41–45 of chapter 16 'On Manorial Lands,' are the most remarkable in the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye* [Council Code] as they show the policy of the Tsar's government towards the Tatar population, first of all, towards its top feudal lords. Besides these and the articles concerning the sphere of spiritual affairs and the order of adjuration, the Tatars are almost not mentioned in the code, even where this would be quite logical. An example of such sections could be given, in our opinion, by chapter 7 'On the Service of Different Military People in the Muscovite state' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 8–13], in which there is no legal isolation on the basis of ethnos. An analysis of the articles it consists of leads to a conclusion that the attitude of the state towards the service class people was defined only by the status of a person if it were an 'estate' man or a 'contract' man. So, depending on that, disciplinary measures for the faults were established: the estate salary of the 'estate' people or the monetary grants of the 'contract' people were cut [Ibid., p. 11]. The Tatars could be both among the 'estate' and among the 'maintenance' people.

One could expect them to be mentioned in chapter 9 'On Fees and Transportation' [Ibid., pp. 14–17]. The trade business of the Tatars is a topic for special discussion. It is proven by an excerpt from the customs charter of 1633, which regulated the process of levying taxes in the city Gorokhovets (modern Vladimir Region): '...and if the Tatars and the Cheremis with the goods start coming to Gorokhovets from Kazan and other cities, the customs duties equal to the ones for the Russian people should be levied from each article of trade [Acts of the

Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 362]. In the above-mentioned chapter of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye the following categories of the service class people appear: the noblemen, the boyars, the foreigners, and 'other serving people.' The question arises: which category should the serving Tatars and the representatives of the other nationalities of the Volga Region be referred to? However, there is no doubt that they, as well as the Russian service class people, used the privileges and were exempted from the taxes, transport fees, and road fees [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 14].

The ethnic affiliation was not also taken into account in such important part of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 as chapter 11 'The Judgment of Peasants' [Ibid., pp. 62–69]. Among the owners of the peasants mentioned there are: 'patriarch, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, monasteries, boyars, okolnichy, dumny (noblemen), komnatnye lyudi (royal attendant), stolnik, stryapchy and noblemen from Moscow, dyak (clerks), zhilets and city noblemen, sons of boyars and foreigners, and different owners of patrimonial estates and landowners' [Ibid., p. 62]. The list of owners did not specify the princes, the murza, and other non-Russian owners, which provides evidence that during the considered period the class interests prevailed over the ethno-confessional ones in the sphere of law as well as in most of others not so essential as the land relations and religion.

The concept 'Tatar' occurs in the text of the Ulozheniye in 14 articles [Ibid., pp. 41, 71, 80–81, 105, 129, 133, 137]. Meanwhile the term 'foreigners' appears in 35 articles; 'murza,' in 5 articles; 'yasak people,' in 3 articles; 'the Chuvashes, Cheremis, Votyaks,' in 4 articles; 'gentiles' and 'infidel,' in one. The names 'Tatars,' 'Tatarovya,' 'Tatar children' are widely used in chapter 20 'The Judgment of Serfs' (in text of 6 articles), one of the biggest in the code (119 articles) [Ibid., pp. 114–137]. It is necessary to refrain, however, from the direct identification of these 'Tatars' with the Tatars living on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate. For example, article 98 mentions

the purchased 'captive Tatars' [Ibid., p. 133], article 99 reports on 'the Tatars bought on the Don' [Ibid.], articles 117–118, on 'the Tatars and the Tatar children' acquired in Siberia and Astrakhan [Ibid., p. 137]. Of course, one cannot completely exclude the turning of indigenous people of Central Volga Region into the serfs category. However, the main supplies of slaves of the non-Russian origin to the central regions of the country came from the frontier areas and did not necessarily concern the local Tatar population. A. Mankov points out: 'Certainly, the representatives of other nationalities of the specified areas could be labelled as the 'Tatars' [Mankov, 1980, p. 115]. This happened partly due to the fact that during that period and much later the non-Russian population of the southern and eastern suburbs of Russia even in official documents was designated by the general ethnic concept 'Tatars' [Rossijskoe zakonodatel'stvo, 1985a, pp. 409–410].

Legislative practice of the earlier years is presented in chapter 20 of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye. For example, the principle known to us by the edicts of the 1620s was reflected in article 70: 'And the unbaptised foreigners in Moscow and in the cities should keep in yards the foreigners of different beliefs; and the Russian people, against their will or voluntarily become the serfs of unbaptised foreigners' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 128–129]. According to article 74, the Tatars could evidently be the serfs of both non-Russian and Russian owners. The only requirement for the deed of purchase registration in the 'Kholopii Prikaz' [Serfs Department] was that 'the Tatars whose names were on the deeds of purchase did not lie' [Ibid.].

Articles 117 and 118 deserve consideration as well as they cancel the Edict of Michail Romanov of 1623–1624, forbidding to buy, accept as a gift, and baptise the Tatars living in Siberia and near Astrakhan [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, p. 118]. The Sobornoye Ulozheniye restored the former order on that issue. In the specified regions anyone, except for 'the voivodes and different governors, who were on the Tsar's business in Siberia and in Astrakhan,' could buy the Tatars [Complete Code of Laws

of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, p. 137]. From article 117 and article 118 it followed that the purchased people were allowed to be baptised. At the same time, article 97 forbade the resale of the serfs who had been converted to Orthodoxy [Ibid., p. 133]. This was explained by the fact that the deeds of purchase could include only unorthodox people, and the serfdom of the orthodox Christians, according to the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649, could be registered only as servitude and only with the consent of a person taking the servitude but not by force.

The formal ban on the resale of the newly-baptised serfs did not interfere with their passage from one owner to another. According to article 96, it was not forbidden to pass the serfs without money, registering them on corresponding charters [Ibid.]. The right of inheritance was not restricted either (article 100) [Ibid.]. In general, the status of the unorthodox serfs was regulated by law to a smaller extent than the status of the orthodox ones. The state paid close attention to the integrity of interests of the Christian religion but practically gave the owners total control over the destiny of non-Christian serfs.

Thus, the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 absorbed almost a century-long experience of legislative regulation of life of the population of the former Kazan Khanate. The analysis of the legislative monument has shown that, in general, the official authorities in Moscow recognised the basic rights of the Russian population among the non-Russian people of the Central Volga Region, certainly, within the corresponding class categories. The general tendencies in the development of legislation of that time contributed to the appearance of the concept of the 'Tatars' on the pages of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649, mainly as top feudal lords, the legal status of which was comparable to the status of the Russian serving people. At the same time, the state consciously isolated the Tatar princes, murza, and the serving Tatars, having turned them into a closed ethnic and class layer. The rights of the non-Russian feudal lords to dispose freely of the lands they served for were limited. With other conditions being equal, the law always took the part of an

orthodox Christian when the situation was influenced by a religious factor.

Legislation about the Tatars in the latter half of the 17th century. The Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 not only accumulated past legislative experience but also shaped the direction of Russian law in the latter half of the 17th century. Pre-revolutionary legal historians (M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, V. Sergeyevich, N. Zagoskin, I. Belyayev, V. Latkin, and others) attributed law of that period to the 'Ulozheniye epoch.' Many legislative acts of that time are genetically linked to the articles of the Code and contain multiple references to it. Continuity is also evident in the legislative priorities.

As before, the legislature of the latter half of the 17th century was characterised by the numerical superiority of land ownership and tenure laws. A. Mankov has estimated that the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire contains 330 such acts, dating back to the period 1649–1696 (out of a total 1,458 acts covering 25 objects of legal regulation) [Mankov, 2002, p. 33]. This pattern also applies to the Tatar population. Land acts constitute a large proportion of that period's edicts affecting the Tatars. They reflect a number of issues relating to land ownership and tenure by the Tatar population, particularly the provision of land to the serving Tatars.

Legislative materials indicate that in the latter half of the 17th century the process of the provision of land, manors, and patrimonies to feudal lords of various ranks occurred with equal intensity as in the first half of the century [Mankov, 2002, p. 33]. This was due primarily to foreign policy matters. Russia was constantly engaged in wars with Poland, Sweden, Turkey and exposed to Crimean Tatar raids, which necessitated new additions to the feudal class. This was also demanded by the ever-widening borderlands of the country. The serving Tatars were also involved in the process of land provision since they continued to play a prominent role in Russian armed forces. According to the annual list of 1651, the total number of soldiers in the Russian state was 133,210, of which Tatars numbered 9,113 (6.8%) [Chernov, 1954, p. 167].

The facts of providing manors to the Tatars, who first came to the attention of authorities, are encountered in the legislature of the first half of the 1650s, when the Russian government was preparing for a war for the re-unification of Ukraine and seeking new human resources. At that period, edicts on recruitment—the process known as *verstaniye*—were issued to noviks (teenagers from noble families, sons of boyars, and 'gorodovye kazaki' (territorial Cossacks) in Russia in the 16–17th centuries—*A.N.*). Legally, those recruitment edicts denoted the starting point of compulsory military service for a novik, and it frequently occurred that he was immediately sent to military service and entitled to land and monetary grants [Kalinychev, 1954, p. 56]. As an example of such acts, an edict issued by Aleksey Mikhaylovich dated 20 October 1652 can be given. The edict said to 'provide land and monetary grants to all noviks—that is, sons of boyars—and the newly baptised, and the Tatars in Moscow for recruiting them for military service' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 86]. Among non-Russian service people mentioned in the document were 'the newly baptised and the Tatars of Moscow, Borovsk, Serpukhov, Kolomna, Kashira, Kaluga' as well as 'the newly baptised and the Tatars of Yaroslavl and Romanov.' The legislative act did not affect cities located along the Volga below Nizhny Novgorod; therefore, the serving Tatars of the Kazan Krai apparently were not subject to it.

The Edict of 1652 suggests that the amount of land and monetary grants provided to the Tatars was virtually identical to that of the serving Russians and depended mainly on the distance of the granted manors from Moscow. It was for that reason that land and monetary grants for the Tatars of Yaroslavl and Romanov were higher than that of the serving Tatars who were granted the manors near Moscow. For the newly baptised and the Tatars of Moscow, Borovsk, Serpukhov, Kolomna, Kashira, and Kaluga the size of granted lands varied from 250 to 70 quarters (for the service class) and from 200 to 50 quarters (for the non-service); monetary grants varied from 8 to 4 ru-

bles for the service class; and from 7 to 4, for the non-service class. Land grants for the Tatars of Yaroslavl and Romanov ranged from 300 to 100 quarters (for the service class) and from 250 to 100 quarters (for the non-service); accordingly, their monetary grants varied from 10 to 5 rubles for the service class; and from 8 to 4, rubles for the non-service class [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 86]. The evidence available to the Tatar noviks, which supported their being the children of the 'serving fathers,' was a prerequisite for recruitment [Ibid.].

Cases of primary provision of manors to people in the latter half of the 17th century were sporadic [Mankov, 2002, p. 33]. The most prevalent form of grants at that time was a supplement to an existing donation or monetary grant. During the years of war with Poland (1654–1667) personalised edicts of similar content were issued one after another. At that, edicts came in the first years of the war and often contained large promises of remuneration for exemplary performance of military duty, manifestos of agitation character [Ibid., p. 34]. The documents of such content incorporated in the Complete Collection of the Laws contain no direct mentions of the serving Tatars [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 160, Nos. 220, 264], although the latter were actively involved in hostilities [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 2, pp. 429, 433, 436, 519, 523, and other]. Provision of grants to the serving Tatars also occurred, both in the form of land (see 'Tsar's charter to the boyar and prince Ya. Cherkassky on recruitment of sons of boyars of different cities, the newly-baptised, the Tatars, the people of Belozersk, and the landed Cossacks' as of 26 July 1656 [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 2, pp. 520, 545–547 and other]) and money (by the Edict as of 27 October 1658 the Romanov Tatars were granted for their service on the basis of 15 rubles per person [Ibid., pp. 628–629]).

In the latter half of the 17th century granting of manors as a reward for the service became widespread. The Edict as of 1 February 1667 specified the size of granted patrimonies

by ranks: 500 quarters for boyars, 300 for okol-nichi, 250 for Duma nobility, 200 for Duma dyaks, 20 from each 100 quarters for other ranks [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 404]. On the basis of this act, on 20 March 1667 an edict was passed, which allowed all the serving ranks, who participated in the Russian-Poland war since 1654, to transfer 20 from each 100 quarters of land grants from manors to patrimonies [Ibid., No. 404]. Among various categories of the service people mentioned in the edicts there were no Tatars; they were consequently excluded from the process of transferring manors to patrimonies. This omission was remedied only 5 years after as a result of persistent appeals, one must suppose. The Edict of Aleksey Mikhaylovich as of 29 March 1672 extended the Edict as of 29 March 1667 on the murzas and Romanov Tatars as well as on prince's scribes and podyachy [scriveners] [Ibid., No. 512].

The mention of the latter suggested that a delay in rewarding the serving Tatars was a misunderstanding. However, the fact that the edict mentions only the murzas and the Romanov Tatars can be treated as the unwillingness of the government to expand the patrimonial ownership by Tatars. A similar trend applies to the ownership of manors. Starting from the 1660s mentions of the Tatars began to gradually disappear from the edicts about land grants to the service class and the recruitment of 'noviks' [Ibid., No. 450, No. 615]. According to D. Mustafina, in the latter half of the 17th century the government was unwilling to further expand and develop the estates of the serving Tatars, in whom it did not place much trust [Mustafina, 1958, p. 64]. The Edict as of 29 September 1668 was the last of the Legislative acts within the Complete Collection of the Laws that provided for an increase in land and monetary grants for the serving Tatars [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 732]. It applied to all participants of the Russia-Turkish war of 1676–1681, who were injured in battles near the city of Chigirin—the capital of the Zaporizhian Sich (modern Cherkasy Region in Ukraine) [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 732]. The list of categories that under the

edict were provided with land and monetary compensation included 'the newly baptised, murzas, and Tatars.

An essential part of the legislative practices in the latter half of the 17th century was governmental enforcement of the right to inherit land property. In case of death of a service man, his estate was divided among his wife and children in the proportions specified by the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 78–79]. The Tatars inherited land on the same basis as the Russian service class; along with that, manors could be inherited not only by spouses and children but also by grandchildren (e.g., the estate of Urazmamet Tlevleyev, serving Tatar, in the Village of Sredniye Alaty [Dokumenty' i materialy', 1950, pp. 139–140]). That could be illustrated by the case of the inheritance of K. Enikeev, who owned manors in the Temnikov, Kasimov, and Kadom uyezds. K. Enikeev left a wife named Kulyasha, a son 'minor Uraz,' and a daughter (the document provides no name.—*A.N.*). Shortly after her husband passed away, Kulyasha decided to marry the Kasimov murza I. Chanyshev, which prompted the voivode of the city of Temnikov to carry out the division of property owned by the deceased. The inventory of his manors revealed that he owned 300 quarters of ploughed lands (100 quarters in each uyezd) subject to division. From this land grant, his son Uraz got 6/10 (180 quarters), widow Kulyasha got 1/10 (30 quarters), and daughter got 1/20 (15 quarters). Once Kulyasha got married, her plot of arable land was supposed to be attached to the manor of I. Chanyshev. In January 1672 this decision was legally formalised in the city hall of Temnikov [Dokumenty' i materialy', 1950, pp. 417–418].

Despite the fact that the land policy regarding the Tatars was on the whole consistent with the general line of the government regarding the feudal class of the state, it had some specific points related to the confession of this group. In the legislature of the latter half of the 17th century there was a constant tendency towards attacking land rights of the Muslim feudal lords. Soon after the adoption of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649, there were in-

dications of a departure from the norm providing for circulation of manors of non-Russian landlords only within this very social class. The Complete Collection of the Laws contains no documents from the 1650–1660s reflecting the development of this process among the Tatars. However, the dilution of their land fund can be reconstructed from the legislative acts related to foreigners,' the position of whom had much in common with that of the serving Tatars.

The first step in this direction was the Edict of Aleksey Mikhaylovich in 1651, which allowed unbaptised widows and 'devki-inozemki' (girls from foreign areas) to let out their manors to their newly baptised kin (sons, brothers, nephews) as well as to 'Russian clans' so that 'people from that estates could serve the sovereign, feed those widows and girls, and marry them dowered' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 73]. A pragmatic willingness of the government to link granted lands to the service of concrete people and to support the families, which lost a breadwinner, narrowed the scope of articles 14, 41, and 43 of chapter 16 'On Manorial Lands' of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 [Ibid., No. 1, pp. 76, 80], leaving a loophole for transition of the lands of non-Russian feudal lords into the hands of Russian landlords.

The Edict of 1653 'On Permission for Foreigners to Sell Patrimonies to All Russian Servants of the Christian Law' provided a prohibition on selling manors of one 'foreigner' to another unbaptised 'foreigner' [Ibid., No. 113]. That step taken by the government probably had a disastrous impact on patrimonial ownership of the Tatars. In fact, a course for its total elimination was set. When non-Russian feudal lords sold patrimonies, in any case the lands got into the hands of Russians or the newly baptised. Gradually manors had to completely transfer into patrimonies, whereas the Tatars were consequently doomed to military service forever. Thus, the intensifying process of merging manors and patrimonies was often coercive for the non-Russians and implemented in an accelerated manner.

A. Kappeler considers the edicts of 1651 and 1653 as the first steps towards the restriction

of land ownership of the unbaptised non-Russians [Kappeler, 1982, p. 176]. He considers the attempts to revive missionary activity in the middle of the 1650s to be logically linked to the aforementioned process....In particular, the researcher pointed out the actions of Misail, Archbishop of Ryazan, who forcibly baptised the Mordvins and Tatars in Shatsk and Tambov uyezds. The historian also directs attention to the state support of Misail's actions [Ibid.]. The analysis of the sources demonstrates the significance of this support [Dokumenty' i materialy', 1940, pp. 297–298]. Misail received not only the supreme authority's approval but also the Tsar's charter authorising baptism of the non-Russian peoples, which he referred to during his missionary activity. He was supported by 'monarchic serving people who safeguarded the archbishop and probably coerced the Tatars and Mordvins to convert to Orthodoxy [Ibid.].

In certain cases, the supreme authority itself initiated the Christianisation of the non-Russian population. For example, according to the Edict as of 11 July 1660 by Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich the stolnik L. Ermolov was sent to Temnikov and Kerensk to baptise the local Tatars. The motives behind such a decision are unclear. It may have been caused by delinquency of the Tatar population related to military service, which was indicated by the publication of the aforementioned document among the materials related to the Russian-Poland war of 1654–1667 in the Razrjadnyj Prikaz [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 3, pp. 115–116].

From the middle 1670s land rights of Tatar feudal lords became the target of religious pressure. Before January 1676 the Edict of Aleksey Mikhaylovich 'On Leaving Manors and Patrimonies Taken from the Tatars and Other Gentiles to Those Whom the Lands Were Given and on Finding Escheated Patrimonies for the Newly Baptised' was issued [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 616]. It is unclear from the documents for which violations the land property was confiscated from the Tatars. Most likely, there were violations of duty, the most frequent kind of which was an escape from military service. A Tatar was punished depending on the grav-

ity of the violation, up to the confiscation of manors [Ibid., vol. 1, No. 1, p. 9]. There is also a possibility that during the reign of Aleksey Mikhaylovich, an attempt of condemnation of property from non-Russian feudal lords on religious grounds was made. This is also suggested by the phrase from the edict: 'manors and patrimonies of the Tatars and other foreigners allotted to the Russian people and newly baptised for their conversion to Orthodoxy will remain with the latter, with the previous infidels receiving nothing' [Ibid., vol. 1, No. 616]. Apparently, the government thus attempted to encourage previous owners to convert to Orthodoxy.

The edict issued before January 1676 is one of the last legislative acts in the reign of Aleksey Mikhaylovich [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, vol. 2, p. 1029]. The course for violation of land rights of landlords-Muslims indicated in it continued in land legislation of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich. Despite the relatively short term of his reign (January 1676–April 1682), it became a time of acute hardship for the Tatar people. Due to an illness (he was unable to move by himself.—*A.N.*), Fyodor was practically locked within the walls of his palace and could not take part in hunting and other active entertainments of the Tsars. Reading and talking to 'scribes'—representatives of clergy in the vast majority of cases—became his domain. S. Solovyov pointed out this detail, stating that 'an ecclesiastical element prevailed in the upbringing of the Tsar' [Solovyov, 1991, p. 176].

The upbringing of Fyodor explains the religious intolerance, which distinguished the state policy on the Tatars at the turn of the 1670–1680s. Most visibly it manifested itself in the areas of land holding and tenure. Not only the serving Tatars experienced the pressure but also other 'non-Christians' belonging to the Russian feudal class. 'Sections on patrimonies' as of 29 March 1680 consolidated an ultimate departure from the norm of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649, which acknowledged priority inheritance of property (including manors and patrimonies) for the next of kin, regardless of their confession. From that moment, in matters of inheritance baptised kin had a prior

claim over the unbaptised ones even if the latter were of closer degree of kinship [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 814]. The establishment of that principle directly affected the interests of the Tatar service class.

The next step towards suppressing its land rights was the Edict as of 16 May 1681 [Ibid., No. 867], which represented the strongest manifestation of anti-Islam sentiment in the Russian ruling elite in the 17th century. The well-known missionary A. Mozharovsky regarded the edict as a 'resolute step of the state towards taking manors and patrimonies, populated by orthodox peasants, from unbaptised landlords and great landowners' [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 34]. A particular interest in the document is driven by the fact that it represents one of the few legislative acts in the 17th century about the Tatars, the realisation of which can be followed up in documentary sources.

The Edict as of 16 May 1681 prescribed 'to take manors and patrimonies with peasants and landless peasants from the murzas and Tatars, and wives of the murzas and Tatars, and minors, and girls for the benefit of the sovereign ruler.' The rationale was that 'the murzas and Tatars on their manors and patrimonies levy taxes from peasants, abuse them, coerce them to convert to their infidel confession, and cause desecration.' Peasants and landless peasants who 'crafted goods and paid tribute to Tatar landlords and great landowners' from now on were obliged to 'craft those goods and pay tribute to the Sovereign Ruler' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 867]. That was the first document that so clearly violated the rights of Tatar landlords; however, it was not the first of its kind. The Complete Collection of the Laws contains the Edict as of 21 September 1653 on returning of 'manors and patrimonies of Germans, who were not converted to the Orthodox Christian faith' to the treasury [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 103]. It refers to manors of Arzamas uyezd belonging to the colonels A. Krafter and A. Tomolton, lieutenant colonel Yu. Angler, ensigns I. Angler, I. Arfatov and A. Melder, and translator Y. Nelborh. According to the decree, the

manors together with the peasants were confiscated because 'they, the unbaptised Germans, laid the peasant under various tributes and oppressed their Orthodox Christian faith of Greek Rite and caused much desecration to the souls of the peasants.' [Ibid.].

As we see, the wording of the reasons for confiscating the manors from the Germans and the Tatars were almost identical. However, the true reasons for confiscation, in our opinion, were different. We can assume that the fault of the 'Germans' was connected not with their faith but with their work responsibilities because the manors were taken irrevocably. It was easier and more convincing to justify confiscation for religious reasons than by 'treason' and other actions. Unlike the Decree of 1653, the Decree of 1681 made provisions for the Tatar landlords to keep their dependent people on condition that they convert to the Orthodox faith. An additional incentive to this must have been a monetary reward paid in the following amounts: ten rubles to the murzas; five rubles to their wives; two and half rubles to their children. A reward half that size was given to non-noble serving Tatars and their families [Ibid., No. 867]. Thus, the issue of the Decree of 1681 was determined solely by religious motives.

In order to soften the negative reaction of the Tatar feudal lords, it was announced that 'they will be deprived of their fiefdoms and instead of the taken manors and patrimonies, and upon consideration of the same non-Christian Temnikov and Kadom Mordvins, and about that His Majesty's edict will follow' [Ibid.] The decree ordered the following to the Mordvins: for conversion 'in all aspects' to the Orthodox faith, benefits for six years were promised, should they not wish to be baptised, then the 'manors and patrimonies would be given to unbaptised Tatars and Murzas' [Ibid].

Thus, with the issue of the edict on 16 May 1681 the Tatars and Mordvins faced the problem of choosing their religion. Adherence to the religion of their ancestors meant losing their dependent men for the Tatar landlords, and for the Mordvins, turning into them. The conversion to Orthodoxy offered material benefits to both of them. It is not hard to predict

which choice was preferable. In these circumstances, the chances of the Tatar serving people, who refused to be baptised, to receive the promised serfs were very clear. Having felt in which direction the pendulum of the government policy had swung, the Romanov Tatars hurried to indicate their loyalty to the regime by addressing Fyodor Alekseyevich with a request for baptism in advance. A generous reward awaited them for such a 'declaration of intent.' The Emperor's decree dated 21 May 1680 declared: to record the Romanov Tatars under a 'princely' name; 'to be the Great Tsar's stolniks'; it granted them 'manors and money in comparison to their fellowmen and the newly baptised,' it returned the manors and patrimonies to them, taken earlier 'for their fault and leaving the service'; it declared not to send them to the 'Tsar's' service for three years [Ibid., No. 823]. The wording of the grants point to the true reasons for baptising this group of the Tatars—that is, the intention to return the lands, confiscated because of former faults. In its turn, the generosity of the supreme power testifies to its concern about social and cultural integration of the Tatar nobility.

The analysis of non-legislative sources shows that the Romanov Tatars were not alone in their aspirations to be baptised and also that the Decree of 16 May 1681 was preceded by other government acts of a missionary nature. The confirmation of this can be found in the Tsar's charter to Yadrin voivode L.G. Yefimiyev dated 15 February 1681. It says that 'the murzas, the Tatars, the Mordvins, and the followers of other religions in Yadrin uyezd and in other towns and uyezds, many are baptised in the Orthodox Christianity of the Greek Rite' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 8, pp. 310–311], and the incentive to baptising was the reward promised for conversion to Christianity.

However, the missionary intentions of the government did not correspond to the material resources of the treasury. Due to the absence of the necessary free land, the Decree of 21 May 1680, on the privileges of the Romanov Tatars was not fully implemented. With the issue of the decree on 16 May 1681, the situation changed dramatically. Already by 24 May

1681 a decree had been issued, which ordered the newly baptised to be granted the promised manors from those confiscated from among their own relatives and compatriots, who refused to be baptised according to the Decree of 16 May 1681 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 870]. Besides this, those who refused to be baptised were sent to reside in the town of Uglich, where they were to be placed in coaching inns, and their food and maintenance were to be provided by their relatives, 'who received the manors and patrimonies of those murzas and Tatars for conversion to the Orthodox Christian faith' [Ibid.]. Thus, no new 'manors and monetary rewards' followed, and the newly baptised were rewarded at the expense of redistribution of the land among the Romanov Tatars. In its essence, this decision meant the conscious stirring up of one Tatar feudal lord against another.

The charter to L.G. Yefimiyev also tells about financial incapacity of the government and local authorities. It says that the newly baptised '...of our Great Tsar, the reward due to the scant treasury was not given to them in the towns, and others were fully rewarded as it was stipulated by the articles of the decree' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 8, pp. 310–311]. Since the baptised 'humbly begged' for the reward, and the economic situation in the country 'did not allow gathering monetary treasury soon enough,' it was decided instead of the reward '...to give the newly baptised Murzas and Tatars and other serving people exemptions from our Great Tsar's service for six years, and the people paying yasak, a relief in yasak and other tributes for the same six years. And a monetary reward of our Great Tsar, and sables, and a broadcloth should not be given for baptism' [Ibid.].

The time set to implement the Decree of 16 May 1681 was not indicated in the document itself. However, S.M. Solovyov reports that 'in February of 1682 clerks and commissioners went around the Tatar villages and announced to the Murzas and Tatars, their wives, minors, and maids the Tsar's decree in order to put aside their obstinacy, convert to the holy religion of the Greek Rite, and humbly beg the Tsar for their manors and patrimonies until 25 Febru-

ary; and those who are not baptised until that date and do not submit their petition for the manors and patrimonies, the manors and patrimonies and other lands will be taken from them and given to those murzas and Tatars who had already been baptised or are going to be baptised by February 25' [Solovyov, 1991, p. 237].

Setting the deadline for the baptism undoubtedly sped up the process of Christianisation. Further on, the main concern of the authorities was to regulate the process of transition of landed property from one owner to another. It is seen from the petition of the Romanov murzas and Tatars to Fyodor Alekseyevich 'On Rewarding Them with Lands of Their Relatives for Baptism' forwarded to the Tsar at the beginning of 1682 [Istoriya, 1937, pp. 176–177]. The analysis of the document shows that in the process of passing the manors and patrimonies from the non-baptised to the newly baptised the kin principle had been violated, and as a result, many manors and patrimonies fell into the hands of strangers. The petitioners (representatives of different branches of the House of Princes Mustafins and Devletkildyevs and also of the serving Tatars the Shakheyevs) asked the Tsar not to give family manors 'to strange Houses' but to order 'to give those family and earned manors and patrimonies to us, your serfs, to the House according to our Great Tsar's decree and to the Sobornoye Ulozheniye, so that we, your serfs, upon conversion to Orthodox Christianity would not depart from your service, Great Tsar' [Ibid.].

This document echoes another petition forwarded in the same year of 1682 but to the Tsar Peter Alekseyevich [Ibid. pp. 177–178]. Its petitioners are 'the newly baptised of different towns,' who asked to pass on the manors of their non-baptised relatives to them as a reward for baptism. The petition contains valuable information that allows us to specify the religious situation at the end of 1670–beginning of 1680s. In particular, it reveals that before 1679 'the Great Tsar's charters' were sent to the places of residence of the Tatars, which urged the local authorities to convert the Murzas and Tatars 'to the holy Orthodox Christian faith'. These charters 'gave hope' to the baptised for 'the Tsar's reward, their own manors, the man-

ors of their fathers, and brothers, and relatives and the peasants' [Ibid., p. 177]. Those baptised in 1679, 1680, 1681 and portion of those baptised in 1682 received the promised reward. As for the petitioners, they were probably baptised after 25 February 1682 and, therefore instead of the promised manors and patrimonies, received only a ten ruble monetary award, which became the reason for appealing to the authorities [Ibid., p. 178].

It is necessary to underline that the decrees, urging the *yasak* people of the Volga Region to be baptised, had no definite addressee. The forms of the reward for the baptism—money, fur, clo—testify to this. They were universal and could be given to any person, irrespective of their social identity, while the main form of the reward for the serving Tatar people in the 18th century was endowment with land and enlargement of their manorial possessions. The missionary aspirations of Fyodor Alekseyevich's government were so strong that it was ready to suffer substantial material costs. Due to the absence of 'hard cash' in the treasury, the government declared that the serving people would be freed from state service for six years, and the *yasak* people would be relieved from paying the *yasak* and other tributes. The six-year exemption is mentioned also in the decree of 16 May 1681, which promised the Mordvins of Kadom and Temnikov uyezds that 'an exemption from all tributes will be granted for six years' for conversion to the Orthodox faith [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2 No. 867]. Apparently, this term was accepted by the government as optimal for stimulating the process of Christianisation. We should note that in the 18th century the state was more frugal and granted benefits only for three years (see: [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 103]).

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is hard to judge about the consequences of these decrees for the *yasak* population. There is more information about their influence on the Tatar feudal class. Under the threat of land confiscation and of banishment to other regions, many serving Murzas and Tatars converted to Christianity. This especially affected the old Tatar prince

clans, residing in the uyezds of Temnikov, Kadom, Shatsk, and Kerensk (the Enikeevs, the Mamleevs, the Isheevs, the Yengalychevs, the Kugushevs, the Devletkildeyevs, the Kashayevs, and others). With varied success, the baptised Tatar landlords tried to secure the possession of the manors that previously had belonged to their non-baptised relatives—this was a common tendency.

What were the reasons that impelled the Russian government to advance on the Muslims and their land rights in the 1670–1680s? The Decree of 16 May 1681 justified itself by the necessity to defend the Russian peasants from 'the taxes and abuse' of the Tatar landlords, which 'force them into their Muslim faith and cause desecration' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 867]. Such a foundation reflects the dislike of the Muscovite government for the power of the 'infidel' landlords over the Orthodox peasants. However, it does not explain why this anomaly, which was tolerated in the social structure of the Christian state, had to be destroyed exactly at that time [Kappeler, 1982, p. 248].

Besides the aforementioned personal piety of Fyodor Alekseyevich, it was probably due to the influence of the Russo-Turkish War of 1677–1681, which fueled an anti-Islam sentiment in the Russian governing elite as it had happened more than once in the history of Russia. Alongside this, the war stirred up a liking for the Turks among Russian Muslims [Solo- vyov, 1991, p. 226]. Sympathy for their co-religionists were one of the reasons for the Tatar serving people's desertion near Chigirin, which A. Kappeler calls an excuse for the forced baptism of the Romanov Tatars [Kappeler, 1982, p. 248]. According to his opinion, the Treaty of Bakhchysaray (3 January 1681) gave freedom of action to the Muscovite government to get even with the 'ungrateful Muslims of Russia' [Ibid.]. Thus, the onset of the government upon the Tatar landlords was caused by a host of reasons relating to their religion.

It is hard to foretell the further course of events, if not for the early death of Fyodor Alekseyevich who died on 27 April 1682. A month later the Decree of Peter and Ivan Alek-

seyevich of 29 May 1682 ordered that the Murzas and Tatars should be given back half of the confiscated manors and patrimonies [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 923], and on 13 July of the same year 'the Great Tsars granted the Murzas and Tatars the other half,' except for the lands already given to the new owners [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 944]. Taking such a step, the supreme authority expressed its wish that the Tatar landlords 'seeing their Great Sovereigns' favour, should serve the Great Sovereign, and ask no tributes from the peasants, and cause no oppression to their Orthodox Cristian faith' [Ibid.].

Such a hurried change in government policy also requires explanation. Obviously, the course of events was influenced by the political crisis triggered by the struggle for the throne between two clans, Miloslavsky and Naryshkin. The confiscation of lands from the Tatar feudal lords, as has been noted, was mostly dictated by the anti-Muslim position of Fyodor Alekseyevich and his inner circle. After the Tsar's death, new and more pragmatic people had come to power, among which V. Golitsyn stood out. They were still interested in the services of the Tatar serving people. At a time when Russian foreign policy became more active, turning its attention to the Black Sea, such significant military force could not be ignored. On 26 May 1682 Princess Sophia Alekseyevna was proclaimed regent for the young Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 920], and three days later a decree was issued about returning to the serving murzas and Tatars the first half of the confiscated manors. However, its issue hardly was of any surprise because change of power in Russia was always followed by granting benefits, promised relief, pardons, etc.

It should not be forgotten that in 1681–1684 in the Ural Region a rebellion of non-Russian peoples caused by the Decree of 16 May 1681 broke out. The rebellion seized territory from the middle of the Iset River to the Volga River, from the upper reaches of the Yaik River, to the Middle Kama and the Chusovaya rivers [Bashkortostan, 1996, p. 151]. The memories of 'the

rogue' Stepan Razin were still strong among the Russian ruling elite, and further pressure on the Muslims threatened to worsen the situation in the volatile region.

Beginning with the return of the confiscated manors and patrimonies to the Tatars, the government of Sophia Alekseyevna set out on a course for the revival of the previous traditions of the law. On 20 October 1682 the decree 'On not Giving the Russian Landlords the Obrok, Yasak, Deserted Tatar lands to their manors' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 959] was issued, which prohibited the Russian serving people from taking the deserted lands of the native peoples of the Volga Region. According to the decree, the obrok and yasak lands were to be passed on to 'the Chuvash, and the Mor-dvins, and the Tatars for obrok' and 'deserted lands to the manors of the murzas and Tatars in compliance with the Ulozheniye' [Ibid.]. If the prohibition to give the yasak lands to the Russian landlords could be explained by the interests of the state Treasury (the idea that 'yasak is more profitable than obrok' [Mustafina, 1985, p. 100] was mentioned in the charter-edicts of that time), the order to pass the manor lands on to the 'murzas and the Tatars' demonstrated the government's concern about their welfare and therefore fighting efficiency because the serving people were equipped at their own expense.

During Sophia Alekseyevna's rule the order of inheritance to the manors and patrimonies, which belonged to the non-baptised Murzas and Tatars, was revised. The decree dated 17 March 1686 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1179] set the following order of inheritance:

1. After the death of a non-baptised Tatar, his direct successors were non-baptised children and grandchildren.

2. After the children and grandchildren the right of inheritance passed on to the other non-baptised relatives.

3. After the non-baptised relatives, if there were none, the right of inheritance passed on to the baptised relatives.

It was specifically stipulated that 'the petitioners-foreigners, non-baptised murzas, and Tatars would not be granted such manors and

patrimonies, bypassing the newly baptised, so that such manors would not be lost to the clans of the newly baptised' [Ibid.]. Thus, in matters of inheritance the priority of non-baptised relatives over the baptised ones was legally acknowledged—that is, the ethnic criterion was superior to the religious one. However, there was no full return to the old standards of law because the Decree of 1686 excluded the possibility of passing the manors and patrimonies into the hands of co-religionist landlords after the death of all Muslim relatives.

There was also a rollback to the former positions in the attitude to the yasak people during the rule of Sophia Alekseyevna, however, not under the influence of legislative solutions but more in a natural way. The analysis of the sources shows that a certain part of the yasak Tatars, among the other people of the Volga Region, was tempted by the benefits, promised by the government, first of all, by the six-year relief from tributes and service. However, conversion to Orthodoxy was nothing more than a formal act for them, to which the charter of Metropolitan of Kazan Adrian to the Archimandrite of the Spaso-Yunginsky monastery in Kozmodemyansk testifies [Dokumenty' i materialy', 1940, p. 72]. The document ordered that 'skaski' [literally 'tales'] should be collected from the parish priests, where there would be the records of the 'years, and months, and dates when someone converted to Christianity, when, and on which date, having abandoned the Christian faith, converted back to his Muslim faith, and who from among the newly baptised now live, and their names before baptism, and their Christian ones' [Dokumenty' i materialy', 1940, p. 72]. The date of the charter (November 1687) to a great extent explains its contents: namely, in that year expired the six-year relief term for those representatives of non-Russian peoples of the Kazan Territory that were baptised after the decrees of 1681 had been issued.

In general, the analysis of legislative and documentary sources of the 1680s shows the attempt at the mass Christianisation of the people of the Middle Volga Region, which had been undertaken during the rule of Fyodor Alekseyevich, had not been successful. The ab-

sence of religious zeal in the Tsar's successors combined with objective causes, which forced the government to restrain the Christianisation process, resulted in the fact that by the end of Sophia Alekseyevna's rule (29 January 1689) the religious situation in the region returned to its state from the middle of the 1670s. The decree 'On Baptising the Infidel Only of Their Own Free Volition without Any Compulsion...', issued on 5 April 1685 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1117] and identical in its essence to the 'instructing reminder' to Archbishop Gury dated 1555, served as the guidance for the authorities of the places where non-Russian peoples resided.

The last of the decrees by Sophia Alekseyevna and of all the 17th century, which regulated the legal relationships of land between the Tatars, was dated 20 March 1688 and carried the title 'On the Absence of the Right of the Russian People for the Manors and Patrimonies in the Reserved Towns' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1287]. The decree prohibited the distribution of the Tatar lands among the manors of the 'Muscovite people.' An exception was made for the newly baptised, 'who were the baptised Murzas of the same towns' and 'were registered as Muscovites for conversion to the Orthodox Christian faith.' They were allowed to inherit the possessions of their relatives, but it was forbidden to sell, exchange, or rent their manors and patrimonies to any Russian or newly baptised from other towns [Ibid.]. The norms, set by the decree, had local value and were applicable on a limited territory. This is pointed out by a remark in the document: 'in other towns, except for the reserved towns, various lands are to be given to the Russian people and the newly baptised as before' [Ibid.]. It is not clear from the decree what towns are being referred to here. Possibly it means those towns where the major part of the serving Tatars acquired lands as landlords after the fall of Kazan Khanate—Kasimov, Temnikov, Romanov. Local validity of the decree dated 20 March 1688 confirms the general conclusion about the success of the

government policy on limiting the land titles of non-Christian landlords, which was carried out in the latter half of the 17th century. After the issue of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye in 1649 the autocracy made one concession after another to the Russian nobility. The principle of indivisibility of lands of non-Russian people, fixed in the Codex, was repeatedly violated by further decrees. The manors and patrimonies of the Tatar feudal lords were freely passed into the hands of the Russian serving people. The existence of 'reserved' towns, where the transfer of land was prohibited, testifies only to the contradictions and difficulties of this process. Despite the softening of the land policy during the rule of Sophia Alekseyevna, there was no complete return to the situation that existed at the end of the 1640s. Only the extremes that took place during the reign of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich were eliminated.

Land problems, closely connected with religious ones, dominated the legislation of the latter half of the 17th century. Alongside this, other problems related to the life of the Tatar population were reflected there. After the acts concerning land, the largest number of laws was about the army and military actions [Mankov, 2002, p. 33], which was determined by many big and smaller military conflicts that Russia took part in. In the specified period Russia consequently waged war with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1654–1667), Sweden (1656–1661), the Crimean Khanate (1672, 1687, 1689, 1695, 1696), Turkey (1677–1681). The Tatars actively participated in military actions, those who served both in the regiments of the noblemen cavalry of the 'old order' and in the regiments of the 'new order' (reiter, dragoon, and soldier), the number of which in the armed forces continuously increased [Pavlov-Silvansky, 2000, p. 201]. For example, in the period of the Russo-Polish war of 1654–1667 many Tatars served in the regiments of voivode Ye. Chelishchev, colonels V. Chelyustin (dragoons) and T. Shal (reiters), and the reiter regiment under the command of the colonel Kh. Myngaush was composed completely of Tatars [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 3, pp. 337–338, p. 446]. It is well known that the Tatars of Sviyazhsk [Ibid., p. 171], 'Alator

and Temnikov' Tatars served as reiters [Ibid., pp. 337–338].

General issues of regulating military service in the 17th century were reflected in Chapter 7 of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 8–13], the norms of which were effective until the adoption of the Military Article of 1715. The Tatar serving people were not mentioned there, which means that there was no significant difference in their legal status from the Russians and 'foreigners.' This is confirmed by the legal acts of the latter half of the 17th century, where the Tatars were mentioned, if at all, along with other categories of the serving people. In most cases these were the decrees 'On Delaying All Legal Matters for the Russians and Foreigners until January 1... for the Service.' They are rather numerous [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, Nos. 90, 110, 118, 214, 219, 245, 283, 293, 321, 349, 472, 544, 548, 590, 591, and other] but poor in their theme and content. Such orders were a common phenomenon under the conditions of almost non-stop war. Main purpose of these documents was to notify the serving people of another campaign and of the necessity to prepare for it. The decrees were meant for all categories of serving people and are of interest, first of all, because of the change in the terms, indicating different groups of the serving Tatars. In the course of time they displayed a tendency towards simplification. Besides this group of legislative acts, single mentions of the Tatars can be found in the decrees about the recruitment of young men [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1 No. 86, and other].

Much more information about the Tatar serving people, their position in the Russian army is given in the 'Acts of the Muscovite State', which contains documents about the military campaigns of the 17th century, in particular about the Russian-Polish War of 1654–1667 [Acts of the Muscovite State, vols. 2, 3] Part of these documents is presented as decrees of the supreme power and formally can be put in the category of legislative acts. However, in their content they mostly represent regulations on current matters of military life, they set no

legal rules, unlike the legal acts included in the Complete Collection of the Laws. These sources are valuable for the studying the practical implementation of the military legislation and also the influence of actual military events on the evolution of legal standards.

The analysis of the documents contained in the Acts confirms the said statement that legislators adhered to the tendency not to single out the serving Murzas and Tatars among other categories of the serving people. This equality was observed in the scheme of rewards for the service, which was defined not by ethnic origin but by the social status of the serving people and resources of the treasury [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 3, p. 71, vol. 3, p. 119]. There were no differences in the penal system for violating military duty, which was mostly desertion from service [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 3, pp. 397, 408, 446–447], in compensation for the 'captivity endurance' (being in captivity.—*A.N.*) and also in 'kormovye den'gi' (money) for the wives and children of those killed in battle [Ibid., p. 188]. The list of comparable features is not settled with this. Use of the military force of the Tatar serving people in wars in the west and at border fortifications on the southern and east borders of the state, was the reason behind the preservation of the specified equality. Though the relative number of the Tatars in the military service recruiting gradually decreased, the Muscovite government sought to maintain balance in the relations with this group of the population.

The situation with the trading rights of the Tatar population was similar. Reference to the sources shows that the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 does not mention the Tatars in the chapters concerning trade (see chapter 9 'On Fees, and on Transportation, and on Bridges' and chapter 18 'On Stamping Fees') [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 1], though such mentions can be found in the chapters dedicated to land titles and use, to dependent people, and religion. The Tatars are also not mentioned in the most important of the legislative acts for the given area of law in the latter half of the 17th century—the Trading Regulations of 1653

[Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 107] and New Trading Regulations of 1667 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 408]. From our point of view, this can be explained by the fact that the Tatar merchants already at an early stage of integration into the Russian State were equal to the Russian merchants. Therefore, the government did not have to issue special decrees regulating Tatar trade. Testimonies to this equality can be found in various aspects of the trading activities.

At all times the basic condition for the successful development of trade was the appropriate fiscal policy of the government. Fees, taxes, excise-duties, and other instruments of this policy, set by the government, vividly characterise its attitude to different subjects of trade operations. The existing sources testify that there was no connection between the amount of customs duties and ethnic affiliation of the merchants-subjects of the Russian State (see customs charter of 1633, regulating the collection of the fees in the town of Gorokhovets (present day Vladimir Region) [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 362]).

Another important condition for engaging in trade is the freedom of movement. The analysis of the 'instructions' to Kazan voivodes of the 17th century [Dimitriev, 1974, pp. 284–414] shows that during the stated period it was strictly regulated. However, the existing regulations were of general character and were applied both to the Russian merchants and non-Russian population. Everyone wishing to travel somewhere, not only merchants but also the serving people, had to obtain special permission from the voivodes-'travel charters.' All decisions concerning this were written in a special book in the Prikaz, and the travellers were given written permission. In case of unauthorised departure, those who violated the order were considered fugitives and should be 'put in prison and punished according to the person and fault' [Ibid., 293]

The general character was also the norm prohibiting the Russian people and 'the nonorthodox' 'to keep in their homesteads unlicensed drinks for sale.' Such people, irrespective of

their affiliation, were to be 'flogged for the sale and put in prison until the Sovereign's order and have an inventory of their property taken and have it sealed up' [Ibid., p. 297].

However, the equality in the basic elements of the trading activities does not exclude specific features of trade by the Tatar population. Tatar society in the 16–17th centuries was not homogeneous. There were such categories as princes, murzas, serving Tatars, yasak Tatars. In the religious sense they were divided into the Muslim and the Orthodox—the newly baptised. There were Tatars who lived in the rural areas (the uyezd Tatars) and the Tatars registered in towns. The geography of trade operations was remarkably wide. Already by the first half of the 17th century the trading Tatars from Kazan could be seen in different parts of Russia, from the town of Gorokhovets in the west [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, p. 362] to the towns of Tobolsk and Tara in the east [Isoriya, 1937, pp. 237–238]. Therefore, during the study of the trading rights of the Tatar population it is necessary to take into account various factors: class and religious affiliation of the trade operation parties, place of permanent residence, place of trading activity, etc. All these qualitative factors are important because the conditions for carrying out business activities for the Tatars of Kazan uyezd were different from the realities of life of their compatriots in Ufa uyezd and even more so of those in Siberia.

The analysis of the legislation shows that in trade, as in other areas of life of Tatar society, in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, the main role belonged to the representatives of the Tatar service class. Trade relationships between the yasak people, according to the Complete Collection of Laws, can hardly be tracked, which speaks not of their absence in general but only of the specific nature of the studied sources. In their socio-legal status the yasak Tatars did not stand out among other categories of the Russian peasantry (with the exception being where the religious factor played a role.—*A.N.*). For this reason, their trading activity was fully within the framework of the laws, that regulated the trade business of the peasant class (for more details, see: [O perexodax, 1857, pp. 85–100]). We are more inter-

ested in the specific details of the government policy, which were more noticeable in the documents concerning the serving Tatars.

They possessed great opportunities to engage in trade, about which the decrees of 1 March 1672 and 9 August 1677 about the elimination of tarkhan charters testifies [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 507; vol. 2, No. 699]. According to these documents, the serving Murzas and Tatars were included with the tarkhans and enjoyed the right for duty-free trading and for any business in the 'lower reaches' towns along with the Patriarch, Metropolitans, largest monasteries, and the Russian serving people. Due to the brevity of the decrees specified, practically consisted of the regulating part, except for the fact that there were tarkhans among the Tatars, no other information about them can be retrieved. Therefore, it is difficult to judge the applicability of the decrees to various groups of the Tatar serving class and also about the time and conditions when the Tatars were granted such privileges. Beyond the Middle Volga and the Ural Regions the Tatars are often mentioned as participants in trade operations. As an example of such decrees, the Letters Patent to the Astrakhan Tatar Muhammed Yusuf Kasimov dated 13 June 1667 can be named. 'On Permitting Him...to Come to Moscow to Trade for Ten Years' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 411]. We also note the decrees of 1693 and 1698 regulating the collection of duties in Siberian cities [Ibid., vol. 3, No. 1474, No. 1654] and the Tsar's orders to the voivodes of different regions: Tobolsk, Verkhoturye, Tyumen [Ibid., No. 1594, No. 1595, No. 1670]. We also cannot but take into account the fact that in Russia, government declarations were often at variance with reality. Starting from the 16th century the supreme power tried to eliminate the institution of tarkhans more than once, and its preservation until the 1670s testifies to the failure of these attempts [Petrov, 1922; Kashtanov, 1965; Kashtanov, 1986].

More precise and therefore meaningful, information about trading rights of the Tatar population is seen in the charter of Tsars Peter and Ivan Alekseyevich forwarded in No-

member of 1685 to Kazan voivode Prince *I.I. Golitsyn* [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1143]. The appearance of the charter is connected with the conflict related to trade relations between the inhabitants of the Tatar Sloboda of Kazan and the Russian heads of *zemstvo* and township people. This document is remarkable by the fact that the events recorded there had their logical continuation in the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries, being reflected in the legislation. Of special interest in this respect is the report of the Senate, approved by supreme authority, 'On Free Trading for the Serving Tatars of Kazan Sloboda Based on the Charters Granted to Them' dated 7 August 1763 [Ibid., vol. 16, No. 11888], where the texts from the charter of 1685¹ are given, and also the charter of 1698 connected to it but for some reason not included in the Complete Collection of the Laws. The comparison of these sources allow us not only to restore the details of the events of the end of the 17th century but also to track the further development of the situation, including the changes that took place in the area of trading rights of the Tatar population as a whole.

The content of the charter of 1685 testifies to the variability of government policy in relation to different groups of the Tatar feudal class. Unlike other serving Tatars, for whom the military service was a condition for possessing land and serfs, the inhabitants of the Tatar Sloboda in Kazan served for the right to trade '...different goods instead of His Majesty's monetary and bread payments' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1143]. Judging by the sources, this practice appeared before the beginning of the 1620s, possibly as a result of the Time of Troubles. By the end of the 17th century, trade became the main source of subsistence for the Tatars of Sloboda [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No.

1143]. Moreover, the Tatars were released from tributes and duties, which the Russian trading people of Kazan bore. The latter, having found themselves in a disadvantageous competitive position, were trying to eliminate the privileges of the Tatars and repeatedly sent complaints to Moscow, aiming to impose a tax burden on the inhabitants of the Tatar Sloboda. The first attempt of this kind undertaken by the Russian trading people dates from 1622 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 16, No. 11888]. Then these were repeated in 1654, 1669, and probably soon after the death of Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich (30 January 1676—*A.N.*) because on 4 September of the same year his successor Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich gave the serving Tatar people in Kazan a safe-conduct charter, which protected them from the claims of the Russian trading people. This legislative act, which did not survive to our time, apart from the confirmation of granting the Tatars trade privileges, contained the regulation of how they should carry out their trading operations.

The death of Fyodor Alekseyevich (27 April 1682) caused new appeals of the Russian trading people to be sent to Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich in 7191, 7192, and 7193 (7191 = 1 September 1682–31 August 1683; 7192 = 1 September 1683–31 August 1684; 7193 = 1 September 1684–31 August 1685—*A.N.*). Their purpose, according to the words of the Tatars of the Sloboda, was to 'wear them out by Muscovite red tape, to charge taxes on their trade business, and serve with them the trading people, and help by supplying money for the *streltsy*, and to make an inventory of their homesteads and charge taxes on them as to the trading people' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1143]. The answer to the first petition was a non-extant Edict of Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich (the fact of its existence is proven by an excerpt from the charter of 1685: 'from their deals, and shops, and storehouses, and other trading business taxes are to be taken according to the former His Majesty's edict and according to the newly-set trade articles' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1,

¹ In the decree dated 1763 the charter to I. Golitsin is wrongly dated to 22 May 1685 because prince I. Golitsin bore the responsibilities of a voivode in Kazan from 4 September 1685 until 4 May 1686, after which he was released back to Moscow because of his disease.

vol. 2, No. 1143]), confirming the status quo in this matter, which caused new appeals of the Russian merchants and reactive actions of the Tatar population in defence of their rights. The consideration of the lawsuit in Moscow resulted in an order to Kazan voivode Prince V.D. Dolgoruky to settle the issue according to the Ulozheniye and New Decree Articles. Its execution was difficult because the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 as well as New Decree Articles (meaning the Trade Regulations of 1653 and New Trade Regulations of 1667—*A.N.*) had no instructions relating to Tatar trading. As a result, V.D. Dolgoruky 'refused the heads of zemstvo orally because...in the Sobornoe Ulozheniye and in New Decree Articles nothing was written about the serving Tatars' [Ibid.].

The appointment of *I.I.* Golitsyn as Kazan voivode in September 1685 became the reason for a new phase in opposition between the serving Tatars of Tatar Sloboda and the Russian trading people of Kazan. The charter sent to *I.I.* Golitsyn in November 1685 was meant to put an end to the lawsuit. The voivode was instructed: 'to protect the Tatars as before according to the previous decrees of His Majesty and verdicts of boyars and voivodes, and for the Kazan trading people not to cause harm to the Tatars, so that they have no oppression, and to take no duty for the zemstvo from the Tatars, who serve and their homesteads are 'white' (tax-exempt), because they are serving people and not tyaglye (tax-paying) not of 'black' (tax-paying) sloboda...' [Ibid.]. The last phrase explains the cause for such an outcome. The government decided to protect the interests of the population higher in category in social respect, having put class interests above the religious and ethnic ones in this case. As *A.G.* Mankov notes, the right and privilege of the dominating class was a distinctive feature of the feudal legislation and jurisdiction [Mankov, 2002, p. 165].

However, it should not be forgotten that the document was issued during the rule of Sophia Alekseyevna, which was marked by mitigation of the policy towards Muslims. The reference in the text of the charter of the 'Great Sovereigns' dated 1685 was nothing but a tribute to tradition, in reality, as *A. Mankov* points out,

'during the rule of Ivan and Peter imperial decrees were either not adopted or sanctioned by them, everything was done in their name by the governing persons—Sophia and *V. Golitsyn* and later by *L. Naryshkin*' [Ibid., p. 30]. In any case, the conflict was resolved in favour of the Tatars in Kazan Sloboda. *I. Golitsyn* was ordered to make a copy of the charter that had been sent and 'leave it in the Prikaz of Kazan for the boyars and voivodes' and give the original to the Tatar petitioners [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2 No. 1143]. This document was carefully stored in the Tatar Sloboda for many decades, protecting the right of its inhabitants to free trade from the encroachments of various people and bodies. The last attempt of this kind in the 17th century was noted in 1698, but the charter of Tsar Peter Alekseyevich, dated 15 July 15 of the same year and addressed to Kazan voivode Prince *P. Lvov*, yet again confirmed the status quo in this matter [Ibid., vol. 16, No. 11888].

The sources do not provide information about how the inhabitants of Tatar Sloboda used the given privileges. It can be assumed that they used them very actively. At the very least, there are testimonies about their business relations, including not exactly legal ones, with the merchants of foreign countries. In the published by *V. Dimitriev* order to Kazan voivodes *M.L. Pleshcheyev* and *V.L. Pushechnikov* in 1677, it is said that 'in Kazan many merchants, not coming to the customs with their goods, go to the Tatar Sloboda secretly at nights and put their goods in that sloboda with the Tatars. And thus they cause great damage to Kazan customs' [Dimitriev, 1974, p. 368]. The merchants, who used the services of the Tatars in the Sloboda, were the Muslim merchants from the southern regions of the country (Astrakhan, Kizlyar, etc.) and from the neighbouring Muslim states. Tatar merchants knew how to take advantage of the situation, when, on the one hand, the rights of the Asian merchants for trading in the inner regions of Russia were restricted, and, on the other hand, the khanates of Central Asia did not let in 'kafirs'—that is non-Muslims—into their markets at certain periods [Gubaydullin, 1926, p. 60].

The unique character of the situation with the trade rights of the Tatars in Kazan Sloboda was defined by the fact that their privileges were not available to the serving Tatars residing outside of Kazan. The attempts of the merchants from different places to make use of the charter of 1685 to increase their economic competitiveness were always suppressed by the government [Nogmanov, 2002, pp. 85–86]. It is also remarkable that the privileges, indicated in the charter, existed until the 1820s, despite the fact that during the 18th century the Tatars of Kazan Sloboda underwent a process of serious social transformation.

In The Complete Collection of the Laws among the decrees of the latter half of the 17th century, besides the legislative acts about the serving Tatars, there was a small number of documents related to the two, opposite in social respect, categories of the Tatar population: the so-called Tatar princes, who were the elite of the Tatar feudal nobility, and the yasak Tatars, who were burdened with state duties and served the representatives of the dominant class. Due to the small number of these documents, they give only a fragmentary idea about the position of the indicated groups in the Russian state. However, without taking them into account, the general picture of the government's legislative activity towards the Tatars would not be complete.

The most remarkable of the acts related to the Tatar princes is the imperial decree to the voivode of Kasimov I. Litvinov dated 11 July 1651 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, No. 65]. The title of the decree 'On the Supervision over the Tsarevich of Kasimov and His People, and of the Prohibition of Them Having Any Relations with the Muslims of Other States—eloquently speaks to its contents. Even one hundred years after the elimination of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates the Muscovite ruling circles saw a looming Tatar threat, even in the face of such a marionette that the Tsarevich of Kasimov had become by the middle of the 17th century. The order to voivode Litvinov condemned his supervised tsarevich to honourable imprisonment. Honorary-because the Kasimov

Tsareviches occupied a prominent place at the Tsar's court, and without them, as well without the Siberian Tsareviches no significant celebration could be held in Moscow. For example, the Tsarevich of Kasimov Vasily Arslanovich and his son Nikifor Vasilyevich are mentioned in the decree dated 1 September 1667 on the list of participants in the ceremony of Tsarevich Aleksey Alekseyevich's coming of age [Ibid., No. 415] and also in the 'Ceremony of Ascending to the Throne' of Fyodor Alekseyevich dated 18 June 1676 [Ibid., vol. 2, No. 648]. It is remarkable that everywhere they are mentioned before the most high-born Russian boyars, right after the representatives of the ruling House of Romanov. Imprisonment because the Tatar Tsareviches could not be their own men. The duty of the voivode of Kasimov was to follow their each step: '...to guard and find out if the Tsarevich of Kasimov and his people had any communications with Muslim states, the Nogai people, the Mari people and about what business, watch out for dispatches and counseling with the sayyids and other people, and for somebody not to kidnap him' [Ibid., vol. 1, No. 65].

The Tatar Tsareviches in Russian policy played the role 'wedding generals', shown if necessary to the ambassadors of neighbouring Muslim states, as a testimony to the tolerant attitude towards Islam because even though the Tsareviches themselves were Orthodox, their immediate surroundings were composed of Muslims. At the end of August of 1653 the then ruler of Kasimov, Sayyid Burhan converted to Christianity, possibly under some pressure from Tsar Aleksey and Patriarch Nikon. He was baptised as Vasily, but in contrast to the old tradition he continued to rule the Kasimov Tsardom (Khanate), though the majority of his subjects remained Muslim. Vasily died around the year 1679. After his death Kasimov was nominally ruled by his mother Fatima-Sultan. When she died (around the year 1681) the Kasimov Tsardom ceased to exist, and the city of Kasimov with its surrounding area was transferred to Russian administration; however, the Tatars of Kasimov received permission to retain their Muslim faith.

In reality, the life-long title of 'Tsarevich' was a fiction and gave its bearer nothing more than an honourable place in The Book of Genealogy, the edition of which was composed according to the decree of 13 September 1686 [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 2, No. 1207]. The only mention in the Complete Collection of the Laws about government positions, occupied by the Tsareviches of Kasimov, is dated 17 May 1715, when the Imperial Decree of Peter I was issued ordering Tsarevich Ivan Vasilyevich to take over the Rudny Prikaz [Ibid., vol. 5, No. 2908].

The yasak Tatars felt the attention of the government to a lesser degree than the serving Tatars. The few legislative acts, addressed to this group of the Tatar population, show that the social position of the yasak Tatars could be compared to the status of the Russian people, the bearers of the state tax. They are often mentioned together, as a rule, in the acts of national level. For example, article 22 of the decree 'On Selling Drinks' dated 18 July 1681, whose aim was to eliminate irregularities in wine trading, prescribed: 'those peasants, and landless peasants, and monastery clerks, and yasak Tatars who will be found to have wine stills and cauldrons, who will be found to distill wine, their stills and cauldrons are to be confiscated, and a penalty of five rubles per person is to be taken' [Ibid., vol. 2, No. 879]. Article 20 instructed various categories of Russian peasants as well as yasak Tatars, the Mordvins, and the Mari 'to buy wine in the towns and uyezds of their residence...and for themselves... not to distill wine, and keep no wine stills and cauldrons, and those who have wine stills and cauldrons are to sell them' [Ibid.].

The legislative acts, similar to the Decree of 1682, forbade the unauthorised relocation to other places, had a nation-wide character. 'On Keeping the Trading People, Peasants, the Tatars, the Mordvins in Those Villages and Towns Where They Are Registered According to the Last Census Books' [Ibid., No. 980]. The

same punishment of the fugitives, irrespective of their religious and ethnic affiliation, was stipulated by the 'Instructions for Investigators' dated 2 March 1683 [Ibid., No. 998]. Together with other categories of the dependent population of Russia, the yasak Tatars were released from payment 'red tape' fees in lawsuits by the decree dated 19 March 1686 [Ibid., No. 1180], and paid a fee in rubles from each homestead according to the edict dated 19 October 1686 [Ibid., No. 1216], etc. Thus, in all areas where state fiscal interests were involved, in one way or another, the state made no difference between the Russian, Tatar, or Mari peasants. At the same time, a religion different from that of the Russians did not allow for the complete legal unification of the yasak population of the Volga Region. During the entire period in question, Islam remained the factor that determined the attitude of the Tsar's government to the serving and yasak Tatars and which united these social groups from the point of view of the law.

On the whole, legislation of the Russian State in relation of the Tatar population in the latter half of the 17th century was quite active and rich in content. The major part of the decrees of that time as well as from an earlier period is dedicated to regulation of the landed titles of the Tatar feudal elite. After the issue of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye in 1649 the government policy in this sphere, despite considerable fluctuations and contradictions of separate decisions, took on a more expressed anti-Muslim character. At the same time, in those areas (military service, trade, taxation, and other) where the influence of the religious factor was not very significant the state did not segregate the Tatars from other population categories. Maintaining equality of rights was also dictated by security reasons, aspiration not to give rise to anti-Russian sentiments, though there had always been contradictions between the restrained policy of the government and the actual abuse and arbitrariness of the local governments.

§3. Religious Policy of the Russian State

Fayzulkhak Islaev

The religious situation in the Volga-Ural Region had drastically changed after the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, when Islam lost its role of predominant religion and had to adapt to new circumstances. Following the conquest of the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates, the struggle against Islam turned into the domestic issue for the Russian State. In the meantime, the Orthodox Russian State had to develop a new policy to deal with the conquered non-Christians. Russian political elite united in the idea that there must be one Orthodox Tsar and one Orthodox religion in Russia. Advancement of religion amongst these people formed the basis for the religious policy of the Russian State in the reconquered eastern lands.

Tsar Ivan the Terrible defined religious policy of the Russian State following the conquest of the Kazan Khanate in the following way: '... The newly-enlightened city of Kazan is to be preserved, the city is to endorse Christianity, and the disbelievers are to be converted to Christianity by the will of God' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, p. 536].

In line with the spirit of that time, a Russian man did not see non-Christians as normal people. According to a fair point made by A. Gurevich, 'the only cultural, comfortable for living world blessed by God is the world converted to Christianity and ruled by the church.' Areas beyond that world were losing their positive advantages, those areas were covered by forests and the wastelands of barbarians, those areas were beyond God's earth and human relations. Such a religion-based segregation determined behaviour of not only the crusaders but also Russian illuminators amongst the non-Christians who thought that methods, prohibited for use in Christian lands, were welcomed in crusades against pagans. However, since Jesus died for everyone, including disbelievers, the church thought that its important mission was to set the pagans on the right path, even if they were unwilling' [Gurevich, 1972, pp. 68–69]. That is how the church act-

ed against non-Christians, the new subjects of Russian state.

Before that in 1555 the Council of the Russian Church Dignitaries, in the presence of Ivan the Terrible, took a decision to open the Kazan Diocese in Muslim and pagan district, with inclusion of the city of Kazan with nearby uluses, Sviyazhsk with Highland areas, Vasilgorod, and the entire Vyatka district. Archbishop Gury, Hegumen of Trinity Selizharov monastery, was assigned as the first head of the diocese. He received support from the Archimandrite Germanus of the Sviyazhsky Virgin Mary Monastery (former Archimandrite of Staritsky monastery) and Archimandrite Barsanuphius of the Kazan Saviour's Transfiguration Monastery (former Hegumen of the Pesnoshsky Monastery). Prominent Russian historian S. Solovyov wrote the following: 'This spiritual crusade of Gury in Kazan was consistent with the administration of the Greek clergy of Byzantium and Korsun for spreading Christianity in Russia during the reign of Vladimir; this was the completion of the conquest of Kazan, a great feat performed for the triumph of Christianity over Islam: obviously, it was performed with a great triumph' [Solovyov, 1989, vols. 7–8, p. 66].

Colonisation of the region and Christianisation of Muslim Tatars happened at the same time. Kazan, Sviyazhsk, and the entire region underwent fundamental changes. Kazan became a Russian city, the centre of Orthodox life. Many churches and monasteries were built in the Kremlin, the city, and its surroundings. Already during the Kazan War—that is, the fight of the former Kazan Khanate people for the return of their lost statehood since the summer of 1555 under the leadership of Archbishop Gury, the first head of the Kazan Diocese, the church started intensive missionary activities among Muslim Tatars and pagan people of the Volga Region. The main tasks of the Christianisation of Muslim Tatars were defined by Ivan the Terrible in his 'Nakaznaya pamyat' to Archbishop Gury [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition,

the first volume, pp. 259–261]: 'And those Tatars that will be willing to be baptised, keep the best of them at the bishop's place, and teach them Christianity, give them place to live, and allocate others to the monasteries. 'Apart from these, there were also some measures stimulating conversion, such as treating with sophisticated food and wine from the archbishop, liberation of the disgraced from punishment, and some migrants, in order to prevent them from committing 'treason,' to be baptised and 'sent to the Monarch and Grand Prince' [Ibid].

Urgent problems related to advancement of Orthodoxy were immediately solved on the highest level, often together with Ivan the Terrible. In response to the request of Archbishop Gury about provision of support to newly founded monasteries, Ivan the Terrible on 5 April 1557 wrote that 'old people do not have to work with their hands, work in the fields, sow seeds, gather crops into the granary, but they should have pure hearts and spread the word of God, pure words, and invite people to their dwellings to teach them, they will go to the kingdom of heaven and earn the eternal grace of God: if you want that, I will give you the spare patrimonies in Arsk, Nogai and uphill regions, how many you need; take them: but if you need more, write to me, and I will not refuse anything for a good deed. That is your word, if elders are teaching children, then this is the duty of all of you; there is a person called an angel. They are incomparable, they are like the apostles, our God, our Jesus Christ, then will teach and baptise them, and this is our duty. Teach the children not only to read and write but to understand what they read, and they may teach even the others, the Muslims' (quotation from [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 8]).

No wonder that the realisation of the Tsar's requests regarding the advancement of Orthodoxy among non-Christians in the Kazan Krai, turned the new founded monasteries into the centres of Orthodoxy. The actual organisers were the archimandrite from the Monastery of Transfiguration of the Saviour Father Barsanuphius and Archimandrite from the Sviyazhsk Virgin Mary Monastery Father Germanus. According to the hagiography of St. Gury from the Kazan Krai, 'many disbelievers were con-

verted to the faith, many of them were baptised together with their wives and children.' Educational activities of Barsanuphius related to non-Christians were more sophisticated because he 'converted disbelievers to Christianity, he knew the Saracen script, he well understood the nasty legends of Muhammad written in the Saracen language, he spoke lots of languages, he would speak to disbelievers, reproach them, argue with them, baptise them, teach and tell them to believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost' [Tvorennya Ermogena, 1912, pp. 31–51].

The first wave of baptising of Muslim Tatars is associated with the conquest of the Kazan Khanate and, subsequently, the fight of local population for the return of their lost statehood in 1552–1557. No wonder that the establishment of many Tatar villages in the Volga-Ural Region is associated with the baptising of Tatars by Ivan the Terrible and the beginning of the migration wave. Many participants of the liberation war, which happened to get captured by Russian troops, were baptised. In those specific conditions they could save their lives only by agreeing to be baptised.

Significant attention was given to the baptising of Tatar feudal lords—that is, the princes-murzas. The conquerors of the Kazan Khanate, understanding that it is impossible to govern the vast conquered region without the help of local elites, started to stimulate the conversion, of those loyal to the new government murzas and beys, to Orthodoxy. The change in religious identity—that is, the acceptance of Orthodoxy by Tatar feudal lords—was the best evidence of loyal service to the Muscovite state. Among the baptised murzas-princes the first census recorded Vasily Asan Murzin in the village of Bolshiye Mimery.

As a result of the intensive colonisation, a significant number of Russian feudal lords moved to the krai together with their peasants. They settled mainly in the former Tatar auls (villages). In Sviyazhsk uyezd Russian landlords became the owners of 6 settlements, 24 villages, 6 pochinoks [newly founded villages], 4 waste lands, 3 landlord yards, 5 servants yards, 485 peasant yards, 34 yards without land—543 people in total [Spisok for 1565–1567].

Russians, who were resettled from the Central districts to the Volga Region, together with formerly Russian prisoners found themselves living in villages with Tatars, Mari, and Chuvash people, 'they drink with them and eat, they marry them, and many Russians, both elders and the young, live with Germans in settlements and villages, voluntarily and wealthy' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439].

Tatar village called Nurdulatovo (now the village of Nurlat in Zelenodolsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan), formerly owned by the Kazan Khan Muhammad Amin, belonged to the Sviyazhsk streltsy sotnik Bulat Ivanov, son of Sherapov (according to his surname, name, and patronymic—the son of a baptised Tatar.—*F.I.*). Following the defeat of the Kazan Khanate, the villages were populated by Tatars and Chuvash people, and together with them in their courtyards lived former captives 'Yakush Masametev, Filya Papetrechev, Afonasko horse specialist, Kostya, Gavrilko, they do not remember the names of their fathers and their dynasties because they are captives, Kondrashka and Vaska Fomin.' According to the scribe's book, Russian captives were tasked to move their courtyards to designated areas in order to live separately from the Tatars [Spisok for 1565–1567].

The entirely newly-baptised village in Sviyazhsk uyezd was called Shirdany, and its inhabitants Sergey Tikeyev and Ignash Tamachikov with 'newly-baptised companions' [Ibid].

Part of Tatar feudal lords were resettled to the central parts of the Russian State. For instance, a Tatar settlement, inhabited with baptised and unbaptised murzas, was established in Veliky Novgorod.

As a result of such persistent efforts, the percentage of newly-baptised among service murzas and Tatars at the beginning of the 17th century was up to 40%, while the percentage of baptised among tribute-paying Tatars was 4%–5% [Gallyamov, 1995, p. 13].

The forty-year-long campaign of the Orthodox church on Christianisation of non-Christian population of the Volga Region was summarised in the charter of the Tsar to Kazan

voivodes dated 18 July 1593. And that document was developed as a result of work of a well-known clergyman at that time Kazan Metropolitan Hermogenes, later the Patriarch of All Russia. The first trustworthy data about Hermogenes traces back to his service as a priest in Kazan at the end of the 1570s in the Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. Following the death of his wife in 1587, he took the monastic vows in the Monastery of the Miracle in Moscow, later was transferred to Kazan, and designated as an archbishop in the Monastery of Transfiguration of the Saviour. On 13 May 1589 he was designated as the Metropolitan of Kazan and Astrakhan.

From that moment he started his dynamic work on intensification of the religious life in Kazan, especially in the context of continuation of Christianisation of the population in the Volga Region. In this regard, he widely used the pantheon of the local Orthodox saints who had fallen or suffered for the sake of Orthodoxy. At that time, the only recognised martyr in Kazan Krai was Avraamy of Bulgaria. Kazan was supposed to be not only the administrative centre of the conquered territory but also a general religious centre, the concentration point of local relics. On 9 January 1592 Hermogenes sent a letter to Patriarch Job, in which he said that Kazan does not commemorate Orthodox soldiers, who had fallen for the sake of Orthodoxy and the Fatherland in Kazan in 1552, and requested a Remembrance Day should be introduced. At the same time, he mentioned three martyrs who had suffered for the sake of Orthodoxy in Kazan, one of them was Russian, called Ioann, who was captured by Tatars, and two others Stephan and Peter, were newly-baptised Tatars. The prelate asked permission to inscribe them into the Sinodik—that is, to be read during the week of Orthodoxy and sing the 'Memory eternal' for them. Ideas of Hermogenes were entirely supported by the patriarch, and he sent back his edict dated 25 February that stated 'to celebrate in Kazan and throughout all the Kazan metropolitanate a panikhida for all the Orthodox soldiers killed at Kazan and the environs of Kazan on Saturday following the feast of

the Protection of the Most Holy Theotokos and to inscribe them in the great Synodikon reading on the Sunday of Orthodoxy.' He also ordered three Kazan martyrs to be inscribed in the Synodikon, leaving it to Hermogenes to set the day of their memorialising [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, the first volume, pp. 436–439].

At the initiative of Kazan Metropolitan, the relics of the founder of the Holy Dormition Monastery of Sviyazhsk the Archbishop Germanus, later the Kazan archbishop, were transferred from Moscow and buried in Sviyazhsk; in October 1595 the relics of Kazan Wonderworkers St. Gury, the founder of Kazan diocese, and the first archimandrite of the Savior-Transfiguration Monastery St. Barsanuphius were opened in the Kremlin. Hermogenes compiled the hagiography of St. Gury and Barsanuphius, which is an important source for the study of the history of Orthodoxy in the region and the processes of the Christianisation of the people. Upon his initiative, a stone temple was built on the place where the Our Lady of Kazan Icon was discovered.

The newly-baptised Tatars came under the special attention of the energetic Hermogenes. He tried to transfer the newly-baptised people to Christianity through spiritual enlightenment. On 12 February 1591 he gathered newly-baptised Tatars of Kazan uyezd in the Virgin Mary Cathedral and instructed them in the Christian life. However, these efforts did not produce the expected results. Sources stated that newly-baptised people keep 'regretting,' (are in mourning.—*F.I.*) that they 'left their old Faith but are not established in the new Faith, live together with disbelievers, away from the churches, and separately from the Orthodox people' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol.1, pp. 436–439]. No wonder that because of such an ambivalent position of the newly-baptised people 'not only do the Tatars not make the sign of the cross, but they also abuse the Christianity,' and 'a mosque is being built very close to the trading quarters in the Tatar settlement' [Ibid]. The most unpleasant part for the Russian State was not only that that Muslim Tatars did not accept the Orthodox Faith and did not give up their Tatar customs,

but that newly-baptised Tatars actually 'gave up' the Christian faith.

The Metropolitan was especially worried about the fact that many Russians (former captives and workers—*F.I.*) live together with the Tatars, 'drink and eat with them,' marry Tatar girls, and start families. No wonder that Russians, who wanted to start a family with Muslim girls from Tatar localities, had to change their religious identity because a marriage could only be a religious one. Finding themselves in the same situation were young and old Russians who (voluntarily or because of economical reasons) found themselves in subordinate positions and resettled from the Baltic Region to the Volga Region among the Germans and Lithuanians. And in this case, the most anxious moment for the Russian church was that even the Russians 'also gave up Christianity and took up the Tatar Faith from the Tatars, and from the Germans, the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Faiths' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439].

Unhappy with the situation, in 1593 Hermogenes addressed a letter to the Tsar and Patriarch Job informing about the alarming religious situation among the newly-baptised Tatars in the Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds. The main issue was that the newly-baptised people from the local population, first of all the Tatars, had accepted Christianity but did not go to church, did not wear a cross, did not have icons at home, did not have spiritual fathers, and refused to invite Orthodox priests into their homes.

The Metropolitan of Kazan was especially unhappy with the fact that there was no continuity of Orthodoxy among the newly-baptised people, and the accepted faith was not continued by the next generations. Newly-baptised Tatars, if they give birth, 'do not call priests to women in labour,' and they try to avoid baptising their children, and they bury the dead in Tatar cemeteries. Intolerable situations occurred when newly-baptised people were starting a family. Hermogenes was complaining that bride and groom, after a church wedding, 'again marry at home in the presence of a Tatar priest'—that is, perform a wedding ceremony, 'nikah,' by Tatar mullahs. Thus, newly-baptised

Tatars get the blessing of the priest and mullah at the same time. The Metropolitan also noted that newly-baptised Tatar men, 'apart from their wives, also live with unbaptised wives and concubines.'

Thus, these were cases of polygamy prohibited by the Orthodox but allowed by the Muslim population. Apparently, this Islamic tradition was still practiced even by newly-baptised people. Furthermore, they do not baptise children born to unbaptised mothers, thus, they reject the most important Orthodox tradition, even though 'when a wife or concubine gives birth to a baby, she lives with him in one house, drinks and eats from one plate, and it is impossible to give a prayer to a woman in labour and the baby, for those they take from the unbaptised, and the babies of newly-baptised people die unbaptised' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439]. Furthermore, the newly-baptised people did not keep the Orthodox fast, neither during the great holidays nor during the weekly moderate eatings on Wednesdays and Fridays [Ibid]. No wonder that because of such a formal ambivalent position of newly-baptised people, 'not only do the Tatars not baptise, but they also revile the Christian faith' [Ibid].

All of these issues with the newly-baptised Tatars could have been solved only by teamwork of the Orthodox Church, voivodes of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, and the local administration. Only a charter of the Tsar that would be subject to compulsory implementation for both the secular authorities and the Orthodox Church could have been the document that would allow making fundamental changes in the situation with the newly-baptised people in the region. As a result, a programme was proposed for incorporating administrative and religious activities aimed at the radical improvement of religious condition of newly-baptised people in Kazan and uyezds.

First of all, the sons of boyars and priests were required to determine the exact number of newly-baptised people. For this reason, it was planned to carry out a census of newly-baptised people in the city of Kazan, settlements around the city, and Kazan uyezd. Furthermore, it was

proposed to record not only men, as it was usually done before in such cases, but to record 'by name, wives, children, service people, and tribute-paying people.' Thus, not only every newly-baptised person but also his family with children and everybody around him, including vassal workers, were under the vigilant eye of the church and local administration.

It was proposed to gather one more time all the newly-baptised people in Kazan and to instruct them that 'they were baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, at their will and request' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439]. It was especially emphasised that they were baptised voluntarily, upon their own request, and they promised to firmly abide by the Orthodox Christian faith.

In order to prevent the influence of Muslim Tatars on the newly-baptised, a fundamental measure of resettlement and creation of a special locality was proposed for the first time. For that reason, it was decided to build in Kazan—at a convenient place, within 'the stockaded town or beyond it, amongst the Russians, so that Tatars will be far away'—a settlement for the newly-baptised and to build an Orthodox church in the settlement, assign there a priest, deacon, acolyte, and proskurnitsa. The most important thing was that all officials of the new church were to receive financial support from the state. However, the newly-baptised had to cover themselves the costs of resettlement and construction of houses. Newly-baptised people of different stratas from Kazan uyezd and suburbs were assigned the construction of the new settlement. They, depending on their material wealth, had to build 'courtyards at their own expense,' according to their abilities ('iz-mozhenyu'), one courtyard each, some even two to three courtyards. For those who did not wish to resettle, prepared were punishment and punitive measures, up to imprisonment: 'Those who will not start building houses' to be told to give bail, and the most stubborn ones 'to be sent to prison' [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439].

For daily surveillance over the newly-baptised, it was decided to assign a kind 'son of a

boyar that had completed his service' (that is, a military retiree from the sons of boyars—*F.I.*), he was obliged to watch over the newly-baptised, 'to take care of them to the extent that they would firmly keep the Christian faith.'

The charter contained clear instructions on how to firmly keep the Orthodox faith, it was actually a kind of code of conduct for the newly-baptised: regularly go to church, have icons at home, wear a cross, continuously invite priests to their homes, have spiritual fathers, bury the dead near the church, marry only Russians or baptised people [Acts of the Archaeographic Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 436–439].

Special attention of the state and church was given to children of the newly-baptised. It was proposed that as soon as they reach the age of majority, the men marry only Russian girls or 'baptised girls,' and women marry only 'Russian men' or baptised men. It was strictly prohibited to turn back to Islam, to talk to Tatars, Germans, not 'eat and drink with them,' to keep at their farms 'Cheremis, Chuvash, German, and Lithuanian captives' [Ibid].

Again, special attention was given to children born to newly-baptised from unbaptised Tatars or German captives. The proposal was to baptise all of them, those who did not want to be baptised, 'Tatars, Chuvash, and Cheremis people to be let go or sold to Tatars of the same faith,' Cheremis, and Chivash people; it was proposed to all newly-baptised to go to the preachings of Metropolitan Hermogenes, to listen to liturgical lessons; those who refused to firmly keep Christianity to be 'subdued, put in prison, beaten, chained up, and others to be fined, to be sent to Hermogenes, and to be imposed a penance according to the rules of the Holy Apostles, to affirm all newly-baptised in the Christian faith, and to wean away from the Tatar faith and 'scare off' [Ibid].

The issues of providing newly-baptised people with land, which naturally arouse during the resettlement to new locality, were also solved. Newly-baptised people, who had tillable lands in Kazan uyezd and lived far away from Kazan, were proposed to hand over those lands to Muslim Tatars and in return take the lands of Tatars living near Kazan. If such an exchange was impossible, it was suggested

to provide newly-baptised people with tillable lands from court villages.

The most drastic actions were proposed in regard to Tatar mosques, which were preserved in Tatar localities and the Tatar settlement in Kazan. This measure was as follows: 'Tatar mosques are to be demolished, and Tatars are to be forbidden to build mosques, obviously all Tatar mosques are to be destroyed' [Ibid]. Thus, the task was to demolish all Tatar mosques.

This document shows that the advancement of Orthodoxy amongst the population of the former Kazan Khanate was happening in difficult conditions, it required constant effort from both the secular authorities and the Orthodox church. Drastic measures, which were planned in the charter in regard to the establishment of localities for newly-baptised people, were not fully implemented amongst the Tatars because Russia entered the Time of Troubles—the 'uprising' of the 17th century—hard times for all people. However, the framework of religious policy was clearly defined, and the church and secular authorities were just waiting for the right time.

Nevertheless, Christianisation of the non-Christian population of Russia was carried on throughout the 17th century in different regions of the country. In 1603 the Ostyaks (Perm Tatars) from the Chusovaya river, murza Baim, Kulak, and Kazak Artybashev, and Tagil Ostyak Obaitko Komayev were baptised. Each of the newly-baptised was given 'two middle-size woolen cloths, a shirt, and a pair of boots.' They were invited to Moscow to meet with the sovereign. They came back from the capital city full of presents: the most distinguished of them was murza Baim who was given 5 rubles, 'a fine woolen cloth, and a good quality taffeta,' the rest were given 3 rubles and 'a fine woolen cloth,' and they were to be recorded as *streltsy* in Verkhoturys [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 99–100].

Conversion of *murzas* and serving Tatars to Orthodoxy was stimulated not only by material wealth but also by violence. This is proven by a complaint from Romanovsk service Tatars addressed to Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich, which states that 'Romanovsk voivode Oleksy Malishkin put us, your serfs, into the prison and

tortured us, chained us up and forced us, your serfs, to adopt Christianity; and we, your serfs, cannot stand this any more...we sent a petition to...baptise us in the Orthodox Christian Faith; but we, your serfs, want to remain in our Islamic faith...Tsar, do not allow them to baptise us forcibly, but tell them to let us remain in our Islamic faith' [Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 1, p. 118].

There were no significant changes in localities with newly-baptised people. As a result of the census carried out in Kazan uyezd in 1747, more than 50 of such localities were identified: Azek, Azyanovskaya, Arpa, Polveden, Shuman, Achi, Bimer, Bolshaya Saya, Bolshoy Us, Burtek, Vonyaya, Yenasaly, Iya Verkhnyaya, Iya Nizhnyaya, Iya Srednyaya, Iksherma (Yelovaya), Ichki Kazan, Ishery, Kazanbash, Kazily Verkhniye, Kazily Nizhniye, Kazily Sredniye, Kamishly, Karamysh, Kebech Malaya, Kizyl (Krasnaya), Kishmetevo, Kovaly, Kolkomery, Krasny Yar, Maamet (Popovka), Nyrsyvary, Otryach, Mamadyshevo, Vedenskoye (Kyrlay), Elan Bolshaya, Nikolskoye (Achi), Cheremysh, Chyurilino, Ulanovo, Sairya Bolshaya, Pokshino, Serdy Stariye Verkhniye, Serdy Noviye, Staroy Kobykkopyr, Tashkirmen, Cheremsha Malaya, Cheremysh Bolshaya, Khozyashevo, Chally, Checha Novaya, Shigayeva, (Kovaly) [Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 2001]. Almost in all of these localities the population was mixed, from the religious and ethnic point of view.

In order to prevent the newly-baptised from turning back to Islam, the law was tightened in the middle of the 17th century. The Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 provided allowances to the newly-baptised people and legalised the system of harassment and repression against those who refused to adopt Orthodoxy. The most cruel punishment was prepared for the rejection of Orthodoxy and turning back to the former faith, especially in regard to 'those non-Christians that by any means, by force, or deception will make a Russian to adopt his non-Christian faith, that non-Christian will be found and executed, burnt without any mercy' [The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 1, pp. 41, 80–81, 105, 156].

In those years, the monasteries remained the Muslim Christianisation centres. This is proven by the letter of patriarch Nikon, dated October 1654, addressed to Archimandrite Gerasim, the Archpriest of Pechersky Ascension Monastery in Nizhny Novgorod: 'Based on our Saint Blessing...Archimandrite Gerasim will be honoured to spread the Word of God among Orthodox Christians and Hagarians (Muslims—F.I.) so that the Hagarians would know the God worshiped in the Trinity' [Nizhegorodskaya yarmarka, 1833, p. 48].

The 1680s were marked by one more attempt to baptise all Tatar service class. The Edict of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich, dated 21 May 1680, declared to baptise Romanov murzas and Tatars. The reason behind this monarchical decision was their voluntary petition to the tsar, expressing desire to be baptised because they realised 'the real faith of the Greek Rite'. In return for voluntary adoption of Christianity, murzas asked to be 'written by the prince name', that is, to be referred to as Russian princes. Murzas were allowed to retain the prince names, promised to be assigned the position of stolnik with fixed salary and relieved of state service for three years [The Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 2, p. 267].

A year later, on 16 May 1681, it was decided to register manors and votchinas (patrimonies) of murzas and serving Tatars (together with the peasants and landless peasants) to the Great Monarch. This virtually meant the expropriation of lands of the service class. And this concerned not only murzas and serving Tatars but also their wives, widows and children. Serving Tatars participated in many wars and often died, leaving their manors and votchinas, received for serving the monarch, to their heirs. The main reason behind matters taking such a turn was that murzas and serving Tatars 'introduce many duties to and abuse their peasants, force them to adopt their unorthodox faith, they desecrate, force peasants to produce goods for their needs and do not pay tributes' [The Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 2, pp. 312–313].

On the face of it, by this edict, the lawmaker appears to stop illegal, not initiated by the state, production of goods and thus increase revenues from taxation. However, this financial and economic action also had a spiritual meaning: murzas and serving Tatars were accused of forcing Orthodox Christians to adopt their Islamic faith. If baptised, murzas not only preserved their manors, votchinas and peasants but were also given a bonus: murzas were given 10 rubles; their wives—5 rubles; and children—2.5 rubles. The reward for adoption of Christianity given to serving Tatars was smaller: 5, 2.5 and 1.25 rubles, respectively. This edict secured the reward for conversion to Orthodoxy, which was practiced before.

Eight days later, on 24 May 1681, the previous decision was changed. This decision directly concerned Romanov and Yaroslavl murzas and serving Tatars. It was ordered to give to the baptised murzas and serving Tatars the manors and votchinas of their unbaptised relatives. Furthermore, the degree of kindred was not of much importance, because there were mentioned grandfathers, fathers and blood brothers as well as cousins and nephews. If, 'out of stubbornness', murzas and serving Tatars did not agree to be baptised, then they and their wives, children and 'people of Islamic faith' were to be sent to the city of Uglich and to settle there in hostels. And there they were to live at the expense of their former mansions, registered to newly-baptised murzas and serving Tatars; if they express desire to be baptised, 'they will be baptised and will get back their mansions and votchinas' [The Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 2, p. 315]. The novelty of this decision was in handing over the lands of the service class to their baptised relatives, while sending to Uglich the murzas and serving Tatars who refused to be baptised. Thus, the government continued putting pressure on serving Tatars.

However, these measures did not give the expected results. Subsequent events showed that the government got annoyed with the behaviour of murzas and serving Tatars, who did not rush to adopt Christianity. Additional measures were taken. On 19 February 1682, 'the podyachy and pristav with his team' from Kurmysh uyezd were ordered to go 'to all murzas'

and Tatars' villages' in Kurmysh uyezd in order to 'make Tatars and murzas put aside their stubbornness and adopt the Godly Orthodox faith of the Greek Rite'. By 25 February, that is, within a week, the murzas and serving Tatars from Kurmysh uyezd were to adopt Christianity and present a petition to the monarch about their manors and votchinas so that the lands of the baptised would remain owned by them. If they do not adopt Christianity and do not present a petition to the monarch within the specified period, their manors and votchinas will be immediately handed over to the murzas and serving Tatars who converted to Christianity before the 25th of the month. This decision was to be implemented in the shortest time ever, for this reason, they had to rush, 'visit day and night, urgently' [Historical Acts Collected and Published by the Archaeological Committee, vol. 8, pp. 311–312].

Lack of sources of information makes it impossible to evaluate the efficiency of the taken decisions. One can assume that the murzas and serving Tatars still persisted, did not rush to change the faith of their ancestors, tried to stick to Islam and influenced those who adopted Christianity. Murza Syunyak Enikeev refused to share his wealth with his baptised son Semyon, 'did not let him, Semyon, go to be baptised, almost left him alone, and the father, of Tatar faith, is blind now and tries to split the majority of murzas and Tatars to prevent them from adopting Christianity, tries to keep them in their Islamic faith'. The father's lands were handed over to his baptised son, while his other sons were disinherited because of not being baptised 'so that everyone will learn from it' [Enikeev, 1999, pp. 92, 100]. Based upon the complaint of the baptised murza against his father, this document shows that Syunyak Enikeev was engaged in activities against the Christianisation of Muslims.

However, the situation around baptising of murzas and serving Tatars changed drastically by the summer of 1682. The reason behind that was the unexpected death of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich on 27 April, which was followed by the struggle for the throne, accompanied by a Streltsy uprising. Likely, one of the warring parties decided to gain the backing of the Tatar ser-

vice class. In return for their loyalty, they were allowed to remain in the faith of their ancestors, but for that they were to give away half of their wealth. According to the edict published on 29 May 1682, murzas and Tatars were allowed to keep half of their manors even if they do not baptise, and the other half was to be 'registered to the monarch' [Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 2, p. 403]. The mutual compromise is obvious: murzas and serving Tatars were willing to give up half of their manor or *votchina* to the state if they could keep the faith of their ancestors. However, in return for this concession, they had to provide military support during the difficult period in the struggle for the Russian crown.

On 13 July 1682, trying to get additional support from the serving class in the fight against the *streltsy* uprising, the new government published a new edict about returning to serving Tatars and murzas the latter half of their manors and *votchinas*. In return for getting back their manors and *votchinas*, murzas and Tatars, first of all, had to truly serve the monarch, should not impose any additional duties on peasants and should not persecute baptised people [Complete Code of the Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 2, p. 456].

Thus, the circle was closed, serving Tatars and murzas got an opportunity to return their lost lands and keep the faith of their ancestors.

In our view, if not for the urgent, unexpected change of reign and the *Streltsy* uprising, Tatar murzas and serving Tatars would not have had the opportunity to preserve their material wealth and loyalty to Islam.

Unfortunately, we could not find any statistical data about murzas and serving Tatars that adopted Orthodoxy after these measures. However, a part of murzas converted to Christianity and preserved the title of prince. One may come across the surnames of well-known Tatar murzas amongst the military-service class: captain prince Boris Babichev, sergeant-major prince Afanasy Yengalychev, Lieutenant Prince Vasily Makulov, Corporal Prince Michail Yengalychev, Sergeant-Major Prince Semyon Yengalychev, Prince Fyodor Kudashev, Major Prince Ivan Tuguchev, Prince Andrey Mantsyrev, Prince Andrey Enikeev, etc. [Proceedings and Sentences, vol. 1, pp. 75, 121, 139, 237, 397; vol. 2, pp. 56, 74, 76, 285]. The majority of them became Russified and formed a part of the Russian elite. The murzas and serving Tatars who did not want to adopt Christianity started to migrate to Trans-Kama Region, Trans-Volga Region, Urals and Siberia.

Thus, during a century and a half, the state and Orthodox church were consistently implementing the religious policy formed by Tsar Ivan the Terrible and revised by other monarchs, but it did not achieve major success.

§4. Organisation of Administrative and Territorial, and Military Governance of the Kazan Krai

Igor Ermolaev

Creation of governance framework. Following the fall of the Khanate-period Kazan on 2 October 1552 under attacks of the army of Ivan the Terrible, the priority task for the Tsar was to develop a government program and structure of management bodies in the region, create conditions for consolidation of the Tsar reign in Kazan and extend it over the entire territory of the former Khanate.

The remoteness of the Kazan Krai from the centre of country and initial hostility of the

majority of the population against the Muscovite state required creation of a special system of local government, different from the management used in other regions but consistent with traditional principles. The system had to incorporate military features and civilian government, and full authority of the local administration while being free from outdated, even for the centre of Russia, principles of *fief-offices*, which made people unhappy everywhere.

In other words, Russian crown had to solve problems it came across for the first time. The reasons for it were that Kazan was not only a new acquisition of the Tsar but also the centre of economically and politically developed region with a huge cultural heritage, a region that for a long period of time played the leading role in the east and south-east of Eastern Europe, a region with non-Russian population which, furthermore, practiced a religion totally different from Christianity, that is, Islam.

There is no doubt that the structure and form of management were developed by the tsar and his associates prior to the annexation of region in October 1552. First of all, the approved general management structure was headed by two voivodes: one was for military campaigns, which were (at least in the beginning) a matter of course, and the second one was for civil administration. Obviously, the power of these two heads had to be coordinated: one had to obey the other (there should not be any disagreement between them because Moscow was far away, and it was pointless to rely only on Moscow as the management centre). Thus, the local authority of Kazan, in fact, needed to become, to some extent, central for the region. However, it was necessary that the Tsar in Moscow still acted as the decision centre for the main issues to prevent the formation of some kind of appanage principality in the Middle Volga Region.

From 2 October until 11 October 1552 (departure dates), the Tsar and his associates were solving the main set of issues related to the government of the region, this is mentioned in 'Kazan Chronicler' ('Istoriya o Kazanskom carstve'): 'The Tsar and Grand Prince arrived in Kazan, conquered the city...organising and assuring, and setting in order' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, p. 174].

Data from chronicles gives quite detailed description of the activities of Ivan the Terrible in Kazan in those days. Soon after the conquest of the city, he entered the city and stopped 'at the Tsar's', that is, the Khan's court [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 220; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, part 2, p. 531; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 109, 204]. After the ceremonial church service, the Tsar returned 'to his

court outside the city, where he had stayed before' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 220, 221; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 110, 205]. There, in the army camp, a victory feast was organised. On the following day, October 3, Ivan IV wrote letters to Moscow: one, to his wife Anastasia; one, to Metropolitan Makary; and one, to his brother Yury Vasilyevich. At the same time, he sends 'safe (that is, guaranteeing safe entrance—I.E.) Letters patents (zhalovannaja gramota) to yasak paying people in all uluses, inviting them to visit the monarch without any fear'. The Tsar decided to keep the government system in the Kazan Khanate as it was: he demanded only loyalty from yasak paying people, 'and they would pay tributes as they had paid to the Kazan Tsar' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 221; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, part 2, p. 532; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 110, 205]. In response, the 'Arsk people' sent two Cossacks, and, from the 'Meadow Land', 'the Cheremis came to the monarch with a petition'. People sent to Ivan IV were asking 'to give them the granted word of Tsar' (likely, some guarantees). The Tsar received the delegations and then sent his representatives to those districts to conduct negotiations. For instance, gentry Nikita Kazarinov and 'Kamay murza from Kazan' were sent to the 'Arsk people' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, part 2, p. 532; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 110, 205].

Apparently, Ivan IV wanted to govern the new region through Russians but with the help of representatives of the Tatar aristocracy, hoping to subdue and secure the region for Russia by the hands of Tatar murzas and princes. He could not even imagine the inevitable, massive and long-term rebellion of the Kazan Land, which would result in the extinction of all the great representatives of the Tatar aristocracy of the former Kazan Khanate: some would die in bloody battles and others would emigrate to the Crimea and other regions.

In the subsequent management of the Kazan Krai, the Tsar gave a significant ideological importance to the Orthodox Church. On 4 October, as soon as 'the city of Kazan was cleaned

from the many dead bodies', Ivan IV again entered the city and 'with his own Tsar's hands' installed a cross onto the fortress and founded a temple of the Annunciation, and then he led a sacred procession 'across the city walls'. The church of Annunciation was hallowed in the same ceremonial manner on 6 October.

On the same day, October 6, the structure of local government was set: the Tsar 'picked... voivodes that he would leave behind in Kazan'. The boyar Prince A. Gorbaty was assigned the chief ('the senior') voivode for the coming year (he was ordered to 'govern in place of the Tsar') and Prince V. Serebryany was assigned the second chief voivode. The assignment of prince A. Gorbaty was not accidental—he repeatedly participated in Kazan campaigns and was familiar with the area. In addition, the tsar left behind 'many other voivodes and with them...the great noblemen and many gentries, and Streltsy, and Cossacks' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 221]. Two chief voivodes were assigned: one of them, 'the senior', was 'left in place of the Tsar', and many other voivodes were left with them (that is, the Noble Army, Streltsy and cossack troops). Thus, by 6 October, Ivan IV resolved the main issue.

The subsequent days were marked by resolving practical issues related to administration. On 10 October, N. Kazarinov and Kamay murza, who had been sent to Arsk people, returned together with 'many' Arsk people. An official source informs that the tsar graciously received the representatives of 'yasak and Arsk people, 'granted' them, promised 'to impose on them...direct tributes as it was during the reign of Magmedelim Tsar', ordered Prince A. Gorbaty to 'arrange' yasak paying people and 'impose on them tributes and control them' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 221—222; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, part 2, p. 533; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, pp. 110, 205]. On the same day, the same procedure was held with the Meadow people from 'Yak and many other localities' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 222]. As soon as they 'heard the truth from all yasak' [ibid.], the

Tsar decided that it was time to return to Moscow, that is he thought that he had completed his task in the Kazan Krai.

Thus, one can clearly see the main organisational arrangements in the establishment of the local administration in Kazan Krai: 1) solemn celebration of the victory (2–3 October); call on the Arsk and meadow people to adopt Christianity, negotiations with their representatives (definitely, with the upper strata of society); sending (3 October) representatives on sites (to uluses); 2) founding an Orthodox temple in the city, hallowing walls of the fortress and the first church built in the city (4–6 October); organisation of the administrative structure of the Kazan Krai (6 October); 3) receiving the delegations of the Arsk and Meadow people, who expressed their loyalty ('truly...gave') (10–11 October).

The structure of the government bodies was announced on 6 October, and, when leaving Kazan on 11 October, the Tsar 'told to his boyar and voivode Prince Alexander Borisovich [Gorbaty] with associates to govern in line with his tsarist orders' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 516].

It is likely that it was an oral (and probably secret) order, which contained tasks set by the Tsar to the 'senior' voivode A. Gorbaty and the main principles of solving them. It seems that later a part of them would be repeated in the 'nakaznaya pamyat' to Archbishop Gury, the text of which has been preserved to our days. Apparently these tasks and principles were related to the peaceful integration of the region into Russia (using conventional, for the people, forms of management and securing the main privileges for local feudals, on condition that they abandon their Islamic faith) and gradual transformation of the Middle Volga region into a part of 'the great' Russia with the help of the Church as an ideological force.

The same order was probably given by the Tsar to the Sviyazhsk voivode P. Shuysky as well. The Chronicle tells the following: the Tsar 'ordered the boyar and voivode Peter Ivanovich [Shuysky] to rule over the Mountain people and make them pay yasak [tribute] and to guard them; and ordered the Mountain

people to rule in the city of Sviyazhsk; and the Meadow and Arsk people to rule in Kazan; and the Kazan people to hold consultations with the Sviyazhsk people and vice versa, when there were common issues between the Mountain people and Kazan people' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 222, 516–517].

The Tsar thought that the main issues related to the annexation of the Kazan Krai were solved. At least, after his return to Moscow, Ivan IV said the following in his message to the Metropolitan and 'the hallowed' cathedral: 'Across the entire Kazan Region, all district people, the Arsk and Meadow people, made obeisance and promised to pay tributes for a century' [Ibid., pp. 225, 520]. Soon after his return from the Kazan campaign, the Tsar became seriously ill, and people were waiting for his death. However, his strong body overcame the illness, and Ivan IV recovered. While he was ill, the court groups started to struggle for power. This was the beginning of a new stage of political struggle in Russia and later was used by the official powers to strengthen the autocracy.

Organisation of local government authorities. The only possible form of management in the region, not pacified yet by the Russian Tsar, had been formed at the very moment of the conquest of Kazan, and this was a form of military administration through conventional, for Russia, positions of voivodes as military commanders. However, at the beginning, local administration established by Ivan IV in the Middle Volga region had a conventional, for Russia, form of vicegeral authority (at least the first Kazan voivodes were called vicegerents), but virtually this was a military voivode governance. From the very beginning, the arrangement of government in the Volga region did not have the main attribute of authority of the vicegerent, that is, the right for fief-offices and uncontrollable authority.

Later (and very quickly) elements of vicegeral authority, not having properly formed and developed, faded, while voivode management started to acquire characteristics of civilian control, complementing the ordinary functions of military organs. The initial peri-

od is marked by a combination, and even competition, of these tasks (at least it seems that, in the beginning, military tasks were more honorary for a voivode), but quite soon the tasks of civilian control in the voivode organs of the Middle Volga region won and became, at first, predominant, and then, the main ones. The voivode administration, introduced in Kazan Krai as a civilian one, proved, almost for the first time in Russia, its feasibility in the Middle Volga region with its non-Russian indigenous population and later (at the beginning of the 17th century) was spread across the entire Russia.

The former territory of the Kazan Khanate was initially divided into two voivodeships: Kazan and Sviyazhsk. Both voivodeships were independent from each other and were equal in their relations with the central authority. However, since the end of the 16th century, the political weight of Kazan voivodes started growing gradually. Nevertheless, up until the end of the 17th century, Sviyazhsk had never been recognised as a 'suburb of Kazan'. The aim pursued by government in the conquered krai was well defined by the historian of the second half of the 18th century, M. Shcherbatov. He supposed that the tsar 'had split the governance over the newly-conquered nations between his vicegerents in Kazan and Sviyazhsk, and by this split he separated them from a single authority and thus... tried to minimise communication between these nations' [Shcherbatov, 1789, book 5, part 1, pp. 423–424].

In the second half of the 16th century, administrative governance was headed by the 'senior' voivode, who concentrated absolute power over the krai in his hands. He was surrounded by 'junior' voivodes, their number varied depending on the city and the year. Dyaks (a sort of high clerk) were a compulsory figure in the voivode administration of big political centres of the Krai. However, soon (not later than the beginning of the 1580s) the terminology started to change: the titles 'senior' and 'junior' voivodes were replaced by the title 'voivodes with associates', and that, perhaps, showed the beginning of formation of an idea about the collective character of voivode administration forms.

Initially, in the 1850–1860s, there were separate positions of the 'gorodovy' voivodes (sometimes they were called the 'gorodnichy' (governor of a town) or voivodes 'in ostrog' (fort), 'ostrozheny') and 'raid', 'campaign' voivodes (for mobile military campaigns on the territory of the uyezd). This was probably dictated by the restless political position of the krai in the first two-three centuries following its annexation to Russia. Later the division would disappear.

Usually voivodes were assigned in autumn, however, the Tsar's related edict (the so-called distribution of voivodes by cities) was prepared in spring, often in May. However, since the fortresses of Kazan Krai were under martial law, the War of 1552–1557 and the Cheremis rebellions in the 1570s and 1580s forced the authorities to act upon the situation. Razrjadnaja Kniga (Lists of Noble Families) often mention the redeployments of voivodes at that time. One charter by the Tsar, dated 30 November 1581, containing information about one of the redeployments (of voivode B. Saburov from Sviyazhsk to Kazan), has been preserved to our days. It is the oldest known charter on this issue [Additions to the Historical Acts, vol. 1, No. 127, pp. 183–184; Razrjadnaja kniga 1559–1605, pp. 184–185]. It is known as a 'nakaznaya' and thus, to some extent, is not only an appointment order but also a 'nakaznaya pamyat' (instruction for envoys) on governance.

Functions and actions to be taken by voivodes were defined in the nakaz (instructions), initially issued by the tsar, later, by the central organ for the Volga Region Administration ('ponizovye goroda' [downstream cities])—the Kazan Palace Prikaz.

The main direction of Russian policy in the recently annexed krai, the governance pattern and the interrelation of voivode and archbishop authority are unveiled in the 'nakaznaya pamyat' addressed to Archbishop Gury. The nakaznaya pamyat to Gury states the following: 'Voivodes, sons of boyars, newly-baptised people, guests and merchants are to live safe [in Kazan] and follow the monarch's instruction in every matter, listen to voivodes, and voivodes are to guard them without guile in any

activities. Everybody shall listen to the archbishop and follow his spiritual instructions; the voivodes with the archbishop and the archbishop with the voivodes shall consult about state affairs peacefully and without guile. The newly-baptised people shall be continuously taught to fear God, they shall be given food, drink and salary, they shall be guarded, and others, seeing such a piety, protection and salary provided for the newly-baptised, will be jealous of the righteous Christian laws and will be enlightened by the sacred baptising...' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, No. 241/1, p. 259].

Thus this document defines the borders between secular and spiritual authority: voivodes are told to protect service people, newly-baptised people and traders in all their activities, while the archbishop is obliged to 'teach the newly baptised to fear God, make them feel comfortable with you, give them food, drink, salary and protect them'. The obligation of the voivodes to consult 'peacefully and without guile' with the archbishop 'about every state affair' is specifically emphasised [Ibid].

If we speak about duties of Kazan and Sviyazhsk voivodes in the second half of the 16th century, there is no doubt that military issues should be put first. This is explicitly and unequivocally mentioned both in the 'nakaznaya pamyat' (for instance, the aforementioned 'pamyat' to Saburov, dated 1581), and in the cadastral register of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, created in 1565–1568 by scribes N. Borisov and D. Kikin.

The voivodes were responsible for the safety of the city and trading quarters. City (fortress) gates were closed every evening at sunset, and the keys were given to the voivode (sometimes this voivode is referred to as 'gorodnichy'), 'watchmen', guards, were set all around the city. The voivodes had to tour the city every night (the 'senior' voivode had to tour once per night, while 'junior' voivodes 'were touring all night long by rotation'): 'a voivode, together with sons of boyars and watchmen, goes across the trading quarters at the first hour of the night [that is, straight after the sunset]', and throughout the night 'the chiefs and sons of boyars go with the same watchmen, control people at the

watchman posts' [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, pp. 1, 45]. In addition to this, the voivodes had to control the ostrog (posad, trading quarters) gates day and night: 'everyday in the daytime, the boyar and the senior voivode and all other voivodes go across the trading quarters, control people at the watchmen posts' [ibid., p. 45]. In addition, the voivodes also performed the peacekeeping functions inside the trading quarters and city itself ('police' functions) [ibid.].

It can be observed from the documents (especially from piscovaja knigas [cadastrs]) that, besides responsibility for providing military security in the district, besides keeping the order in the city and trading quarters, one of the other duties of the voivodes was to manage the economic life of the city, that is, trade, constructions, etc. [ibid., p. 42].

One of the most important functions of the voivode was 'ispomeshhenie' (to provide service class people with estates), assigned by the central authority, 'gosudarevy prisilnye gramoty' (charters sent by the Monarch) [Spisok, 1877, p. 62]. The Piscovaja kniga for Sviyazhsk uyezd mentions the following: 'In the city of Sviyazhsk, the boyar and voivode Prince Andrey Ivanovich Rostovsky and all voivodes, and dyak Ivan Beznosov assigned estates to sons of boyars, old residents of the city of Sviyazhsk' [Spisok for 1565–67, p. 115]. Moreover, one of the main duties of the voivodes was to make a list of the service people of the uyezd and supervise their service.

The Kazan Krai was a multi-ethnic district and this impacted the organisation of the administration of the district. However, among the official documents of the 16th century addressed to voivodes, there is almost no document that specifically mentions non-Russian population and attitude of local governing bodies to it. So much the more valuable is a charter discovered and published by V.Dimitriev, dated February 1574, that was addressed to P. Bulgakov, the voivode of Kazan, and concerned principles of control over non-Russian (primarily tribute-paying) population of the Krai [Dimitriev, 1963, p. 134]. The charter must have been in force within the entire terri-

tory of the Kazan Krai: Kazan, Sviyazhsk and Cheboksary uyezds.

By this charter the government prohibited the voivode authority to use violence against the local non-Russian population, demand any offerings from them or cause 'red tape' in resolution of issues. The charter even entitled them to send a petition to the Tsar, 'bypassing boyars and voivodes', if the local authorities 'use violence against somebody' [ibid., p. 136]. Such 'care' about non-Russian population will become understandable if we recall that the charter was given straight after the rebellion that shocked the krai in 1571–1574.

One of the important functions of the voivode was the right to hold a court in the uyezd. A charter, dated 1571, which demanded from I. Zagryazsky, the voivode of Kurmysh, to send to Moscow the state duties collected for law cases proves that in the second half of the 16th century, voivodes of lowland cities were already dealing with law cases. The court was held in Moscow (in prikaz) or was handed over to the local voivodes. Litigation proceedings apparently did not have any distinctive features.

All this shows that the voivodes had broad, sometimes almost uncontrollable, power within the governed uyezd. Their actual position was different from that given by their legal rights, though. Formally (according to the law, *nakaznaya pamyat* [instructions]), political power of the voivode was quite limited: everything was determined by tsarist charters and orders. The voivodes did not have the right to do anything without an order of the Tsar.

An important and by no means secondary element in the voivode governance was the dyaks (clerks). They participated in governance together with the voivodes, together controlled the economic life of the city and uyezd, provided estates for rent, collected tributes for the treasury, controlled carpenters and blacksmiths, gave permission to 'mow a meadow' to *godovalshchiki* (one-year men), etc. Just this list of rights and duties, developed on the basis of the *piscovaja kniga* by Borisov and Kikin, reveals the picture of an extensive area and scope of activity of the dyaks.

The difference between responsibilities of the dyaks and the voivodes was apparently that

the voivodes mainly focused on political issues and were responsible for the general governance, while the dyaks focused specifically on economic issues [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 45].

The dyaks were also responsible for the entire document turnover (the voivodes apparently did not touch it and did not bear any responsibility for it; moreover, the voivodes often were illiterate). All documentation was held at dyak's office, or *s"ezzhaya* office (*izba*), and controlled by the dyaks. It is no coincidence that scribes took the meadow allocation books from the dyaks and, after the distribution of empty courtyards, gave the records back to the dyaks: 'The scribes evaluated those empty estates and mansions, recorded them separately into two books and sent those records to Kazan to dyaks Kuzma Fedorov and Omen Vasilyev' [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoi Respubliki, 1932, p. 12].

The voivodes and the dyaks, who were direct representatives of the supreme power in the cities and newly established fortress centres of the Krai, had clerical institutions; the central ones among them were the offices (*s"yezzhaya izba*) with the staff of *podyachy* (assistants to a dyak) and a large number of other subordinate officials. On the pages of the *piscovaja kniga* for the years 1565–1568, we can find references to a wide range of administrative government offices (*'izba'*). Besides the main administration centre, the dyak's office (*izba*), there were many other offices (*izbas*). The following offices could be found in Kazan: '*storozhevaia izba*' at each gate, '*tamozhennaya izbas*' at trading centre and at the 'Tatar court' (near Tatar sloboda), '*izba dvornich'ia*' (court office), where *prikazchiks* of Tatar sloboda were likely seated, '*zeleynaya*' (gunpowder) and '*kazennaya*' (treasury) chambers, '*gosudarevy zhitnitsy*' (granaries of the monarch) where bread and other products for the in-kind part of the salary of service people were stored (there were 10 granaries in Kazan), etc. [Ibid., pp. 3–4, 7–8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 45, 48, 56].

The administrative staff of the voivodes included many officials. The term 'voivodes, dyaks of monarch and all *prikaz* officials' was used when describing local administration [Suvorov,

1863, col. 587]. In general, both voivodes and dyaks were *prikaz* officials as well. They often used this term in formal reports to each other. However, in the narrow and specific sense of the word, *podyachy* should be the first to be referred to the *prikaz* officials. *Podyachy* formed the basis of the administrative staff in voivode governance. They were divided into various governing bodies: office *podyachy*, granary *podyachy*, square *podyachy*, etc. In the middle of the 1560s, there were 5 courts of office *podyachy*, one court of granary *podyachy* and one court of square *podyachy* in Kazan; apparently there were others as well.

Sources often mention interpreters. They apparently dealt with 'non-Russians'. In the *Razrjadnaja kniga* (Lists of Noble Families), they are listed together with noblemen, gentries and *podyachy* [Razrjadnaja kniga 1598–1638, pp. 263–264]. It shows that they were most likely ethnically Russians and spoke languages of the Middle Volga Region people very well. The fact of listing interpreters together with *podyachy* tells us that they were a part of the *prikaz* governance of the 'foreign' krai, which was the Middle Volga region at that time. Apparently some interpreters became quite prominent figures and were entitled '*zhalovannye*' [appointed] interpreters [Spisok for 1565–1567, p. 47].

One-year men (*godovalshhiki*) played a major role in governance. These were princes and gentries, generally non-resident, mainly from the 'upstream cities' [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoi Respubliki, 1932, p. 4]. Their courts were located in the city (Kremlin) showing their privileged position among the *prikaz* officials. They came for a certain period of time (usually for one year, hence the title 'one-year men'). Apparently one-year men were used for performing various functions in line with the orders of the voivodes and the dyaks. It is likely that one of the main functions was to collect *yasak* from the non-Russian part of the population of the krai. Sources show that the central authority often sent specially assigned people to perform such duties. It seems that '*gosudarevy tamozhenniki*' (customs officials of the monarch), that

are often mentioned in *piscovaja knigas*, were one-year men [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, pp. 14, 35, 56, 59]. For instance, the *piscovaja kniga* tells about customs officers of the customs *izba* in Sviyazhsk, that were referred to as 'one-year' or 'gorodovoy' (policeman), and described them as: 'one-year customs officials collect onbarshchina' [Spisok for 1565–67, pp. 36, 49, 50]. Apparently they were sent from Moscow, and their position, just like that of the *voivodes*, was temporary.

The customs officials played a major role in the governance. They collected *obrok* (tribute) from trade, they rented out shops, their data was used by 'senior scribes' (for instance, Borisov and Kikin) when describing Kazan and Sviyazhsk. They kept the customs books (the *piscovaja kniga* of Borisov and Kikin contains a direct reference to the books of customs official Ivan Afanasyev) [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, pp. 56, 59, 67]. In the 1570s—1580s, the duties of non-resident 'one-year men' were increasingly, as it seems, assigned to the local service class people ('kazancy'), first of all, to sons of *boyars*; and the term 'one-year men' gradually differentiated and was replaced by more specific terms such as the 'nedelshhiki' (one-week men), 'vyemshhiki', 'otdelshhiki', etc.

One-time tasks, that had usually been given to gentries, now were given to *otdelshhiki*. For instance, one of the first *otdelshhiki* in Kazan was a gentry Vasily Karavayev, an 'old resident' of Kazan, who had been recording and dividing meadows prior to the arrival of the scribes N. Borisov and D. Kikin, that is, before 1565. The names of the majority of *otdelshhiki* sent to *uyezds* to allocate land for the estate-part of the salary of the service people have been preserved to our days. Under the instruction of *voivodes* and *dyaks*, service people also kept patrol and parcel books, reference and allotment books and participated in cadastral surveys held by the government. Besides the cadastral survey developed by Borisov and Kikin in the 1560s, there is a widely known survey by Ivan Boltin, developed at the beginning of the 17th century (1602/1603). Osip Arkatov and *podyachy* Ivan Turusov, among others, al-

so took part in the development of the survey. Ivan Boltin, the head of the survey, was one of the authority figures of surveying which was very developed in the 16–17th centuries.

One of the important and authoritative *prikaz* services was the '*prikaznichya*' service. At the time when the survey was being developed, there were four *prikazchiks* in Kazan, in the Tatar *sloboda*: Artemy Stroelsky, Ivan Tovarishev, Ivan Golovachev, Mikhaylo Volkov. *Prikazchiks* were also entrusted to govern the court localities, that were widely present in the Kazan Krai. For instance, in Sviyazhsk *uyezd*, *prikazchik* Fyodor Sitsky is mentioned in the locality of Busurmanskaya *sloboda*, and *prikazchik* Kazarin Machehin is mentioned in the court locality of Rozhdestvenskoye. *Prikazchiks* were assigned to many court localities.

The position of *prikazchik* was quite responsible and honourable. People were assigned to this position 'by the charter of the Tsar and order' of *voivodes*. Mainly, *prikazchik* were noblemen.

Tselovalniks (sworn men) were *prikaz* officials, or maybe, partially elected (*zemsky*). The *Piscovaja kniga* of Borisov and Kikin mentions '*tselovalniks tsenovny*' assessing empty courts, *tselovalniks* 'by baths' that 'collect baths taxes and give them to *dyak* for the monarch's treasury'. They were often selected from trading quarter people (names of the Kazan *tselovalniks* are mentioned in the description of the *uyezd*): '*bannik*' (bath-man) Istoma Parfenov, 'trading quarter people—Panya Lobastnikov and his comrades').

Streltsy (harquebusiers) garrison was managed by the head of the *streltsy*, and '*sotskiye*' (captains) subordinated to him. *Sotni* (hundreds) were divided into fifties (*pyatidesyatni*) and *desyatni* (tens), headed by *streltsky pyatidesyatniki* (lieutenants) and *desyatniki* (sergeants). The captains were not only military officials, but also performed tasks of civilian control. For instance, in Sviyazhsk, a '*sotskoy yamskoy*' which apparently was administering in Yamskaya *Sloboda*, was responsible for communication (transport). *Volosts* (districts) inhabited by *yasak*-paying non-Russian population, were also administered by captains (*sotniki*) and sergeants (*desyatniki*). This as-

sumption is proven by the charter dated February 1574, which mentions 'desyatny knyaz' (sergeant prince) Ertoul, the head of Syundyr volost, and Kildishch Yenayev, the head of Ishlei volost. V. Dimitriev thinks that some of the captain and sergeant princes, ethnically Chuvash and Mari people, well known from the chronicles of earlier periods of time (up to the middle of the 16th century), preserved their titles even after the conquest of the Kazan Khanate by Russia, and usually were the heads of volosts ' [Dimitriev, 1963, p. 131].

'Watchmen' were very important for the prikaz administration. They were assigned to each governmental building; in Kazan, for instance, there are several mentions of church, chamber, izba, granary, prison, etc. watchmen. Apparently, 'watchmen' belonged to the lowest categories of service class people and to the top of trading quarter per their social rank. There were also other prikaz duties—road sweepers, carriers, executioners, etc.

Thus, after the Middle Volga Region had been annexed to Russia, the created administration was formed up as per the voivode principle, with several voivodes and dyaks. In major towns (such as Kazan and Sviyazhsk) generally there were at least two voivodes and two dyaks, in smaller towns there could be a lesser number of high officials of the uyezd. Voivodes and dyaks, who were direct representatives of the supreme power in the krai and were assigned in towns and newly-founded fortress centres, controlled activities of the izbas of the prikaz, or of the dyak (also known as prikaz chambers, svetlichnaya chambers), where the podyachy and a large number of other prikaz employees worked. It is necessary to mention that in the 16th century, there were still no clear structural principles of the voivode administration. We have seen many of haphazard arrangements, it is difficult to find any patterns and features. With reference to this period, we find separate institutions, rather than their systems. However, one thing remains undoubted: the bodies of local self-administration of nobles did not develop in the Middle Volga Region, despite the tendencies to their development in the central regions of

the country in the middle of the 16th century. None of the sources allows us to even suppose the presence of guba, zemsky administration in the Middle Volga Region, rarely we find mentions of elected administrative officials.

The created structure of the krai administration also lacked viceregal administrative bodies, with their fief-office principle of administration. It looks like everything points out on a peculiar voivode administration, which had not previously existed in Russia as a whole (on a national scale it would be introduced only 50–60 years later, in the 1610s).

The sources allow us to say that in the latter half of the 16th century, the Kazan Krai witnessed the establishment of the voivode system, formation of the structure and membership of the local self-administration's bodies, definition of their functions and legal norms. Consequently, the creation of the voivode system of administration in Russia was, to some degree, connected to the history of the Kazan Krai in the latter half of the 16th century.

Formation of the Kazan Palace Prikaz, as a central institution for administration in the Volga Region. Formation of the central institution for administration of the Kazan Krai, the Kazan Palace Prikaz, in contrast to the bodies of local self-administration in the krai, still have not been sufficiently reflected in the works of historians. There is no evidence which proves the existence of a special body for the Kazan Krai administration in Moscow in the 1550s and 1560s. We can suppose that at first there was no such body, and that the 'big voivode' (namestnik) of Kazan exercised functions of the central and local administrations.

This idea is implied by the logic of historic development and parallels. In particular, soon after annexation of the Middle Volga and later Lower Volga Regions, as well as Cis-Urals, Western Siberia became a part of Russia. Even though this territory was much further than the Kazan Krai, there was not central body created for its administration. So this region was administered by the Posolsky Prikaz, one of the already existing central bodies, and, subsequently, by the Kazan Palace Prikaz (this fact was first mentioned since 1599). Only in 1637,

when almost all the Siberian territory was annexed to Russia and its administration by the Kazan Palace Prikaz became problematic, a special Siberian Prikaz was created. In other words, even Siberia, a region which required centralisation and specialisation of its administration much more than the Volga Region, for many decades did not have its own central body, and had to settle for a combination of administration by the existing prikazes—the Posolsky Prikaz, and later the Kazan Palace Prikaz. The same situation most likely initially also applied to the Volga Region.

In addition, we should not forget that in the middle of the 16th century, more precisely in the beginning of 1550s, the substitution of old vicegerent administrative bodies had not yet finished (the Zemskaya Reform, which abolished the title of *namestnik*, more precisely, which introduced bodies and principles, severely restricting the authority of *namestniks*, took place only three years after Kazan had been annexed to Russia in 1555). That is why, when Kazan was conquered, the title of *namestnik*, technically had not been abolished, and the *namestnik* had not only the local authority, but also a certain part of the central authority, being a trusted official of the Tsar.

Besides this, the creation of prikaz bodies of central administration was significantly unsystematic and random, and that is why in 16th and even in the 17th centuries there were no unified forms and principles of activity of the prikazes as the central public authorities; they were created with no clear plan, and sometimes without sufficient logic.

The aforementioned allows us to suppose that in the 1550s and 1560s, there was no fully formed central body for the administration of the Volga Region. In this period, the region was on the periphery of Russia, in which a military environment was preserved, that is why the main problems which were solved in the region were also mostly the military ones, the problems of strengthening of the Russian authority and fortification of military bodies. The Razryadny Prikaz dealt with this whole range of problems in the middle of 16th century. It was the Razryadny Prikaz which was the central body linking the Tsar to the Boyar Duma

and lower bodies. This is proven by the evidence that prikaz officials, who dealt with affairs of the Kazan Krai in the 1550s and in the beginning of the 1560s, were assigned to the Razryadnyj and Posolsky Prikazes, as per their duty position [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 54].

Therefore, it looks like, initially, there were no special administration institutions between the voivode administration and the supreme power, there were only individuals who controlled the activity of local administrative bodies. However, soon there was a necessity for the creation of a centralised administration to control all the annexed territory in the Urals and Volga Regions. Such an administrative body had been forming gradually and was finally incorporated in the Kazan Palace Prikaz.

From the middle of the 1560s, we can find the first undisputed evidence proving the existence of the 'Kazan izba'—the prototype of the future Kazan Palace Prikaz. In the ambassadorial books of relations with Lithuania and Poland, it is stated that on August 16, 1565 'prince Ivan [Dmitrievich Belsky] ordered *pristav* Kazarin Tregubov to follow the herald (Lenart) into the Kazan Izba and await' (quoted from: [Likhachev, 1888, p. 76]).

Apparently, the Kazan Izba was created soon after a range of rebellions in the Middle Volga Region in the 1550s. S. Schmidt provides convincing evidence which proves that it was created in the end of the 1550—beginning of the 1560s. (not later than February 1561) [Schmidt, 1957, pp. 265–266]. Starting from the 1560s, there was hardly any information regarding the activities of the Kazan izba, but from the beginning of the 1570s, this central body was constantly mentioned. In 1570 Andrey Shchelkalov was a *dyak* of the Kazan Palace Prikaz (this is proven by the charter to voivodes of Vasil'gorod (later renamed as Vasilsursk) V. Bakhteyarov-Rostovsky and M.Klochkov [Yushkov, 1898, pp. 180–181]), other *dyaks* of this Prikaz were Kirey Gorin and Hoten Shapkin, who were in service in 1572 [Veselovsky, 1975, pp. 125, 537; Ermolaev, 1980, pp. 19–20]. There is no doubt that in 1576–1577 A. Shchelkalov was once again the *dyak* of the Kazan Palace Prikaz: a document from that year (lists (*rospisi*) of the 'Pol-

ish' watchmen) mentioned that 'the watchmen of Olatorsk are obeying dyak Andrey Shchelkalov in the Kazan Palace' [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 1, p. 21]. Andrey Shchelkalov signed a large number of charters from the Tsar, sent to Kazan and Sviyazhsk in 1574–1585 [Ermolaev, 1980, pp. 21–32]. Gryaznoy, Ivashov and Druzhina Petelin were the dyaks of the Kazan Palace, who signed documents sent to Kazan, Sviyazhsk and other towns of the Volga Region in the 1580s [Veselovsky, 1975, pp. 214, 408; Ermolaev, 1980, pp. 26, 29, 34].

Giles Fletcher, who visited Russia in the end of the 1580s, (1568–1589), in his notes 'On the Russian State' called the Kazan Palace a permanently functioning state institution which had the 'Kazan and Astrakhan Tsardoms (Khanates), and other towns lying along the Volga River' under its jurisdiction. Fletcher wrote that this Prikaz was headed by Druzhina Panteleev (he confused this surname with the surname of dyak Petelin) who, according to Fletcher, was a man of 'wonderful' (that is of remarkable) 'intelligence and wits in politics' [Fletcher, 1906, p. 36; Staden, 1925, p. 82].

Constant functioning of the Kazan Palace Prikaz in the 1590s and at the beginning of the 17th century is proven by many documents. At this period of time, we can see several different names for the Prikaz: the Kazan Palace, the Kazan and Meshchera Palace, the Kazan Palace Prikaz. All those names were equal and identified one and the same institution, which existed throughout the 17th century.

At first, the Kazan Palace Prikaz controlled all the territory of the former Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, that is, 'low-lying' lands, which included not only the Middle and Lower Volga Regions, but also the Meshchera towns along the Oka River. Progressively, as new Siberian territories kept being annexed to Russia, the Kazan Palace Prikaz had more and more territories come under its jurisdiction, until finally there were too many to control efficiently. In 1637, the special Siberian Prikaz was created, and it started to control all the Siberian territory, and, subsequently, several towns of the former Astrakhan Khanate were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz and

were handed over to the Posolsky Prikaz. As a result, the Lower and Middle Volga Regions and the Urals (Bashkiria) remained under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz.

On the whole, according to the materials in the *Razriadnaja kniga*, we found the following data on the scope of the duties of the Kazan Palace Prikaz. When a new fortress was founded in the Volga Region, a voivode was assigned to control it, and this fortress was included into the 'Kazan' or 'Astrakhan Tsardom', how, conventionally and traditionally, the Middle and Lower Volga Regions were called in the latter half of the 16–beginning of the 17th centuries. Information about the assignments of voivodes to the following towns refers to the following years: Sviyazhsk—from 1551, Kazan—1552, Cheboksary—1555, Alatyr, Kurmysh, Astrakhan—1565, Tetyushi—1572, Kokshaysk—1574, Laishev, Arsk, Arzamas (Arzamas was rarely mentioned among the towns under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz, generally it was under the jurisdiction of the Novgorod quarter)—1576, Alat—1583, Tsaryovokokshaisk, Tsaryovosanchursk, Kozmodemyansk—1586, Samara and Ufa—1587, Terki (Tersky Gorodok), Tsaritsin (Tsarev townlet), Saratov, Tsivilsk—1590, Urzhum, Yaransk, Yadrin, Kalom—1594, Yaik (actually, Yaik was being mentioned under the jurisdiction of the Prikaz only for two years)—1595, Koysa—1597, Malmyzh and Osa—from 1610 [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 57].

All those towns located in the basin of the Volga and its tributaries below the Nizhny Novgorod were called 'low-lying' lands, and the whole region was called 'the bottom'. S. Platonov noted that 'the bottom' and 'low-lying towns' were, first of all, the towns located on the territory of the Kazan tsardom, conquered in 1552, on both banks of the Middle Volga and on the right bank of the Lower Kama and Vyatka, and, secondly, the towns located along the Lower Volga, starting from Samara, and on the Caspian seaside' [Platonov, 1937, p. 78].

Basically, the Volga area under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz formed completely during the latter half of the 16th century. The number of the towns increased in the 17th

century (Simbirsk, Penza, Saransk, Chyorny Yar, Krasny Yar, Bely Yar, Birsik, etc.), however no changes in the area were witnessed. Consequently, we can say that the area of 'low-lying towns' was formed in the latter half of the 16th century and comprised of the following groups of towns with the neighbouring territories: 1) Sviyazhsk and Kazan with their suburbs (Tetyushi, Laishev, Arsk, Alaty, Malmizh, Osa were mentioned as Kazan's suburbs in the latter half of the 16th century); 2) The Sura-Volga interfluvium (Vasilgorod (Vasilsursk), Cheboksary, Alaty, Kurmysh, Kozmodemyansk, Yadrin, Tsivilsk, later—Simbirsk and Penza) and the Samara Bend (Luka) (Samara); 3) The Meadow Land (—these are territories along the low-lying left bank of the Volga), or the left bank of the Volga (Kokshaysk, Tsaryovokokshaisk, Tsaryovosanchursk, Yaransk); 4) The Cis-Ural Region (Ufa, later—Birsik); 5) The Lower Volga (Astrakhan, Terki, Tsaritsin, Saratov, later—Cherny Yar, Dmitrievsk); 6) 'Meshchera towns' (Shatsk, Temnikov, Kasimov, Kadom, Yelatma, Mokshansk).

The duties of the Kazan Palace Prikaz were special and rather important. It was not a simple regional prikaz as the quarters, it was a peculiar prikaz, serving as a central body which controlled all issues and spheres of life of the Volga Region. According to the characteristics, specified by N. Demidova, 'the Kazan Palace Prikaz regulated the administrative, financial and judicial relations of the territory under its jurisdiction, dealt with natural taxes levied on the non-Russians, controlled composition of the census of such population (*yasachnaya kniga*)' [Soviet Historical Encyclopedia, vol. 11, col. 560]. To this we can add that, it also dealt with military and organisational (classificatory) issues, which were generally dealt with by the Razryadny Prikaz, this was almost the only exclusion in the duties of the Russian prikazes. No other regional prikaz had such varied duties as the Kazan Palace Prikaz. The Prikaz exercised even foreign policy functions. According to Kotoshikhin, it dealt with 'military issues and protected the Turkish and Persian borders, and from the Kalmyks and Bashkirs' [Kotoshikhin, 1906, p. 92], that is, protected Russia from Turkey, Persia and nomads of the

South-Eastern steppes of Europe, who had not yet united with Russia.

In comparison to other central prikazes, the Kazan Palace Prikaz was unique, due to its 'national' peculiarity. The Prikaz was responsible for the territory inhabited by the numerous and varied native non-Russian population, and the main goal of the tsarist government was not only to Russianise and baptise the population, but also to form a unified 'national' policy in Russia. The Kazan Palace Prikaz was special, in comparison to other central bodies of Russia of that period, because it has a broad sphere of duties. From the very beginning it, became a territorial body, whereas most of the other bodies were departmental, and the few existing territorial bodies, as a rule, did not have full authority over the territory under their jurisdiction. The Kazan Palace Prikaz, on the contrary, had full authority in the whole range of administrative issues. Its authority covered not only the territory of the former Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates but also included partly the Nizhegorodsky Krai and Meshchera towns, and up to 1637, the whole Siberian territory.

Therefore, the geographical borders of the Kazan Palace Prikaz were not fixed, but the territories of 'the Kazan Land', 'the Kazan Tsardom' or the Kazan Krai (all those names were equal in 16–17th centuries, and subsequently formed a notion of 'the Middle Volga Region') were always fully under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz.

The very notion of the 'Kazan Krai' arose after the Kazan Khanate was annexed to Russia. However, this term did not become common at once. After annexation of the Middle Volga Region, for a long period there was no concrete name for the former territory of the Kazan Khanate annexed to Russia. It had different names: the 'Kazan Tsardom', the 'Kazan Land', the 'Kazan Areas' or simply 'Kazan' (according to the custom of the 16–17th centuries, regions were often called after the names of their main towns, their centre: Veliky Novgorod, Great Perm, etc.). Soon the term the 'Kazan Land' started to be used more often than the others [Dimitriev, 1963, pp. 135–136].

After Kazan had been conquered in 1552, the contemporaries started to clearly divide

the former territory of the Khanate into several parts. Generally, we distinguish three parts: the Mountain, Meadow and Arsk Sides. However, chronicles specify a fourth part—the Bank Side.

Undoubtedly, Russian scribes called the Hill Land Side (that is hilly right bank of Volga) the territory of the former Kazan Khanate (Taw yağı) located on the right bank—Sviyazhsk and its neighbouring territory, whereas the Meadow Land Side, Arsk and Bank Sides were on the Volga's left bank. It is probable that the Bank Side was the territory along the Volga's bank to the South from Kazan (up to the Kama's mouth), the Meadow Side was the territory to the West and North-West from Kazan (the territory was mostly inhabited by the Mari), and the Arsk Side was the territory along the Kazanka River (to the North-East and East from Kazan) up to the middle Vyatka River.

Simultaneously with this 'spontaneous' distinction of those parts comprising the Kazan Krai there was an official state division of the krai into two uyezds—the Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds, which, initially, but not for long, were called 'sides', but soon were (traditionally for Russia) renamed as 'uyezyds'. Each uyezd had its own voivode administration.

The internal division of the Middle Volga uyezds was not formed at once. Together with such common for the central Russia terms as 'volosts' and 'stans' there were also some others, namely, 'quarters', 'roads'. In one of the early documents (Ivan IV's letter to archbishop Gury dated April 5, 1559) we can notice that the territorial units in one region of the krai were called 'quarters', in another region—'volosts' (the letter mentioned the Arsk and Nogai quarters, as well as the Arsk, Nogai and Nagornaya volosts). Along with the volosts, the term 'stans' was used in several parts of the Middle Volga Regions (but not on its entire territory) (about the terms 'stan' and 'volost', see: [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 61]).

An uyezd in the central part of the former Kazan Khanate, which after annexation to Russia comprised mostly of the territory of Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds, was divided into 'roads'.

Roads as territorial and administrative units probably originated from roads as transport

and geographic notions. The piscovaja kniga of 1565–1568 mentioned the following roads in Kazan uyezd: Tashkabatskaya Bolshaya, Kadyshevskaya, Galitskaya, Kokshagskaya, Shigaleyevskaya, Salmachskaya, Kezemetevskaya [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, pp. 49, 50, 51, 53]. Apart from that, Borisov and Kikin specify the following roads in Sviyazhsk uyezd: Nogai, Iski-Yurt, Chuvash upper, Chuvash middle, Arsk, Alatsk and Atyz. However, soon the most important traffic arteries simultaneously became important from the administrative point of view.

The Piscovaja kniga of 1602–1603 provided a rather formed administrative notion of roads. The piscovaja kniga distinguish the following roads in Kazan uyezd: Arsk, Zyurey, Nogai, Alaty and Galitsk [Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, pp. 39, 66, 116, 153, 160]. These roads were also mentioned in the Piscovaja kniga of the 1560s. But at the same time the term 'road' preserves a transport and geographic meaning. For instance, the same Piscovaja kniga mentioned the Urzhumskaya road, which is clearly not an administrative unit [Ibid., p. 164].

The Kazan Palace Prikaz existed until the first regional reform of Peter I, and ceased to exist after creation of Kazan guberniya [governorate] (1708), which included almost the whole territory under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz.

As a result, the territory of the former Kazan Khanate, annexed to Russia as the 'Kazan Tsardom' or the 'Kazan Land' was almost immediately divided into two uyezds, which (as soon as new political centres were established) were divided into new uyezds. The uyezds for their turn were divided into smaller parts, and 'roads', as well as 'volosts' and 'stans' were the most wide-spread of these. In the latter half of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th centuries, the administrative and territorial division had not been fully completed and unified. However this was the period when basic administrative and territorial notions and units, which continued to develop and form in the 17th century, were formed in the Middle Volga Region.

§5. Formation of Policy for Administrative Control over the Siberian Tatars and Siberia in the End of the 16–17th Centuries

Damir Iskhakov, Zaytuna Tychinskikh

Annexation of large multi-ethnic territories to the Muscovite state in the 16th century required special attention from the government to the aborigine factor. From the perspective of A. Zuev, a well-known Siberian historic, non-Russian policy in Siberia from the end of 16–beginning of the 18th centuries was based on the mixture of collaboration (first of all, with non-Russian military and political elites) and direct violence and administration [Енциклопедия Сибири, 2014].

Moreover, when the method of violence and administration was assigned by local authorities, the supreme power presented itself as the neutral party, choosing the policy of collaboration. Its loyal relation to the conquered Siberian leaders was demonstrated by the reception of the Khan Kuchum's family held in Moscow, who had been captured during the 'conquest of Siberia'. The importance of this action to the Russian governors is proven by the sources which state that, in order to create splendor and solemnity of the ceremony, the Siberian captives were ushered in by beautifully dressed nobles. Great attention was also paid to the decent appearance of the Siberian Tsarinas and Tsareviches, for whom special garments had been sown. It was noted that the Siberian Tsareviches were subsequently granted allotments in the Kasimov Khanate and became the governors of this 'Tsardom', moreover, they got lands in other parts of the Moscow estate.

In order to control indigenous peoples of Western Siberia, the Russian authorities initially preserved the old administrative divisions, including the mechanism of yasak collection. Tribal nobles were exempt from yasak payment, they also preserved their previous privileges. It is commonly known that the territory where the Siberian native peoples—the Ostyaks, Voguls (Khanty, Mansi) lived, was divided into 'oblasts' or 'princdoms', the centres of which were fortified towns and ancient towns, uniting neighbouring settlements. In the 14th

century, there were approximately 60 'princdoms' on the territory of Yugra, which were headed by Princes [Martynova, 1991, p. 129]. The Tatar population had similar formations, called uluses (Karachin Ulus, Kulary Ulus, and others). They united several settlements—the 'yurts'. Uluses were headed by princes or bashlyks (foremen). According to N. Balyuk, the non-Russian administrative units—'uluses', princdoms during Russian colonisation became yasak volosts [Balyuk, 1997, pp. 26–27]. Based on the information from 'The Siberian Chronicles' D. Iskhakov made an assumption that the Tatars in the Siberian Khanate were divided into two categories: those, who lived in uluses, and those, who lived in volosts. He believed that the Tatars living in volosts paid yasak, whereas those, who lived in uluses, were mostly serving Tatars (Tatars of Service class) [Iskhakov, 2002, p. 9].

Several Tatar yasak volosts were mentioned in the period from 1593 to 1594: Kurdak, Sorgach, Otuz, Tav, Urus, Tokuz, Supra, Ayaly [Müller, 1999, p. 352]. In 1595, new volosts became known: Changul, Lugu, Lyuba, Kelema, Turash, Kirpiki, Baraba, as well as Malogorodsk volost [Müller, 1999, pp. 358, 362]. Many of these volosts were mentioned in a Russian document dating back to 1598, as having existed during Kuchum Khan's volost: Kurpitskaya (Kirpitskaya), Turashskaya, Lyubarskaya, Choyskaya, Kuromskaya (Kuroma), Barabinskaya (Boroba bol'shaya), Yalynskaya, Kaurdattskaya, Chatskaya (Chaty) and Kolmakskaya (Kolmaky) [Iskhakov, 2004, p. 81; Historical Acts, vol. 2, pp. 2–4]. Some sources in the very beginning of the 17th century enumerated several other Tatar volosts: Kinyrskaya, Terengulskaya, Bachkurskaya, Tersyatskaya, Ilenskaya, Yapanchinskaya, Kupkozinskaya and Yadrinskaya [Müller, 2000, pp. 184, 194, 198, 209, 221, 274]. The problem is that several of the aforementioned volosts were initially mentioned as towns or separate villages. That is why it is not quite clear which of them were

real volosts. However, it is evident, that a range of them were volosts, usually they were rather big formations with several hundreds of yasak people living there.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the following volosts of the Siberian Tatars became known. According to Turinsky uyezd: Yapanchina, Kurtumova, Ilyasova, Indricheva; according to Tyumen uyezd: Kinyr town, Bachkyr, Tersyatsk, Ilensk town, Shikchin, Kaskarin, Pyshmin and Isetsk; according to Tara uyezd: Sargach, Tebendya, Kotlubakhtina, Ya-Irtish, Otuz, Tav, Tav-Otuz (Kullary), Kourdak, Ayaly; according to Tobolsk uyezd: Yaskolba and Loymytomak, Vachier, Aremzyan, Karbina and Uk, Bi-Turtas, Kul-Turtas, Uvat, Nadtsy, Lobutan, Kalym, Koshuki, Ashla (Laymy), Babasan (on Nerda), Babasan (Otdelnaya), Krechatniki on Ashla, Krechatniki on Vagay (Kapkany), Krechatniki (without indication of location), Inder, Uvat, Supra [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 59]. That was also when a range of native volosts of Tobolsk uyezd were united by the Russian administration. Thus, by 1629, Bi-turtas, Kul-turtas and Uvat had been united into one volost, Yaskolba and Laymy-tomak—into another, Karbina and Uk—into a third one [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 59]. It can be noted that the number of volosts in the beginning of the 18th century greatly increased in comparison to the previous century. This was probably caused by the fact that the earliest documents indicated specifically volosts. However, it is known that the Siberian Tatars lived both in 'volosts' and in 'uluses'.

The colonisation ended mostly with the preservation of the previous territorial divisions of the natives. S. Bakhrushin wrote, that in order to collect yasak in Siberia, the Russians used the same territorial units, which had existed before the annexation. 'It is easy to recognise 'Hagarian vesī' in yasak volosts of Tobolsk and nearby uyezds, which used to be a part of the former Kuchum's Tsardom; and major yasak collectors were those princes and foremen, whose ancestors served Kuchum' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 52]. The volost executed functions of the main fiscal unit. In all likelihood, many of the previous uluses were also

turned into volosts. After Siberia had been annexed to Russia, the state aspired to 'completely cover all the Siberian natives with yasak collection, and sufficiently increase revenues' [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, p. 227].

The state classified the population of the annexed territories firstly as yasak payers, and only secondly as representatives of other faith and ethnic affiliation. The main aim in the early stages of the aborigine policy was to levy yasak, which was not only important financially, as it provided furs, but also politically, being the main symbol of allegiance and acknowledgment of Russian authority. We believe that both those yasak components were of equal importance.

The šert [oath of allegiance] meant that the aborigines had to pay yasak and stay loyal, while the Russian sovereign granted them the right to inhabit and conduct their affairs in the regions of their native residence, moreover he promised to keep 'his tsarist merciful eye on them' and 'firmly safeguard them'. The Russian side interpreted the šert as the acknowledgment by the aborigines of their submission, while the aborigines themselves interpreted it as equivalent to a union or a peace treaty, depending on their military power and relations with the Russian authorities [E`nciklopediya Sibiri, 2014].

Great attention was paid to the system of yasak collection. This issue was extremely important for the Muscovite State, and in this regard, the Siberian voivodes had to follow the instructions provided below: '...and they start sorting the royal Treasure of yasak sable furs and other peltries, and after evaluating prices they put the best sable furs to the best, the worst sable furs to the worst, the medium sable furs to the medium, and silver fox furs to silver fox furs, and red fox furs to red fox furs, and beaver furs to beaver furs, and yarets (1 year-old beaver) furs to yarets furs, and koshlok (younger than 1 year-old beaver) furs to koshlok furs; and they evaluate the furs with the Siberian direct prices, not with expensive ones, so that the State has a profit, in comparison to the Moscow prices, and so that there are no losses; and, having selected and evaluated the furs, they send yasak and voluntary tributes

of peltries to the sovereign—Tsar and Grand Prince Michail Fyodorovich, reigning in Moscow, and they sign the price lists with their own hands and write which volost and who exactly provided the furs, and which year they are being paid for...

And in Tara merchants start to evaluate yasak and voluntary tributes of furs with high prices, and in comparison to the Moscow prices there are losses: and the Sovereign demands to compensate the losses by means of estimators, who evaluated the peltries, and Prince Fyodor and Neupokoy...' [Complete Collection of Laws-1, Vol. 3, p. 571].

During the service of Yuri Suleshev, a voivode from Tobolsk, in the 1620s, a census of yasak people was carried out, which greatly increased the volume of 'soft gold' sent to the Treasury [Complete Collection of Laws-1, Vol. 3, p. 572].

Voivodes Prince Fyodor and Neupokoy, assigned to serve in Tara, were requested to 'collect yasak and voluntary tributes of peltries, without oversights and with great eagerness'. Yasak collectors, sent to yasak volosts, were told to levy yasak from parasites and teenagers who had not previously been among yasak people, but who went to the woods to hunt. It was also stated that if there were any disputes and discontents with scribes, who could impose yasak on youngsters, and old, and cripples, that is, on those who 'were exempt from yasak' and did not hunt, then 'those youngsters and old cripples would be thoroughly examined, and, apart from the examination, would be asked about, whether they could pay yasak or not'. Moreover, those people were examined by voivodes, as 'scribes will be sent from Tobolsk to inspect and examine those yasak people, and the scribes must bring the reports to Tobolsk, and in Tobolsk those voivode and scribe reports will be sent to the Sovereign in Moscow [Complete Collection of Laws-1, Vol. 3, p. 572].

Paucity of Russian military forces in Siberia, large territorial dispersion of military administrative points, constant threats of separation from the centre, which existed during the 17th century—all those factors obliged the government to take measures in order to es-

tablish firm administrative, political and economic connections with 'the far-away Siberian votchina'.

From the end of 16th century, Tobolsk was an element linking the new state fiefdom and the centre, uniting Siberian towns [Konkov, 2001, p. 78]. Central authorities struggled to appoint special trusted officials to the position of the head Siberian voivode. The fact that voivode Yu. Suleshev was appointed voivode in Tobolsk was not a coincidence. Moreover, his Tatar origin was taken into consideration, as it could 'contribute to the solution of the aborigine problems', as well as 'his organisational skills, personal qualities, which the boyar demonstrated during his state service in the previous period...' [Balyuk, 1997, p. 87].

Even in the period of conflict with khan Kuchum, Russian authorities wanted to weaken the Siberian khan, luring his 'best men' to the Russian side: 'and the best men should be dissuaded from Tsar Kuchum, so that they go to the Sovereign to serve...and the Sovereign will grant them high salary' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 118]. Luring of the Tatar military and service class nobility was extremely important to the Muscovite State. That is why local authorities aimed at the fulfillment of the Central Government's directions. Tobolsk Tatars, who had already switched to the Russian service, were engaged to this end. The government created a system of rewards and privileges: '... And those who come from the Tsar, shall be favoured, and given broadcloth, and bread. And those princes who serve the Tatar Sovereign and come to the town to voivodes and pay the yasak and bring various news about Tsar Kuchum and his plans and about the Nogais, must be given drink and food from the Tsar's stores, must be well treated and taken care of, and be allowed to go home without being detained.' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 118].

Formation of the Tatar military and service class responded to the colonisation policy of the Moscow authorities, who, 'in order to advance into the depth of Siberia and levy yasak', used the former liege-men of Khan Kuchum 'providing them with a range of rights and privileges in return' [Bakhrushin, 1955, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 163]. S. Bakhrushin noted that the Tatar

military nobles 'changed sides without serious consequences, substituting one master with the other' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 165]. As a reward, the former Siberian murzas, 'the best people', preserved their favored position of tarkhans and received state payment (in money and bread). The serving Tatars in return obeyed their new suzerain—the sovereign in Moscow. The character of nominally direct submission of the serving Tatars was underlined by the possibility and right to directly address the Tsar via petitions and requests. Generally, the supreme power responded with guaranteed protection.

Of course, initially the relations with the new authorities were not completely warm and smooth. For instance, G. Müller states that in 1595, '50 serving Tatars left Tyumen with their families', and went to the uyezd, lying upstream of the Tobol, having taken another 30 yasak people, living in the district, with them. A troop of Russian and Tatar soldiers headed by Semeyka Vyazmin and serving Tatars Kakshar, Maytmas and Bakhturask was sent to bring back those runaway Tatars. They were assigned to persuade the runaways to come back 'so that they would go to Tyumen and live in their yurt and volost as they used to, and the serving Tatars will serve, and the yasak people will pay yasak as before, and we will pay them their salary in advance...' [Müller, 1941, p. 148]. The troop met those people at the bank of the Iset River, however their persuasions had no effect. The runaways blamed Mitya Tokmaneev, an interpreter, who allegedly said that new voivodes were heading to Siberia and bringing a decree, which ordered to kill 12 of the richest and most distinguished Tatars, send all the rest of the Tatars with their families to Tara, and to make everyone else work the lands. On June 26, 1595, the troops came back to Tyumen with such an explanation. The person who caused this incident, interpreter M. Tokmaneev was severely punished for 'bringing chaos and discord to the serving and yasak Tatars' [Müller, 1941, p. 12, 149]. In 1609, Yanbulat, Tokhtamysh, and Kizylbay—some of the best serving Tatars—were taken into custody. They bore arms—bows and arrows. In 1626, Atkacharko Akhmaneev, a serving Tatar, together with other serving peo-

ple ran away from Tyumen, and soon suddenly attacked Tyumen uyezd and stole horses from the yasak Tatars.

However, as it is stated by S. Bakhrushin, the serving Tatars went to the length of open treason infrequently. The double-natured position of the former liege-men of Khan Kuchum and their descendants reflects the relations between the serving Tatars and Kuchum's Tsareviches throughout the 17th century. On the one hand, they were Kuchum's informers: 'the Tobolsk Tatars send messages to the Tsareviches, and the Tsareviches pay them back with presents' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 174]. On the other hand, they conscientiously informed Russian authorities about plans and activities of the Siberian Tsareviches and 'traitors'. In 1661, serving and parasite Tatars from Tara even offered their services for 'catching' Tsarevich Davlet Giray [Ibid.].

At first, the state did everything to favor the serving Tatars and protect their interests, even from local authorities. In 1598, voivode Efim Buturlin, 'bypassing the sovereign's edict', imposed yasak on the yurt Tatars in the volume of 10 sable furs per person and, additionally, imposed 'unbearable' yasak on the Tobolsk 'gyrfalconists' who had paid yasak with falcons, but afterwards 'betrayed the sovereign and ran'; as a result, the serving Tatars addressed the Tsar via a petition, in which they complained that 'they had no votchina [patrimony] and they did not hunt for sable' and previously 'no yasak was imposed on them'. The Tsar exempt the yurt Tatars from the yasak, and ordered the new voivodes to investigate Efim Buturlin's illegal deeds and 'to disfavour Efim for those deeds'. An ordinance from Moscow ordered voivodes 'to favor and take care of...' the yurt Tatars, in order to '...let them live with the sovereign's salary without any disturbance and let them fill in their yurts' [Bakhrushin, 1955, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 167]. The same policy continued until the end of 17th century. 'The personal edict' of Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich dated January 21, 1696, prescribed: 'if an investigation found that the yasak people drifted away to foreign lands and betrayed, due to the voivodes' assaults, and if for those voivodes guilt was

proven by evidence—they would be executed' [Ogloblin, 1900, p. 314].

Special attention was paid by the authorities to prevent possible armed conflicts, and various precautionary measures were taken. For example, in August 1596, voivode G. Dolgoruky from Tyumen received a special charter, which stipulated the order of trading for the Bukharans and Nogais in Tyumen: '...and we decided that they should trade outside the town in the trading quarters or beyond the quarters... And they should be kept an eye on, and heavily protected, so that they do not sell prohibited goods: armors, coats of mail, sabers and knives with axes to the yurt and yasak Tatars... they should be supervised...except for trading, no talks are allowed...' [Ogloblin, 1900, p. 220]. A similar charter was sent to the newly rebuilt Tara in 1596. The charter prescribed 'not to charge any duty from the Bukharans and Nogais trading people who come to Tara (with horses and different goods), but they must be observed, so that they do not study any fortresses and people and do not loiter about, and the Russian residents must not have any talks with the Tatars, except for trading purposes, and must not know about Siberian hardships' [Ibid.].

Denunciation played an important role in disclosing plots similar to the events of 1609. In 1609, Baigar Kenzin, a yasak Tatar of the Turinsky ostrog [stockaded town], lodged accusations to voivode from Tyumen Matvey Godunov against a serving Tatar Bekmametka Kazankin and a yasak Tatar of the Turinsky ostrog Yangurcha, and reported that 'this Tatar Bekmametka Kazankin came to Yangurcha with comrades and asked whether he had horses and saigas, whether he prepared sabers, as those from Tyumen had prepared everything and were planning to betray the sovereign...' [Müller, 1941, p. 209].

Throughout 17th century, the serving Tatars were often used to suppress demonstrations among the yasak and serving population. The Siberian military and serving elite, which started to obey its new master not only faithfully and loyally executed its duties, but also took active part in 'prevention of wobbling and treason' by means of both diplomatic negotiations and military force.

During a long period (from the end of the 16th to the end of the 17th centuries) the Siberian volosts were constantly threatened by raids of Kalmucks, who robbed Russian and Tatar settlements, and took captives. The highest decrees from Moscow ordered voivodes from Tobolsk, Tyumen, and Tarsk to execute armed resistance against the Kalmyks and keep them at a known distance from the Russian border [Müller, 1941, p. 30]. For this purpose, the voivodes organised an army comprised of Cossacks and Tatars (both serving and yasak), as well as the Russian volunteers. In spring of 1607, this united army inflicted significant damage to the Kalmyks, although, according to G. Müller, 'this damage was not enough to make them leave the territories closest to the Russians' [Müller, 1941, p. 30]. In the first half of 17th century, a most strained situation developed in the Kalmuck uluses. According to G. Müller, due to the disturbances in the Muscovite state of that period, such a large number of external enemies could have easily led to a united Siberian rebellion, if timely measures had not been taken [Müller, 1941, p. 32].

In the first half of the 17th century, a system of tollgates and prisons was organised in Tobolsk and Tara uyezds for fending off the Kalmyk raids. The Kalmucks, as we have learned before, frequently united with Kuchum's sons, later grandchildren, and made raids upon Tobolsk and Tyumen volosts. They directed their forces mostly towards the Irtish and Tobol Rivers. Special detachments comprised of Cossacks and serving Tatars were to provide protection from the Kalmyks and Kuchum's descendants. In approximately 1631, the Russians built several ostrogs to protect themselves from the Kalmyks and Kuchum's descendants, namely the following: in the Tarsk uyezd—Kaurdatsky, Tebendinsky, Ishimsky; in Tobolsk uyezd—Vagaysky and Tarkhansky. The Tarkhansky ostrog 'was a fortified place of the Siberian Tatars and was called Tarkhan-kala' [Gubernskie Vedomosti of Tobolsk, 1859, p. 4]. In 1624, in the place of an ancient Tatar fortress Chubar-tura, the Russians built the Chubar sloboda. The Cossacks were sent from Tobolsk to those ostrogs for temporary service. Major groups of such Cossacks were sent from

Tobolsk to Tara, which was in the most dangerous position, in comparison to other Siberian towns in the first decade of 17th century. For example, in 1632, 100 people, headed by nobleman Ivan Shulgin, were sent from Tobolsk to Tara: 40 Lithuanians and Cossack horsemen, as well as 60 yurt and serving Tatars. Later there were sent another 50 men: 20 streltsy (harquebusiers) and dismounted Cossacks and 30 yurt and serving Tatars. In 1661, a detachment comprised of 40 Cossacks of the Lithuanian List, newly-baptised, horse Cossacks and Tatars was sent to the Atbash ostrog for one-year service [Puzanov, 2005, p. 109]. And in 1669, another 40 service class people from Tobolsk—28 Lithuanians, Cossacks and newly-baptised and 12 serving Tatars were also sent there for one-year service. Annually 10 streltsy [harquebusiers] and dismounted Cossacks, together with 10 Cossacks horsemen were sent to Chubar sloboda from Tyumen [Puzanov, 2005, p. 111].

To sum up, researchers distinguish three regions of the Western Siberia, where new soldiers were sent to for one-year service. The first region is located in a triangle of three Russian fortresses: Tomsk-Kuznetsk-Krasnoyarsk, which suffered from raids of the Yenisei Kyrgyz troops, supported by the Mongols and Oirats, throughout the 17th century. Secondly, it was Tarsk uyezd, where the Russians fought against the Oirats and Kuchum's descendants. Thirdly, it was South-Western Siberia—Verkhoturinsk, Turinsk, Tyumen, and Tobolsk uyezds—where the Russians clashed with the Oirats and Kuchum's descendants, and later with the Bashkirs and Voguls [Puzanov, 2005, p. 116].

Apparently, the fact that, in comparison to the Kazan Khanate, there were no active measures taken to baptise the Siberian Tatars, including the military and service class nobility, is explained by diplomatic estimates and political foresight of the Moscow authorities. The overall strategy of the Muscovite state religious policy, in relation to the Siberian non-Russians, throughout the 17th century can be described by the decree of Tsars Ioann and Peter Alekseyevich, sent to Tobolsk voivode P. Prozorovsky, as well as by the charter ad-

ressed to Metropolitan Paul dated April 5, 1685. The aforementioned documents stated the following: 'As Siberia is a far-away land and located among many unorthodox believers, and so we should not make the Tobolsk Tatars and Bukharans and other foreigners furious...' [Andrievich, 1889, pp. 331–333]. It seems that the Siberian serving Tatars remained Muslims, thanks to this idea.

The highest charters of Tobolsk Metropolitans prescribed 'not to baptise any non-Russians against their will'. However, these directions were often not followed. In this regard, the Tobolsk Tatars and Bukharans filed numerous complaints about local religious authorities, who struggled to increase their flock by all means. In response to these complaints, the sovereigns ordered voivodes to supervise the issue, 'so that foreigners are not converted to the Eastern Orthodoxy'.

Active Christianisation antagonists were represented by the serving Tatars headed by Avazbakei Kulmametev. In 1686, Avazbakei Kulmametev with comrades, the serving, yasak and sponging Tatars and Bukharans, prepared a petition, and as a result, the Moscow authorities sent an order, according to which those willing to be baptised first of all prepared petitions to the prikaz, secondly their petitions were reviewed by the voivodes, who in their turn sent requests to the Metropolitan for execution of future baptising. The Metropolitan was forbidden to accept those requests unilaterally, and 'having not received requests from the prikaz could not baptise those people' [Andrievich, 1889, pp. 331–333]. This measure was caused by the fact that Tobolsk Metropolitan baptised those people who, having committed a crime, were running away from their brothers in faith in order to be converted and avoid prosecution.

The instructions to a Tobolsk voivode dated 1697 once again underlined the impossibility of baptising by coercion: 'no one must be compulsorily baptised'.

In the beginning of 18th century, a new stage of colonisation in Siberia commenced, and A. Golovnev called it 'the epoch of Philotheus Leschinsky' or the epoch of the confessional seizure [Golovnev, 1995, p. 90]. The first

quarter of 18th century marked the beginning of active and mass policy of Christianisation in Siberia. This policy was mostly explained by domestic policy of Peter I, who 'set a practical task: the religion should influence believers in order to strengthen the autocracy' [Ogryzko, 1941, p. 27]. In 1706, Peter ordered Metropolitan Philotheus Leschinsky to visit the Ostyaks and Voguls with 'evangelical preaching' in order to 'burn and exterminate all idols and cults whenever they are found, and build churches and chapels in their place, and place icons there'. It was also ordered to 'baptise everyone, young and old'. As a result of the missionary activity of P. Leschinsky and his followers and supporters, a major part of the Ostyaks and Voguls living in the Beryozovsk Krai were baptised by the 1740–1770s [Ogryzko, 1941, p. 48]. The decree of 1714 prescribed to baptise not only the Voguls, Ostyaks and Yakuts, but also the Tatars [Shcheglov, 1883]. Under Tobolsk and Siberia Metropolitan Philotheus Leschinsky, the Turinsk Tatars were baptised in 1718–1720, and the Ob and Chulym Tatars in 1720. According to the data provided by F. Valeev, in 10 years (from 1749 to 1758) 2,500 people, male and female, were baptised in Tobolsk uyezd [Valeev, 1993, pp. 173–174].

The serving Tatars actively stood up against forcible baptising. In 1724, P. Leschinsky wrote to the Synod that the Tatars 'ride to the newly-baptised and confuse them, and tell them to burn churches, attack priests and clerks to death, throw away crosses in the name of their leader Sabanak' [Ogryzko, 1941, p. 68]. Metropolitan Sylvester Glovatsky, another zealous Orthodox baptiser, wrote to the Synod that, when in 1753 a bond-maid of a Tatar named Musa Mametnarov wanted to be baptised together with her infant, Musa 'inhumanly tortured her and assaulted and burnt with fire' in order to prevent her from being baptised. According to the Metropolitan, another Medyansk yurt Tatar Kutumov, carried out the same assaults because 'Grigory Elbaev wanted to be baptised' [Lotfullin, Islaev, 1998, p. 120]. V. Klyueva provides information which proves preservation of petitions from a newly baptised Paul Krupenin 'with comrades' (16 men), who became orthodox Christians in 1755, accusing Tatar head Sabanakov and

Bukhara foreman Alimov and addressed to Metropolitan Paul '...We, the humblest, accepted the Eastern Orthodox Faith. Whereas, having accepted holy baptising, we suffered from an immoderate yasak imposed by schemes and extortions of Tatar head Azbakey Sabanakov and Bukhara foreman Mulla Alimov. Namely 2 rubles a year. Which they demand from us with considerable strictness,...threaten to keep us under detention...' [Tyumen guberniya Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 156, inv. 2, file 265, p. 3–3 reverse; Klyueva, 2002, pp. 186–188]. The same petition states the following: 'Herewith, Sabanakov and Alimov say words abusing Christianity, say that even though we have been baptised, we have not escaped their authority, and that they can do whatever they want with us, the newly-baptised, and they will continue to do so in future' [Tyumen guberniya Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 156, inv. 2, file 265, pp. 3–3 reverse].

All in all, the Muslim Tatars in Siberia actively fought against forcible baptising. At the same time, we cannot but note that the 'confessional seizure' stage in relation to the Siberian Tatars on the whole, and the serving Tatars in particular, was much milder than in relation to the Volga serving Tatars, and less successful than in relation to heathen peoples of Siberia. It is known that this period was also marked by an active Christianisation campaign aimed at the serving Tatars in the former Kazan and Kasimov Khanates. The policy of forcible Christianisation in the Volga Region was aimed at elimination of non-Russian serving land owners, the major social power of the Tatar serving nobility [Stepanov, 1964, p. 55]. Such 'mildness', in relation to the Siberian Tatar service class was, in our opinion, explained by a range of reasons, first of all by the fact that there were no pre-Russian serving land owners, feudal property owners in Siberia who could become a real social power. Other factors were the following: relatively few serving Tatars, the need to provide social and military support by the Tatar nobility, significant remoteness of the huge Siberian votchina [patrimony] from the centre, constant threats of its separation, necessity of having Tatar horsemen in fighting

against the 'Bashkirs and Kirgiz-Kaisak', even in the 18th century.

The Russian colonisation also became an important socio-political factor, determining future economic development of the Siberian peoples. New relations gradually came in to replace of the old system, even though initially they repeated previous traditions. The Muscovite state, being agricultural and trying to implement agriculture in the annexed territories, played a significant role in the transformation of the economic and cultural appearance of the Siberian peoples. The most significant changes occurred with the feudal highest class of the former Siberian Khanate. The feudal class of the Siberian State lost its leading position, and the military and the service class nobility, relatively inconsiderable in number, was modified into the serving strata. Some significant changes took place in the economic set-up of the serving Tatars.

In the period of the Tyumen and Siberian Khanates, the military and service class nobility of the Siberian Khanate and their people of the Ulus were semi-nomadic, and this fact, in many ways explained instability of internal relations in the Siberian yurt. While in other Tatar States (especially in the Kazan Khanate) the social power of the feudal nobility was based on land ownership and military service to the Khan, connected with it, this 'land ownership' in the Siberian yurt was rather an ownership of hunting lands, and execution of raids in order to collect tribute from neighbouring tribes.

Therefore, the Siberian Tatar land ownership was based on a certain synthesis of semi-settled cattle breeding, hunting and agriculture, not on a fully settled agricultural economy. We believe that, in many ways, this was the reason for the problems with land securing and usage, which the Siberian Tatar nobility faced after the Russians had arrived in Siberia.

The situation of the Siberian Tatar elites during colonisation of the Siberian Khanate differed from the one in the Volga Region. The former Tatar nobility remained in the highest strata of the native society, however, as it was accurately noted by S. Bakhrushin, 'their ties with the former uluses, which they used to

head, were cut' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 163]. For example, Kelkamen, one of the founders of the Kulmametevs, a well-known family of the serving Tatars, started to serve the Russians 'having left his lands and stock farms' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 329, inv. 13, file 7, p. 98]. Another document specified that '1,333 old tax-exempt residents, the Cossacks and peasants, ran away', and their lands, where 9 Russian ostrogs and slobodas were built, 'used to belong to the Siberian ulus people of Tsar Kuchum, and even after Tsar Kuchum and Siberia had been invaded, those lands always belonged to the serving and yasak Tatars from Tobolsk and Tyumen, where they hunted...' [Pamyatniki Sibirskoj istorii, 1882, pp. 79–80].

Several lands of the Tatar owners were handed over to new owners by means of loan liabilities. For example, Bekmamet Kajdaulov, a Tobolsk serving Tatar, pledged his land 'located by the Iset River with fields and meadows, with piscaries and other areas along the Beshkil River...' to Veliky Ustyug Metropolitan of Arkhangelsk episcopate Pakhom for thirty rubles [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 199, file 481, part 6, p. 57]. Peasants were settled on the lands, bought by the monastery.

As a reward, the former Siberian murzas, 'the best people', preserved their favored position of tarkhans and received state payment (in money and bread). In return, they served to their new suzerain—the sovereign in Moscow.

The issue of legal confirmation of lands and allotments became important after the Siberian conquest. Previously this issue was not so pressing in Siberia, as the area was sparsely populated—according to P. Butsin'sky, the number of yasak people in the beginning of 17th century '...did not exceed 4,000 people in seven uyezds' [Butsin'sky, 1999, pp. 25–26], and there was no shortage of lands. The conclusion of N. Khalikov, who said that 'implementation of agricultural economy, after the Russians had arrived in Siberia, can be also interpreted as a least-evil solution, accompanying the growth of population and its density and the decrease of cattle farms, hunting and fishing areas', is rightful [Khalikov, 2002, p. 63].

With the increased population and establishment of agriculture, as a leading economic activity of the Tatars in the Irtysh River area, the problem of legal confirmation of lands needed solving. That is why we can say that the establishment of the serving Tatar (and non-Russian) land ownership, occurred simultaneously with the formation of the system of serving land owners in Siberia, as a whole.

At first the government did not regulate the land ownership of the serving people, even though from the very beginning the state policy was aimed at 'attraction of the serving people to the plough, so that they can cultivate the land and less bread will be sent from Rus' [Istoriya kazachestva, 1995, p. 179]. Starting from the end of 16th century, the tsarist decrees prescribed to allocate plots of land for arable farming to the Cossacks and Streltsy, who had come to stay. The government followed the same policy of agricultural expansion with the non-Russian population. For instance, when it became known that the Tatars near Tyumen and in Tabary along The Tavda River were cultivating land, in 1599, Boris Godunov assigned the Tagil yurts to plow, in order to collect bread 'for the granary', instead of paying yasak. However the Tatars 'did not like to plough the land'. After the second request, the Tabarinsky Tatars were released from land cultivation and started to pay yasak, some of the Tyumen Tatars ran away to the Isetskaya steppe to avoid this new obligation [Slovtsov, 1838, pp. 2–21].

It is natural that lands and allotments for the newly-returned Russian Cossacks were allocated from the lands, which used to belong to the Tatars. Despite the fact that several researchers have noted that the Cossacks, who settled in Siberia as per 'the order' or 'selection', received only 'unfertile' land, that is, the land 'with which the Tatars could not efficiently work' [Andronikov, 1911, p. 3], and the fact that 'while allocating land for the Russian population for meadows and cultivation, local authorities tried, where possible, not to interfere with the Tatar land interests' [Bakieva, 2000, pp. 21–22], there were numerous arguments on the topic of determination of land borders, self-willed seizures of allotments, etc. V. Shunkov noted, that even though in the beginning

of 17th century Russian slobodas and villages were bordered by huge yasak territories, already in the end of 17th century 'yasak volosts were surrounded by Russian slobodas' [Shunkov, 1946, p. 6]. N. Tomilov remarked that during this period, the Russians were seizing the land. Along the Tobol River they hunted in the Tatar hunting areas, gathered hops, removed hawk nests, moreover, wealthy sloboda dwellers forced the Tatars to leave their fields, took their hay, broke yurt doors. In connection with this, the tsarist authorities frequently specified that '...it is not allowed to lend or sell any lands, meadows or allotments to monasteries, as well as to the Russian serving or any other people, Tatars and Ostyaks' [Tomilov, 1981, p. 35]. There were several cases when, as a result of court proceedings, the Tyumen and Tobolsk Tatars, as well as the Bukharans got their lands back, which had previously been taken by the Russians. It was forbidden to sell or rent any land from the Tatar population up to the end of the 19th century. Still the process of land redistribution among the Tatars and Russians continued to develop. The Tatars were losing their allotments near towns more often than in remote places. N. Balyuk indicates one peculiarity of the land settlement process—the fact that the Russians preferred to dwell in locations, in which the Tatars had previously lived long and densely. For instance, the Russian village of Karachinskaya was situated near Karachin townlet, a place where the ulus of Kuchum's advisor used to be. Russian villages were founded near Buydalinsk, Medyansk, Tobolturinsk, and Turbinsk yurts—Medyanskaya, Turbinskaya, Buydalinskaya, etc. In the end of 16th century, Russian settlers erected Begishevo pogost (churchyard) near Prince Begish's townlet. Similar examples can be provided for townlets of Princes Abalak and Aremzyan, where other Russian villages were later founded [Balyuk, 1997, p. 42].

The Tatars filed numerous petitions, in which they described different oppressions. The Tatars repeatedly directly addressed to the supreme power, in order to protect their land rights. As a result, in the beginning of 18th century, 'the Highest charters of Grand Princes, Tsars and Sovereigns...' prescribed

'the Tobolsk serving Tatars living upstream and downstream the Irtysh and Tobol to own their lands with allotments, and the Russians should not enter these lands and allotments, should not offend the Tatars; and those living in Tobolsk, at the foot of the mountain, in the lower trading quarters, among the Russians, should continue to live in these places, so that they would not suffer from unwanted losses because of resettlement' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 329, inv. 13, file 7, p. 103 reverse]. According to the legal code of 1697, 'the murzas and Tatars should not devastate their manors, should not leave for other towns and villages and dwellings, but should live in their manors and lands, and every murza and Tatar should own his own manor, which he had been allocated' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 329, inv. 13, file 24, p. 2]. The governmental decree of 1708 specified that 'if anyone owned lands of a non-Russian as per any charter or decree, or deed or record, those lands would be returned to the previous owner' [Ibid.].

Therefore, the government technically protected land rights of the non-Russian serving and yasak population. These measures were taken in order not to 'force away the yasak people from the state salary and therefore not to offend them', so that 'they could not escape state service and not go off to join rebellions actions' [Andronikov, 1911, pp. 39, 56].

According to the governmental decrees, all lands beyond the Urals belonged to the state. Both the Russian peasants and Siberian non-Russian dwellers were considered to be 'arrivals' in the state-owned lands. Moreover, the governmental property was not nominal. The supreme power not only declared that the 'service class people served on the lands of the Muscovite state and in Siberia, and peasants plough desyatina ploughlands and pay obrok [levies], and nobody owned lands idly' (Edict dated June 20, 1701), but also exercised rights of the owner. The service class people owned lands on condition of service with simultaneous deprivation of all or a part of bread payments [Istoriya kazachestva, 1995, p. 182].

Both the serving Tatars and the Russian service class had to serve in order to own lands. Many documents, establishing land rights, underlined the conditional character of land ownership. For example, it was stated that 'dachas were granted to ancestors... to the serving Tatars from the Treasury instead of bread payments and fodder' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 329, inv. 13, file 7, p. 279 reverse]. The state allotted 'lands and allotments' to the serving Tatars, but stipulated that the ownership was possible on condition of their service. I. Andronikov notes that 'all liabilities of the conquered towards Moscow the conquerer... involved their 'service': it could be land cultivation for the tsarist granaries, it could be yasak payment with furs or money, or, in the end, it could be actual service in the tsarist army' [Andronikov, 1911, pp. 2–3].

The first plans on the Siberian lands were proposed by the state bodies in the end of the 16–beginning of the 17th centuries. Land borders were derived by the creation of cadasters and census books, extracts from which were issued by the scribes personally. During all disputes from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, those extracts served as the proof of land ownership for the Tatars. Land borders were specified in the notes by means of natural landmarks: lakes, moors, forest outliers, etc. Up to the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries, the government agreed to review the Tatar land 'grants' as documents, securing the rights of owners to live peacefully and steadily on their lands, which they had inhabited technically under the common law, but had not been protected from external claims by the formal law. These 'grants' were also given for 'overgrown', unoccupied lands. From the 18–beginning of the 19th centuries, the government gave the Tatars a right to make free use of the occupied lands. The Tatar lands were their 'estates', which they had been owning for many decades. The only restriction was that the Tatars could not sell their land to the Russians. However, the Tatars could buy, sell and loan lands among themselves without any hindrances from the government, and those deals

were almost completely unhampered, on condition that the ownership right was reflected in the 'grants' [Andronikov, 1911, p. 58]. The decree of the Siberian Guberniya Chancellery dated July 26, 1732 prescribed the following: 'henceforth, the Tatars and other non-Russian peoples living and hunting on their land must not sell these lands to the Russians' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 329, inv. 13, file 24, p. 2].

At the end of 16–beginning of the 17th centuries, there were no officially fixed norms of land granting to the serving people, that is why the size of the plots varied significantly. In the first half of 1620, it varied from 0.75 to 121 desyatinas per one household in the West of Siberia [Istoriya kazachestva, 1995, p. 180]. N. Balyuk provides information in support of the fact that, on average, each household of the serving Russians had 15.7 desyatinas of arable lands [Balyuk, 2002, p. 15].

In the beginning of 17th century, as per the reforms of Tobolsk voivode Yu. Suleshev (1623–1625), the government commenced to significantly control land ownership of the serving people. As a rule, plots started to be granted to the serving people in proportions, corresponding to their bread payments. The official norms of land allocation continued to decrease in the future. For example, in 1696, it was stipulated that 'the serving people in Siberian towns should receive land for bread payments' as per the following scheme—up to 10 dessiatinas of arable lands in one field (30 dessiatinas in three fields) and 600 shocks of meadows (approximately 30 dessiatinas) per noble and son of boyars; up to 6.5 dessiatinas in fields and 200 shocks of meadows per the horseman Cossack. Starting from 1732, in accordance with the decree of the Siberian Guberniya Chancellery the horsemen Cossacks commenced to receive 5 desyatinas of arable lands, even though in practice, these norms were often neglected [Istoriya kazachestva, 1995, p. 180].

As far as the serving Tatars are concerned, 'The Patrol Book of Tara' (first quarter of the 17th century) allows us to estimate the dimensions of plots allocated to the serving Tatars in 17th century [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 214, inv. 1, file 1182, p. 284 reverse,

352 reverse]. The dimensions of ploughed areas, cultivated by the serving Tatars, were insufficient. On the whole, they did not exceed 6 dessiatinas (per 2 dessiatinas in three fields). On average, the ploughed area of a serving Tatar household was approximately 3 desyatinas. Every Tarsk serving Tatar served 'from the plough' and received only money payments. We can also notice that the Russian Cossacks repeatedly seized the lands of the Tatars. The serving people sent petitions to the Tsar with complaints about such offenses. For instance, 'the serving Tatars Talayko Kuchukov, Koplandeyka Cheregeev with comrades... filed a petition, in which they wrote that for many years they had been owning lands, both arable and non-arable, which they had inherited from their grandfathers and fathers and which were located near the Velikaya Kyrtish River and bordered the land of Mitka Kosarev, a Cossack, near the moor...And this year, as per the petition of a retired Tarsk Cossack called Anichka Kuznetsov, this aforementioned Tatar's land was given to him without any investigation...' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 214, inv. 1, file 1182, p. 349 reverse]. The Tatars often referred to the evidence of fellow commune residents, who confirmed that the land had been owned 'from the ancient times', which was a guarantee of their future ownership of the land. This case was the same. As a result, 'as per the tsarist decree...it was ordered that the serving Tatars Talayka Kuchukov and Koplandeyka Cheregeev would own both arable and non-arable lands with comrades as they used to' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 214, inv. 1, file 1182, pp. 349–350 reverse].

The ploughland areas of the Tomsk serving Tatars were also small. At the 17–beginning of the 18th centuries the dimensions of the ploughland, cultivated by the Tomsk serving Tatars of the Malaya Baykulsкая volost, who lived upstream the Tom' and Chernaya Rivers, at average barely exceeded one desyatina per one household [Malinovsky, Tomilov, 1999, pp. 449–456]. The Tomsk serving Tatars indicated that they owned their lands 'without deeds' and did not have to pay money or bread tributes to the Treasury.

An example of the Tatar yurts Turbinskikh from Tobolsk uyezd taken from the 'Census books' of the son of boyars F. Bovykin, dated 1672, allow us to review the dimensions of arable lands in the 17th century owned by the Tobolsk serving Tatars. One household owned at average up to 5 desyatinas of land, 4.5 out of which were arable. Average dimensions of the cultivated land, which belonged to the parasite Tatars of the yurt Turbinskikh made up approximately 3 dessiatinas. Apart from that, the parasite and serving Tatars mutually owned over 30 desyatinas of land near the yurts Turbinskikh, which they owned 'without deeds', as well as numerous meadows, which were also used cooperatively [Andronikov, 1911, pp. 7–10].

In 17th century, the economy of the Siberian Tatars underwent fundamental changes. These changes were in the first place linked to the Russian colonisation of Siberia and to the

state orientation, which considered the economy of the South of Siberia to be agricultural. Despite the fact that the Tatars had agriculture in the pre-Russian period, it did not play a significant role in the economic complex of the Siberian Tatars, even in the Southern fertile lands. The Tatar economy of the 17th century continued to stay mixed, but 'land cultivation started to be more stable in the economy of the non-Russian Siberian population' [Andronikov, 1911, pp. 7–10]. The system of non-Russian land ownership started to form in the 17th century, and the state became the supreme owner of the land, giving it to the Tatars either 'for service', or 'for yasak payments'.

All in all, from the end of 16th century, the government began to form its state policy, aimed at political, administrative, economic integration of the newly annexed Siberian territories and the Siberian Tatars, to the Muscovite State.

CHAPTER 2

Economic, Social and Ethno-territorial Structure of the Tatar Community and its Evolution

§1. Ethno-territorial and Ethno-cultural Groups of Tatars and Their Interaction

Damir Iskhakov

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Starting from the latter half of 16th century, when socio-political bases of the Tatar Khanates (Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian, Kasimov) were destroyed during Russian colonisation of the Volga Region and, subsequently, of the West of Siberia, and the Nogai Horde entered into a protracted crisis and de-consolidation, we saw the emergence of pre-conditions for mass migration of the Turkic-Tatar population of these countries and the ethno-cultural interaction and mixture of these ethnic groups. These processes were more intense in the Volga-Urals Region, where in the latter half of 17th century, due to gradual transformation of the Volga Tatar peoples living in the Khanates, a new ethnos of the Volga-Urals Tatars region started forming, as a result of the consolidation of the Kazan, Astrakhan, Kasimov, Meshchera and other ethnically close Tatars of the North-West Cis-Urals. The Siberian Tatars found themselves beyond the scope of this ethno-cultural interaction, which was especially intensive in the Modern Age, as their ethnic rapprochement with the Volga-Urals Tatars in that period was insufficient, due to the absence of any significant migration of the latter group in 16–17th centuries.

Formation of the Volga-Urals Tatar ethnos—an ethnic core of the future Tatar nation—was influenced by different impacts, among which we can distinguish migration, demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-political factors. Here we will separately review the first two groups of pre-conditions of the ethnic processes, which influenced the Turkic-Tatar population of the Volga-Urals Region in the latter half of 16–17th centuries, as our attention will be focused on factors of ethno-cultural and socio-political nature.

Ethno-cultural factors. The main difficulty in analyzing the problem of 'reformatting' of the ethno-cultural structures of the Tatar ethnos, formed within the previous ethno-political unions, into a new ethnos of the Volga-Ural Tatars is that it is impossible to obtain the direct data about the ethno-cultural transformation of the medieval Tatar ethnic communities in the Russian period from the sources. That is why, in order to describe this process, it is necessary to previously create a certain theoretical model of the ethnic changes among the Tartars of the Volga-Ural Region in the 16–17th centuries. This was developed on the basis of the traditional culture materials, collected during the preparation of the voluminous 'Historical and Ethnographic Atlas of the Tatar People' [Tatary, 2001, pp. 11–25, 135–141; Tatary` Povolzh'ya i Urala, 2002, pp. 52–166; Tartarika, 2008, pp. 112–118, 138–151].

The proposed analytical approach to studying the problem of the formation of the Volga-Ural Tatar ethnos is based on singling out within the Volga-Ural, a historical, cultural and geographical region a specific 'Tatar' ethno-cultural area, consisting of three 'primary' or 'genetic' sub-areas (Kazan-Tatar, Mishar and Kasimov) and one 'secondary', transient between three sub-areas. It can be thought that the Kazan-Tatar and Mishar-Tatar ethno-cultural sub-areas come out of the respective medieval ethnos and the Kasimov, which has some mixed cultural parameters, making it transient between the two mentioned areas, depicts the cultural parameters of the population in the 'capital' district of the Kasimov Khanate, which was relatively not numerous, but it managed to

preserve its own ethno-cultural parameters in the predominant Tatar-Mishar surrounding.

However, to understand the content of those ethnic processes that led to the formation of the Volga-Ural Tatar ethnic community in the 16–17th centuries, it turned out important to define the existence of a transient (mixed) ethno-cultural habitat consisting of two ethno-cultural zones: the Middle Volga and the Cis-Ural. The first is a result of the massive Tatar migrations beginning in the latter half of the 16th century within the Volga Region, where there was an ethnic interaction of the Kazan, Kasimov, Astrakhan Tatars and Mishar Tatars. The second, with a complicated ethnic structure of the population of different origin, first of all in the north-west of the Ural zone, completely formed only in the 18th century, reflects the ethno-cultural contracts between the Middle Volga inhabitants and the local Turkic population. This is attested by the fact that, in the Cis-Ural zone, together with the ethno-cultural features of the Middle Volga zone, there is an obvious influence on the Tatar migrants from the ethnically different local population, which became one of the substantial ethnic components of the Cis-Ural Tatars in the end [Iskhakov, 1990, pp. 4–12].

The mixed ethno-cultural Tatar sub-area in the Volga-Ural Region was formed as a result of the convergence of the ethnic territories of the previously independent Tatar ethnoses of former khanates in the 16–17th centuries, when due to migration, there appeared migration enclaves and joint (in common places) settlements among different ethno-territorial Tatar groups. The latter, in the new settlements, went through language and cultural changes and, by their ethno-cultural parameters, despite a definite commonness with their 'maternal' ethnoses, cannot be regarded in their structure anymore, while being actually ethno-cultural subdivisions of the Volga-Ural Tatar ethnoses. While this new ethnic community was being formed, the previously independent Tatar ethnic formations went through the process of changing into sub-ethnoses or other groups (ethno-confessional—Kryashens, ethno-class—Teptyars, Cis-Ural Meshcheryaks, partially Bashkirs).

Despite these changes, the sub-ethnoses—that is, the Kazan, Kasimov and Meshchera (Mishar) Tatars, still preserved a sufficient potential for independent development, since on the areas of their initial formation, they possessed not only a certain compact resettlement, but also cultural and language peculiarities, recognised by the representatives of these ethnic formations. During the migration of the 16–17th centuries, the intermingling of the ethno-cultural subdivisions of the 'genetic' character could even lead to a temporary strengthening of the ethno-cultural homogeneity, thus, to a larger consolidation of the old ethnic 'nuclei', above-called the sub-ethnos, which was not noted in the Cis-Urals, where the opposite occurred, there was an ethno-estate differentiation of the re-settlers, followed by their becoming included into the Bashkir stratum.

In the conditions of the large-scale ethnic processes in the 16–beginning of the 17th centuries, the Tatar society of the Volga-Ural Region, as well as their self-awareness went through the changes. Their main tendency was a gradual expansion of their self-naming—the 'Tatars', though being 'tangled' with territorial, confessional and class nominations.

Thus, a gradual 'split' of the Mishar community into a set of weakly interconnected territorial groups led to the formation of local self-namings, close to the gentiles and 'tied' to certain Russian uyezds: Kāçimnār—Kasimovs, Teman/Temannar—Temnikovs, Alatyrlar—Alatyrs (see detailed info: [Iskhakov, 1993a]). There is no doubt that these territorial names weakened the common ethnic self-awareness of the Tatar-Mishars (Mozhar/Mesher/Mishar or Meshchera Tatars), in exchange of which, the other ethnonym 'Tatar' was used, also under the influence of the Russian administration.

The Kazan Tatars, who kept a significant territory of the complete resettlement in the Volga-Kama Region, did not use the self-naming 'localisation', exclusive to the groups of the Nukrat (Karino) Tatars, who lived on the Vyatka land since the end of the 15th century (later, in Khlynov and Sloboda uyezds). In the sources, in the 16–17th centuries, the Kazan

Tatars were the 'serving' and 'yasak'. The representatives of the latter group until the 1670s, in the scribes and census books, as well as in the legal act materials of the 16–middle of the 17th centuries were recorded as the 'Yasak Chuvashes'. Referring to them, further there will be a separate explanation (about the problem in general, see: [Iskhakov, 1988]). Moreover, the baptised Tatars (the Kryashens) gradually also gained a specific ethno-confessional self-awareness, which was typical of mainly those Tatars baptised in Orthodox Church in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries (the so-called 'Old baptised').

A more complicated situation was typical of the Cis-Ural Turkic-Tatar population, where it is possible to talk about the changes of the ethnic self-awareness among the re-settlers, mainly the Kazan Tatars. This happened due to their entering the estate groups of the Teptiars and the Bashkirs (great landowners). In this case, it should be told about the fact that the class affiliation among the Tatars started gradually being dominant in their ethnic self-awareness, although without edging out totally the initial nomination. However, referring to the ethno-estate Teptyar group, which was just being formed in the 16–17th centuries, it can be supposed that the affiliation self-awareness of its representatives became finally formed only in the 18th century [Iskhakov, 2014, pp. 166–173], which provides us with a possibility to differently interpret the problem of ethnic affiliation and ethnic self-awareness among the Teptyars (e.g., see: [Yakupov, 1998; 2002]). When we talk about the Cis-Ural Tatars, who ended up in the Bashkir group due to social processes, it should not be forgotten that this happened in the Cis-Ural north-west, where the Bashkirs themselves possessed quite significant ethnic features (this will be discussed later), being also in a tight ethno-cultural connection with the re-settlers from the Middle Volga Region.

Referring to the specific features of the Bashkir population on this area, it should be said that in the 16–beginning of the 17th centuries, in the Cis-Ural north (the Middle or Perm Cis-Ural) and in some southern parts, there is definite evidence that the Kungur Tatars (the population of the Sylvensky-Irensky

basin, that was in Kungur uyezd), the Tulven (Gaynin) Bashkirs (the Osinsk daruga in Ufa uyezd) and other Bashkir clans (kushchi, balykchi, syzgy, uley, yurmats) had a common ethnic component, being recorded in different Russian documents as the 'Ostyaks' (from the Turkic-Tatar Ishtyak/Yshtyak, in some Bashkir genealogical trees as the 'Ishtyak' [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 114–140]. At the same time, the social top class of these groups had the 'Tatar' origin, coming out of the Shibanids 'Tatars' or of the Nogai nobility [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 162; Iskhakov, 2012]. Taking into account the role of the Nogais in the Shibanid state (including the Siberian Khanate), the aspect of the regarded problem is worth remembering. Besides this, until the 1630s, this area was a part of the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 1997a; Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 140–174]. The social upper class of the Nogais possessed not only the 'Manghit' but also the 'Tatar' self-awareness [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 164–165], which significantly complicates the issue about the ethnic affiliation of the Cis-Ural Turkic population in the latter half of the 16–first third of the 17th centuries—that is, until a final departure of the Nogais to the right bank of the Volga River. Here, it should be added that the Siberian Khanate also controlled some Cis-Ural districts (probably, in the latter half of the 16th century, the territory of the later Siberian daruga in Ufa uyezd), where there were resettlements from the surrounding Siberian Tatars, which should also be taken into account, as we are speaking about the existence of the Tatar population on this area, and before the resettlements of the Tatars from the Middle Volga Region there, beginning with the latter half of the 16th century.

In general, in the Cis-Ural north-west, in the 16–beginning of the 18th centuries, there was a division of the Turkic-Tatar population into a row of the ethno-estate groups ('Ostyaks/Ishtyaks', 'Bashkirs', 'Teptyars', 'Meshcheryaks', 'Serving' and 'Yasak' Tatars, the latter could be called 'Yasak Chuvash'), none of which can be identified totally with a certain ethnos of the later period. Moreover, in real life, they all were in the process of the ethno-cultural interaction, (especially in the Cis-Ural north-west), leading to the fluctuation of the ethnic borders,

which is not always taken into account by the modern narrow-oriented researchers from Bashkortostan (for the criticism of this position, see: [Bol'shaya lozh', 2010]). That is why for the Cis-Ural Tatars, we can speak about the dominance of the local self-awareness with a strong ethno-cultural shade at that time, when a uniting beginning was a confessional factor: the affiliation of the majority of the Cis-Ural Turkic-Tatar population with the Muslim Ummah, leading to the usage of the confessionalism 'möselman'.

The evolution of the ethnic self-awareness among the Volga-Ural Tatars during their ethnos formation went in the direction of a gradual development of the common-to-all ethnic massive of the 'Tatar' identity, not appearing all of a sudden, but typical of the serving Tatars, though in the conditions of the 16–17th centuries, because of the class, sub-ethnic, other local and confessional divisions that were a feature of practically all the medieval societies, 'tangled' with other nominations. The liquidation of these local and other nominations was influenced not only by the internal ethnic processes, but also by external reasons, which helped in strengthening the feeling of the unity among the Volga-Ural Tatars.

One of these 'fusing' factors was the confession of Islam by the majority of the Tatars in the region. That is why the affiliation with the Muslim Ummah, except for the Christianised Kryashen groups, when the neighbours, except the Bashkirs and the Nogais (until the 1630s), were pagans or Orthodox Christians, definitely united the Volga-Ural Tatars, whose confessionalism 'Muslims' (möselman, möselmannar) was one of the most important components of their ethnic awareness. However, this factor did not work in the Cis-Urals, where the ethnic borders, partially due to this reason, remained unclear.

Another sufficient uniting factor for this ethnic community was the common cultural Volga-Ural Tatar space with a 'high' stratum—literature, based on the Volga Turks (it also served the Bashkirs), commercial writings, used also in the diplomatic practice of the Russian state [Istoriya tatarskogo naroda, 2009, pp. 388–395; Khisamov, 2012].

A certain uniting factor for the Volga-Ural Tatars were also the concepts of the, numerous by the 17th century, Russian population and the officials of the state administration, who did not differentiate separate ethnic Tatar groups, especially in the middle of the 17th century, calling the Kazan and Meshchera Tatars as simply the 'Tatars', seeing the representatives of the same ethnos among the Muslim population of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions. Even in the Cis-Urals, the proper Tatars, exclusive of the groups from different class structures (the Tep-tyars, Meshcheryaks, partially Bashkirs) were marked with the ethnonym 'Tatars' by the local administration.

During the formation of the ethnic community of the Volga-Ural Tatars, between the Kazan and Meshchera Tatars (and the neighbours of the latter were the Kasimov Tatars) as well as the Cis-Ural Turkic-Tatar population the ethno-cultural differences still remained. That is why the representatives of different sub-ethnic and other formations differentiated each other by the cultural, daily life and language peculiarities, preserving certain principles about local specific features. However, even with the inner Tatar divisions, the confessional insularity of the Kryashens, the unclear ethnic border in the Cis-Ural north-west, a gradual expansion of the common ethnonym 'Tatars', followed by the ethno-cultural changes that stimulated the ethnic approach of the earlier detached groups of the Volga-Ural Tatars, led to a complete formation of the Volga-Ural Tatar ethnos at the end of the 17th century. This was a feudal ethnic group with some specific features. In order to clarify them, it is necessary to analyze the second set of factors involved in the formation of these ethnos.

Socio-political factors. It was already ascertained that the ethno-political communities, being formed within the late Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar states, had a social stratification (typical of the medieval societies): the 'noble' (akseyak) and the 'commoner' (kara khalyk), sometimes of the ethno-estate character, when the feudals in a wide sense were Tatar—the Golden Horde groups with the clan division, and the peasantry (the Yasak) came out of the

formation before the Golden Horde [Iskhakov, 1998; Tatars, 2001]. Although the ethnic interaction between these two main strata of the Tatar societies actually led to the formation of some independent, but closely related ethnos in the late Golden Horde period [Iskhakov, 2009], because of the class division into the feudal and peasant strata, and certainly during the contacts of the upper 'Tatar' classes of the different Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–17th centuries [Tatary, 2001, pp. 124–135], it existed until the Russian conquest, and was reflected in numerous sources of the Russian administration (*piscovaja knigas* [scribe's books], census books, legal act materials, etc.). As they contain ethnic markings, untypical of the later period and used to refer mainly to the Yasak part of the Volga-Ural Region, including the Tatars [Iskhakov, 2012a, pp. 442–448; Iskhakov, 2007], the interpretation of the ethnic (in fact, ethno-estate) categories in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries remain debatable. As the formation of the ethnic community of the Volga-Ural Tatars was connected also with overcoming of the mentioned ethno-estate division, coming out of the earlier history, this problem should be regarded in connection with the transformation of the social structure of the Volga-Ural Tatars after the Russian conquest.

Referring to the Kazan Tatars, it is necessary to clarify the situation with the so-called 'Yasak Chuvashes'—the tax paying, mainly peasant population of Kazan and, partially, Sviyazhsk uyezds (that is, the central part of the former Kazan Khanate, in the 17th century by insertion still quite often of the so-called 'Kazan Tsardom'), and also on the Vyatka land, later reformed into the Khlynov and Sloboda uyezds. In fact, the regarded population since the latter half of the 16–17th centuries is recorded in Ufa uyezd, where it re-settled from the Middle Volga Region [Iskhakov, 1985; Shigapov, 2010]. The problem is that this quite numerous group, called the 'Yasak Chuvashes' between the 1510–1670s, later in the Russian sources is called the 'Yasak Tatars', forming together with the serving group the Kazan-Tatar part of the Volga-Ural Tatar ethnos.

This quite complicated problem was formulated with four hypotheses—about their

Chuvash, Tatar, Bulgar, and Udmurt ethnic affiliation [Iskhakov, 1988]. By now, the latter point of view can be discarded, because of insufficient argumentativeness [Iskhakov, 2010]. However, the first three hypotheses, actually being interconnected, should be analyzed. We will note that in our times, the main difficulty in this field is the continuing discussions of the Chuvash and Tatar historians. The first ones consider the 'Yasak Chuvashes' as the ethnic Chuvashes, later assimilated by the Tatars [Dmitriev, 2004, p. 100; Ivanov, 2005, pp. 105–106; Rodionov, 2008; Egorov, 2012]. The second ones suppose that this is the way that Russian documents named the Yasak Tatars, or one of the ethno-estate groups of the Kazan-Tatar ethnos, coming out of the Volga Bulgars [Iskhakov, 1998].

As the regarded question was already the core subject of our separate studies [Iskhakov, 1988; Iskhakov, 1998; Iskhakov, 2012a; Iskhakov, 2014], here we will mention the final conclusions about the authentic ethnic affiliation of the 'Yasak Chuvashes'.

This group is noted in the cadaster of Kazan and its uyezd of 1565–1568, and then in the *piscovaja kniga* of Kazan uyezd of 1602–1603 (see: [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1932, *Piscovaja kniga* of Kazan uyezd, 1978]). However, closer to the middle of the 17th century, the term 'Yasak Chuvashes' in the documents started being replaced with the term 'Yasak Tatars', though this did not happen immediately. For example, in the description of the Galitsk daruga in Kazan uyezd in 1678, the title of the description contains the formula 'Chuvash villages and places' (with a list of 24 settlements). However, when the population of the named settlements is enumerated, it is often called the 'Yasak Tatars', though in the final part of the *piscovaja kniga* of 1678, it is again called the 'Yasak Chuvashes' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, item 6447, pp. 378–444]. This same point also applies to the population of two villages in the Alat daruga of Kazan uyezd: when they are mentioned in the letters patent (*zhalovannaja gramota*) of 1604, they are marked as the 'Yasak Chuvashes', but when the scribes tell about the contemporary period (that is, 1677), the

residents of these villages are again called the 'Yasak Tatars' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, item 6483, pp. 221–227]. A lot of such examples can be given.

Studying the resettlement of the 'Yasak Chuvashes' in the 16–17th centuries shows that, with some exceptions, they were concentrated in Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds (though it is worth remembering the latter was inhabited also by the ethnic Chuvashes). As the situation with Sviyazhsk uyezd is more complicated, it should be noted that the Sviyazhsk piscovaja kniga of 1565–1567 mentions 33 settlements: 22 were 'Chuvas', 11 were 'Tatar and Chuvash', 6 were 'Tatar' [Spisok 1565–1567]. Later, they were inhabited only by the Tatars. In the town of Kazan, by the piscovaja kniga of 1565–1568, these 'Chuvashes' are also noted in

the Tatar quarter" (150 courtyards). The inquiry during the census showed that 'the Tatars and the Chuvashes come to live in these Tatar courtyards in winter or during snowstorms' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, item 643, pp. 210–233], which proves their connection with the rural 'Yasak Chuvash' population of Kazan uyezd. At the beginning of the 17th century, the 'Yasak Chuvashes' were actually noted all around Kazan uyezd (partially, as it was mentioned, in Ufa uyezd). In some darugas of Kazan uyezd, they settled quite unevenly (see Table 2.1), being more concentrated in the Arsk and Zyurey darugas. The number of the mixed (Tatar-Chuvash) settlements by darugas was approximately equal. The exception was the Galitsk daruhga, but it was quite small.

Table 2.1

**Settlement of 'Yasak Chuvashes' in the darugas of Kazan uyezd
at the beginning of the 17th century***

Darugas	Settlements with population	
	'Yasak Chuvash'	'Tatar' and 'Yasak Chuvash'
Galitsk	10	7
Alat	11	21
Arsk	35	19
Ziurei	43	21
Nogai	18	23
Total	117	91

*Our count. See sources: [Iskhakov, 1998].

Studying the existing sources allows us to make the following main conclusions about the 'Yasak Chuvashes' of Kazan uyezd in the latter half of the 16–middle of the 17th centuries: the representatives of this group were Muslims (it does not allow us immediately to regard them as the ethnic Chuvashes); they were Tatar-speaking (also see: [Äxmätcanov, 1998]); the habitat of the 'Yasak Chuvashes' coincides with the nucleus of the formation of the Kazan Tatars; on this area they outnumbered the serving Tatars (approximately by four-fold); they were a structural, lower part of the Kazan-Tatar ethnos that was of the Bulgar ethnic origin. The

above-mentioned should be added with the observations of the well-known Kazan historian Ye. Chernyshev, who pointed out, on the basis of the studied material, a long time ago that on the territory of Kazan uyezd in the 16–17th centuries, it would be worth looking for not the ethnic Chuvashes, but the Mari, who were the neighbours of the Kazan Tatars on the Meadow Land. He based his conclusion on the fact that the term 'Yasak Chuvashes' did not have any ethnic meaning, and it was a social category, a synonym to the concept of the Yasak (draught) population [Chernyshev, 1963]. Despite the validity of these observations, at that time,

he failed to explain the reason for calling the mentioned Yasaks as exactly the 'Chuvashes'. However, Ye. Chernyshev proposed a hypothesis that this nomination was given to the Yasak Tatars of the serving Tatar population. Later, in his opinion, it was adopted through them by the Russian administration. At the moment, this hypothesis can be strengthened on the basis of linguistics. In particular, R. Akhmetyanov cleared up that in some Turkic languages the concept 'şuaş' (from here, the 'Chuvash' / 'Chyuvash') was used to define the draught population—that is, the 'farmer' / 'plougher' / 'peasant' [Akhmetyanov, 1995].

Taking into account the above-mentioned conclusions of Ye. Chernyshev, from all that was said, it can be claimed that during the Kazan Khanate, the representatives of the feudal Tatar stratum used the term 'Chuvash' / 'Chyuvash' to define the Yasak farmers of Turkic origin, inherited from the former Bulgar vilayet of Jochu Ulus. If to take into consideration that the ethnic Chuvashes and the peasant (Yasak) class of the Kazan Tatars had a common ethnic component, as being the descendants of the Volga Bulgars, it is possible to explain the rise of the common nomination that 'overlaps' the Chuvashes and the Kazan Tatars. This could also be helped by using the feature of the first census, held on the central territory of the Kazan Khanate in 1565–1568, after the Russian conquest, and which started from the Nagornaya storona (Sviyazhsk uyezd), where, on the border between the Chuvashes and the Yasak Tatars, there could still be an ethno-cultural proximity (the transient state). That is why the Russian scribes could not differentiate between these two ethnic groups. This is possible also because the census in Sviyazhsk and Kazan uyezds was held by the same scribes. It strengthens the possibility of an influence by a subjective factor on defining the ethnic affiliation among the population under the census. Moreover, the census in the latter half of the 16–middle of the 17th centuries recorded not the ethnic but class affiliation of the conquered population, when the first parameter depended on the second, but it was most likely defined by indirect factors (language, endo- and exoethnonyms, cultural and daily life features, etc.).

In such conditions, using the nomination 'şuaş', obviously used during the Kazan Khanate, applicable to the draught group of the Kazan Tatars, ethnically close to a part of the Chuvashes; is quite probable, especially because of an clear division of the Kazan Tatars into the feudal and peasant strata at the initial period after the Russian conquest. It seems that as a result of fixing this ethno-class marking on a certain part of the peasant population in the Kazan Krai, further because of writing their lands in the scribes and census books, which were the main sources of confirming the right for landowning, it was introduced into the state document flow and kept as late as 1670, and sometimes by inertia even later. The massive substitution of the term 'Yasak Chuvashes' in the cadasters and census books of Kazan Krai in the 1670s can be explained by two reasons. Firstly, by that time the Russian administration could have changed the principles, also because of the ethnic processes among the Tatars in the Middle Volga Region, and clearly differentiated the ethnic borders between the peoples of the Volga-Ural Region. Secondly, it was influenced with time by a decrease of the ethno-cultural distance (the differences, in general) between the serving Tatars and the Yasak Tatar parts of the region population. It was not the least factor as a gradual liquidation of the serving Tatar class by the Russian authorities—when many of the representatives of the Tatar feudal class were 'downgraded' into peasants (the so-called 'lapotnya' (bast shoe) princes and mirzas)—was conducive to that.

A similar ethnic situation was typical of not only the Kazan Tatar area, but also of the Tatar-Mishar districts in the Middle Volga Region and in the Cis-Ural north-west. As every case had its own specific features, the situations in these areas should be regarded separately.

As it has been mentioned before, in the Russian language documents, by the beginning of the 17th century, the Turkic population of the historical Meshchera (the Meshchera yurt or the Kasimov Khanate) was generally named the 'Tatars', quite often with the definition by the name of the uyezd where they lived. Nevertheless, the Tatars of this group were clearly aware of their ethnic unity: the princes, the

mirzas and the Tatars of Alatyr uyezd in 1618 accepted the 'brotherhood' relations with the princes, the murzas and the Tatars of Kasimov, Kadom, Shatsk, Temnikov, and Arzamas uyezds [Geraklitov, 1931, p. 22]—that is, actually the ones of all the main districts with the ethnic Mishar groups.

At the beginning of the 17th century, in the commercial acts of the Russian state, in order to define the Turkic-Tatar population of the historical Meshchera yurt (Meshchera), there was one more complex definition, the 'Tatars of the Meshchera towns', a shortened form of which was the 'Meshchera Tatars'. Here, it is clearly seen that the main part of the nomination is the ethnonym 'Tatars'. However, referring to the area of the Meshchera yurt, there was a widespread term that is 'Meshcheryaks' or 'Meshcheryans', very similar to the ethnonym, but without the Tatar component. As in the late 16–17th centuries, this name could be applicable not only to the Tatars of Meshchera uyezds, but also to the Mordvins as well as to the Russians living there, it is likely to be considered as a gentilic that was formed like other samples, such as the 'Kazan people', 'Astrakhan people', 'Crimea people'. from the earlier polytonym, coming out of the other name for the town Kasimov—Meshchera Townlet (see details: [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 183–212]). Despite this conclusion, in this concept there is an obvious ethnic constituent (the gentilic differs exactly in this), coming out of the nomination 'Meshchera' (with its well-known forms 'Mozhar' / 'Machyar'), linked historically with one of the groups (except the Mordovian) from the Yasak population in the Kasimov Khanate. As on the regarded area it got included into the structure of the Russians (the so-called 'Russian Meshchera'), the point is about the second lower stratum of the former Meshchera yurt population, which became a part of the ethnic Tatar-Mishar community.

Referring to this group, it can be said that in literature, it is usually ethnically related to the pre-Mongolian Burtases [Chekalin, 1892; Chekalin, 1897; Vasilyev, 1960]. The rest of them were in Meshchera also in the 17th century (on the territory of Kadom, Temnikov and Alatyr uyezds, where they were noted among

the Yasak population between 1596–1682 [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 213–214]. Then, they are recorded in Sviyazhsk uyezd, most probably being there after resettlement from Meshchera uyezds. In order to make it clearer how they are featured in the documents of the late 16–17th centuries (until the 1670s), let us show some examples. So, the 'List of Diverting Abstract' gained in 1596 by Prince Kulunchak Enikeev, mentioned the 'Burtas Tatars'. However, the other abstract of 1623 gives evidence that they were more likely to be the residents of the village of Burtas, defined also as the 'Mountain Tatars' [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 213–214], which is important. The point is that the charter, sent in 1682 to the stolnik Prince I. Kugushev, contained the order for him to give to the new voivode of Kadom, 'to the newly-baptised, the Mordovians and the Burtases the nominal lists and yasak books by which the Yasak will be collected from the Burtases and the Mordovians' [Chermensky, 1911, p. 277]. Although from here it is not clear whether the Yasak Burtases mentioned in this case are related to the above-mentioned 'Mountain Tatars'. The other document confirms it. This is what is said in the extract from the piscovaja kniga of Dm. Pushechnikov and A. Kostyaev in 1626–1628: '...in Olatyr uyezd, on the Verkhosursk stan, the village of Nagayevo, also Chulpanovo...there are Burtases, Mountain Tatars there...and totally in the village of Nogayevo and around, there are 17 courtyards of the Burtases, the Mountain Tatars'. This settlement still existed in 1614. By the 'Make-Ready Book' of G. Norov, there were 42 Burtas courtyards there. By 1658, 'those Burtases, Mountain Tatars... left for other places to live' [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 231]. Despite the fact that the population was not very numerous [Archurin, 2012, p. 48], it did not get mixed up with the serving Tatar population of Meshchera uyezds. At least, in the Piscovaja kniga of Manorial Lands in Alatyr uyezd, 1624–1626, devoted to the description of the serving Tatar estate (see: [Piscovaja Kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd, 2012]), it is not mentioned.

Despite the absence of other direct data about this strata of the Mishar ethnic commu-

nity, the coincidence of the functioning time of the term 'Yasak Burtases' / 'Mountain Tatars' with the fixing time of the concept 'Yasak Chuvashes' in the Kazan Krai allows us to suppose that we are dealing with the phenomenon of the same level. However, it is more probable that, unlike Kazan Tatars, this group became dissolved faster among the Meshchera Tatars. The fact that by the beginning of the 17th century the Burtases had been marked as the 'Mountain Tatars' gives exactly this evidence. However, for an earlier period this ethno-estate stratum among the gradually formed ethnic community of the Meshchera Tatars obviously existed.

Within the ethnos of the Tatar-Mishars of the Meshchera yurt, later—Meshchera uyezds, it is necessary to single out the group of the 'capital city-based' Tatars, who managed to keep their ethnic isolation. They lived in Kasimov and its uyezds. Its incomplete integration into the surrounding Turkic-Tatar population of the Mishar community should be explained with the continuous replenishment of the Kasimov people until the middle of the 17th century by the settlers from the Nogai Horde, Kazakh Khanates and Siberian Tatars [Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 66–85]. Despite the ethno-cultural links of the Kasimov Tatars with the Mishars, they preserved the self-awareness of being different from them. There were three sub-groups of the Kasimov Tatars ('white' and 'black' aymaks and 'kara zbynnar' [Iskhakov, 2001, pp. 289–298]), highlighting not only their ethno-estate division, but also an ethnic inclusion of the Yasak population of the Meshchera (Burtas) origin in the structure of this group.

It should be noted that despite a certain opposition within the forming ethnic community of the Volga-Ural Tatars 'Gorodetsk' in the 16–17th centuries, that is the Meshchera and Kazan Tatars, there were not really many ethnic differences between them. Not in vain the Russian author of the 'History of Kazan', by telling about Khan Shah Ali in the 16th century, underlined that he with the 'Kazan people' '...had the same barbarian origin (that is Tatar.—*D.I.*), and the same language and the same faith' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 66].

Now, let us come to the ethnic situation of the period, studied in the north-west of

the Cis-Urals. This theme is quite debatable, mainly because the analyses of it in literature include the approaches based on the mechanical cohesion of the ethnic and estate groups of the 16–17th centuries from this area with the ethno-cultural formations of the later period, which is not acceptable. In this case, from the methodological point of view, it is reasonable to take into account the conclusions of some researchers, also from Bashkortostan, who pointed out the incomplete Bashkir ethnic consolidation by the 16th century [Kuzeev, Garipov, Moiseev, 1985; Kuzeev, Moiseeva, 1984]. This was also written by other researchers [Yusupov, 1956; Iskhakov, 1998]. The Moscow historian V. Trepavlov expressed the opinion about the fundamental division of the Bashkirs into the 'Ishtyaks' (the north-western Bashkirs) and the proper 'Bashkirs' (the south-eastern part of the Bashkir ethnos) [Trepavlov, 1997a, p. 11], which is the modification of the latest position. We also had to write about this [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 113–174]. We should add here also the necessity to define the role of the Nogai Horde and its population in the ethnic processes, taking place in the Cis-Urals as late as the 1630s.

First of all, we will note that at the end of the 16–17th centuries, withing the north-west of Ufa uyezd (the Osinsk daruga, partially, the Siberian and Kazan darugas) and the Sylvensky-Irensky basin (Kungur uyezd), in the Russian and sometimes Turkic documents, the local Yasak population is called the 'Ostyaks' (from the Turkic-Tatar 'Ishtyak' / 'Yshtyak') and the 'Tatars', as well as the 'Bashkirs'. Here, in some cases, the 'Nogai' are mentioned (see details: [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 113–140; Iskhakov, 1990a, pp. 380–391]). However, the variety of the ethnonyms in the documents is far from being accurate to reflect a real ethnic picture of the Turkic population in this area. The point is that different nominations were used to define the same ethnic groups. Thus, in the northern part of the Cis-Urals, in the Middle or Perm Cis-Urals, the so-called 'Ostyaks', being mentioned in the piscovaja [scribe's] books and cadasters, the legal act materials in the latter half of the 16th century—the first decades of the 17th century, started 'splitting' into the 'Bashkirs' (the basin of the river Tulva—Gay-

ninsk Bashkirs) and the 'Tatars' (the basin of the Sylva and Iren Rivers). It was no coincidence: the formation of these groups involved the Golden Horde Tatars from the Shibanids areas and the Nogais [Iskhakov, 2012, pp. 46–51; Iskhakov, 2013]. However, in the 17th century, especially in its first half, these divisions of the Turkic population were not stable yet. So, the Tulvensk (Gayninsk) and other (Kushchinsk, Balykchinsk, Syzginsk, etc.) Bashkirs could also be called as the 'Tatars'. Moreover, in the Perm Cis-Ural, in the latter half of the 16th century, the synonym of the term 'Bashkirs' could coincide with the concept 'Nogai'; thus, there was a mutual substitution of the nominations 'Tatars' and 'Nogai'. However, the names 'Nogais' and 'Ostyaks' did not cross. They keep their independence (see also: [Trepavlov, 1997a]). This proves that they mean different ethnic formations. Actually, the latest phenomenon was also typical of the southern Cis-Ural districts. Thus, the shejere of the Yurmaty tribe (the west of Ufa uyezd), written in 1564–1565, separates the groups of the 'Ishtyaks' (Ishtyak) and the 'Nogais' (Nugailar), which were already mixing up, but not consolidated as one community yet (see: [Bashkirskie shedzhere, 1960, p. 29]). If we take into account that the Nogais, to be more precise, their upper class (the serving part), could call themselves 'Tatars' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, part 9, p. 209], to explain the ethnic situation in the Cis-Urals in the 16–17th centuries is really complicated.

Striving to overcome the difficulties that can be found in the interpretations of various ethnonyms from the sources referring to the Cis-Ural population in the 16–17th centuries, some researchers tried to propose the hypothesis about the sameness of the concepts 'Ostyak/Ishtyak' and 'Bashkir' [Kuzeev, 1968, pp. 243–244; Kuzeev, 1974, pp. 203–209]. However, an analysis of the sources does not allow us to agree with this opinion.

First of all, it is necessary to take into account the possibility of fixation of different Russian and Nogai traditions to identify the Cis-Ural population in the current documentary materials. For example, in the discussion,

held in 1586, after the construction of Ufa, between Moscow and the Nogai Prince Urus referring to the state affiliation of Ufa uyezd's Yasak population, the latter notes that Moscow wrote to him '...not to take the tribute from the Bashkirs and Ostyaks...(if)...I send...a tribute collector (to take the tribute, that is the yasa-k.—*D.I.*)...', from the Bashkirs and Ostyaks..., those tribute collectors of mine will be beaten' [Pekarsky, 1872, p. 8]. Here, Prince Urus, the Nogai Horde governor, retells the message from Moscow. That is why, referring to the ethnic groups, he uses the nominations typical of the Russian administration (but it is quite possible that the Moscow message could already include the Nogai traditions about the population). However, further in the source, Prince Urus comes to his own thoughts: 'And from those Ostyaks not only my father Prince Ismail from Edigu, but also we take the tribute until now' [ibid]. As we see, there were 'Bashkurds' and 'Ostyaks' for Russians, and only 'Ostyaks' for Urus. The other documents tell about the same thing [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 161]. When the Russians, dealing with the regarded groups (later, they became partially the Cis-Ural Tatars), sometimes used the term 'Ostyak', they most probably followed the Nogai tradition. Further, there are cases in the sources (one is pointed out above) when the terms 'Bashkirs' and 'Ostyaks' referring to the local population of the Cis-Ural north-west are used as independent ones. Here is an example from the 'Responses' by Perm voivode G. Lodygin in 1618: '...to the Cherdynsk...Uyezd on the river Sylva and the river Iren...come and sell the Russian merchants and the Tatars from the Kazan and Ufa uyezds and the Ostyak and bashkirs from the Sylva and Iren uyezds and the Tatars and Ostyaks from the Ufa uyezds..., and from the Kazan...uyezd the Tatars, Ostyaks and Bashkirs, and buy furs from the Sylva and Iren Tatars and Ostyaks' [SPb. Branch of Institute of Russian History, file 122, list 1, item 448].

In the end, if the point of view about the synonymy of the terms 'Bashkir' and 'Ostyak' / 'Ishtyak' is accepted, the given facts cannot be explained. That is why in the interpretation of the ethnic situation in the Urals in the 16–17th

centuries, including, in general, the problem of the crystallisation of the Cis-Ural Tatars here, it is necessary to pay attention to the regarded model of the ethno-estate stratification of the Tatar medieval ethnos, especially if we take into account that the entire Cis-Ural area was a part of the late Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar state, before the Russian conquest (the Kazan and Siberian Khanates, the Nogai Horde). In connection with this, special attention is to be given to the information about the clan (volost) structure of the local population. This work was done by us earlier [Iskhakov, 1985; Iskhakov, 1998; Iskhakov, 2006].

The clan groups localised in the north-west of the Cis-Urals and marked as the 'Bashkirs' in the 17th century are divided into two groups. The first one includes those, who directly or indirectly come out of the tribal nomenclature of the Nogai Horde and the Shibanids. With rare exceptions, these are Kipchak and Kipchakised Mongolian ethnic subdivisions. The second one includes the clans that are of the Turkic-Ugric (also, Bulgar-Ugric) ethnic origin. It is most likely that exactly the representatives of the first group in the sources of the 16–17th centuries were called the 'Nogais' and 'Tatars'. As it was pointed out: the upper class of the Nogai society could call themselves also as 'Tatars' and that is why there was no real difference between these two categories (it also concerns the area of the Nogai daruga of the Kazan Khanate, partially added to the Kazan daruga after the formation of Ufa uyezd). Another case is the Yasaks. They, being of the Turkic-Ugric origin and preserving specific ethno-cultural features for a long time (e.g., the late acceptance of Islam): [Iskhakov, 1998; Iskhakov, 2004a]), in the sources of the latter half of the 16–middle of the 17th centuries, could be identified as the 'Ostyaks/Ishtyaks', most probably on the basis of their endo-ethnonym 'Ishtyak/Ushtyak', well-known also to the Nogais. The consolidation of this substrate ethno-estate community with the 'Nogai' or 'Tatar' (including the Siberian Tatars) communities, being the upper stratum of the Cis-Ural Tatar population, continued as long as the first decades of the 17th century, and even later. In the historical narratives of the Bashkirs, this state of the ethnic interaction between the

'Nogais' (they were pointed out to be also possible 'Tatars') and the 'Bashkirs' was depicted with the formula 'the Nogais and the Bashkirs made up a kind of the same people' [Aleksandrov, 1885]. That is why it is practically impossible to separate these two ethnic groups from each other on the basis of the sources (with some rare exceptions), before the final departure of the Nogai Horde population from the Cis-Urals in the 1630s. As for the exceptions, they are as follows. Firstly, the four clans (the Manghits, the Naimans, the Kongrats and the Kipchaks) of the Golden Horde (Turkic-Mongolian) origin, which played an important role during the Shibanids, did not mix up with the Bashkirs [Iskhakov, 2009; Iskhakov, 2009a, pp. 24–30]. This is important to take it into account as the Shibanids also controlled the Cis-Urals before their massive resettlements to Central Asia between 1509–1511 [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 61]. By the way, the strengthening of the Nogai role in this area happened most likely exactly after this event. Secondly, despite unclear ethnic borders between the Nogais and the Bashkirs, among the clans, which were in the Nogai Horde and paid the yasak during the Russian times—that is, being the Yasak population, there is a group (the tribes of Mings, Burzyans, Usergans, Tamyans and Kipchaks), the folklore of which demonstrates a stable usage of the ethnonym 'Bashkort' [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 162–163]. It may prove that the Bashkir ethnic community had a certain nucleus within the Nogai Horde. However, it was concentrated not in the Cis-Ural north-west, which was mostly dominated by the 'Ishtyaks' and some 'Shibans' and 'Nogais', but significantly in the south.

This ethnic mass, not consolidated yet completely, since the latter half of the 16th century, started absorbing the Tatar migrants from the Middle Volga Region, who carried out one more constituent ethnic process in the Cis-Ural north-west. And the number of these migrants was quite high already in the first third of the 17th century. Thus, according to the preserved census materials about Ufa uyezd, in 1631–1632, there were 6,188 courtyards of Yasak payers from the Bashkirs and 8,355 courtyards of the representatives from the Teptyar-Bobyl group [Iskhakov, 2014, p. 218]. As of the be-

ginning of the 18th century, the Tatars were relatively predominant among the Teptyars [Iskhakov, 1979]. The situation was likely to be the same also in the 17th century. At that time, the Tatar migrants generally settled down in the north-west of the Cis-Urals, populated by the groups ethnically close to them (the Nogais can be regarded as the Tatar estate of the Golden Horde origin, and the Ostyak/Ishtyak population as the descendants of the Bulgars with a significant Ugri component).

As a result of the re-settlement, the Yasak population of the Kazan-Tatar origin turned out to be included here not only into the Teptiars, but also into the Bashkir great landowners. That fact was set up by U. Rakhmatullin [Rakhmatullin, 1988], who also discovered the mechanism of turning 'Tatars' into 'Bashkirs'. Moving from the Middle Volga Region to the Eastern Trans-Kama and being from Kazan uyezd by origin, the Tatars at first continued paying the tribute to Kazan, as well as made additional payments to Ufa. Some time later, the administration of Ufa uyezd started regarding tribute lands equal to the Bashkir Yasak lands, and putting them down in the yasak books when there was a fusion with the Bashkir yasak lands [Rakhmatullin, 1973; Rakhmatullin, 1981]. The same was written by other researchers (See the review of publications: [Iskhakov, 2014, p. 196]). This ended up with the fact that the mentioned tribute population (that consisted not only of the Tatars) started being called the 'Bashkirs'. Thus, in the Urals, instead of the ethnic Bashkir group, in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, there was a formed ethno-estate group of Bashkirs, which included new great landowners, who were Tatars, to a larger extent, in the north-west of the region (see, for example: [Bol'shaya lozh', 2010]). The demographic facts prove this conclusion: in the first third of the 18th century, in Ufa uyezd, there were two times more people from the Bashkir estate than from the Teptiars [Iskhakov, 2014]. This was possible only if a part of the Teptyars in the 17th century happened to be in the first estate.

Thus, in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, the Cis-Ural Tatars turned out very close to the north-western Bashkirs, developing

practically in a common ethno-cultural area with the latter, working out with them the same traditional culture and vernacular language, and being Tatars by all their basic features.

* * *

The Volga-Ural Tatar ethnic group was feudal in nature, with a social structure that had become fragmented by the end of the 16th to early 17th centuries because the Tatar feudal lords had practically merged with the peasants. This was one of specific features of this ethnic group.

Compared with Tatar ethno-political communities of the khanate period, the Volga-Ural Tatars were a larger ethnic group occupying a larger territory and with another ethnocultural structure: not a 'vertical' one based on social strata, but a 'horizontal' one based on sub-ethnic, new class and confessional divisions not connected with hierarchy. Moreover, by the last quarter of the 17th century, a group of merchants appeared among the Volga-Ural Tatars, which marked the origin of the bourgeois class.

These facts seem to indicate that the Volga-Ural Tatars should be considered as a more advanced ethnic group than the people in the previous period. However, the lack of their own state and unexpressed intra-ethnic stratification do not allow such a conclusion. The argument in the literature for a more consolidated nature of the Volga-Ural Tatars is also not confirmed: while the elimination of ethno-class strata, which was typical of medieval Tatar ethnic groups, favors this opinion, the formation of a number of new territorial subdivisions in the Volga-Ural Region, with the collapse of old ethnic groups into a number of groups unconnected with each other, as a result of migrations in the 16–17th centuries, contradicts this.

Therefore, the main differences between the Volga-Ural Tatars from the preceding ethnic group must be sought not in their high consolidation and level of development, but in demographic parameters, the size of the ethnic territory, the strengthened homogeneity of the social structure, changes in its structure (the appearance of a class of merchants and petty burghers) and the new 'horizontal' intra-ethnic division already based on territorial division.

§2. Serving Tatars in the Volga-Ural Region

2.1. Serving Tatars: Legal Status, Number and Economic Features

Andrey Belyakov

The history of the Serving Tatars in Russia in the 16–17th centuries is currently one of the least studied problems in national historiography. We can name a number of works touching on some aspect of this topic [Belyakov, 2009; Belyakov, 2011; Iskhakov, 1998; Akchurin, 2011; Sabitov, Akchurin 2013; Tychinskikh, 2010; Nogmanov, 2002; Gabdullin, 2006]. However, so far there has been no comprehensive study of this Russian population group in the 16–17th centuries. Therefore, in some cases, we can only formulate the most general and important issues and outline ways to solve them. At the same time, the current active introduction of new sources related to the history of the Tatars in Russia into academic use is forcing us to radically revise the previous concepts.

The key points in the history of the Serving Tatars in Russia are as follows: determining their legal status; establishing their regions of residence; documenting the characteristic features of their economic activity and financial state; establishing their number and sources of formation of this population category; identifying forms of self-organisation of the Serving Tatars, and their importance and role in military affairs and government of the state.

Legal status. One of specific features of the Muscovite state was the fact that its full-fledged nationals could profess only Orthodoxy. In this case, the concepts of 'nationality' and 'religion' substituted for each other. In order for a foreigner from another country (or a native Russian foreigner) to be considered a full-fledged Russian national, he/she had to become Orthodox. Expansion of state borders and systematic government policy directed at engaging foreigners in service led to the formation of a special social class in Russia, namely, the 'serving foreigners'. The emergence of this group required passage of specific legislation assigning an independent legal status to foreigners. All foreigners could be conditionally divided into 'internal' and 'external' groups.

'Internal foreigners' included representatives of the peoples who had joined Russia together with the territories where they lived. They were generally ruled by territorial Prikazes (Kazan, Siberian Prikazes, etc.). 'External foreigners' who did not have their own territory were ruled by Prikazes specially created for them or departmental Prikazes. This mainly refers to foreigners of West European origin. Legal norms applicable to both of them were almost always common, whether they were Heathen, Muslim, Catholic or Protestant [Oparina, 2007, p. 10; Orlenko, 2004, p. 44–101]. There were some differences in the practice of exercising the right to leave Russia. It was somewhat easier for a Muslim to do this than for a European. In particular, this was due to the lack of clear boundaries. These observations mainly apply to the realities of the second half of the 16th and 17th centuries. Although perhaps the origin these rules should be attributed to the turn of the 15–16th centuries. The distinction between 'internal foreigners' or 'semi-nationals' (a term proposed by T. Oparina) and a full-fledged national centred around the inability to have Orthodox people in domestic service (initially, this rule did not apply to peasants working on landlords' land) [Orlenko, Oparina, 2005]. According to some indirect data, this practice had already appeared in the 16th century and was first noted in 1589 [Belyakov, 2004]. This norm most likely appeared no later than in the mid-16th century and was associated with the emergence of a large group of foreigners taken into service in Russia. It should be noted that repeated passage of the same decree for several decades most likely indicated failure to obey it. Strict measures to enforce compliance with it were taken only after another publication [Orlenko, 2004, p. 36, 73]. At the same time, prohibitions were also imposed on some categories of the Orthodox population. In this case, we are referring to Kazan proselytes, who were prohibited from

'keeping unbaptised Tatars, Maris, Chuvashes and Germans' in accordance with the Tsar's decree dated 18 July 1593. [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 50]. This requirement was aimed at greater limitation of contacts between former Muslims and any non-Orthodox population.

In addition, there was a special land fund in Russia, from which land was given only to non-Orthodox service people. These lands were registered for the first time at the beginning of the 17th century. However, indirect data suggest that the special land fund appeared much earlier. The case of the estate of Kilmamet Murza Prince Kulunchakov's son Prince Enikeev reads as follows: '...this has always been Tatar land, and not the land of boyars' children' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1167, inv. 1, file 367, p. 22]. It should be noted that, unlike internal indigenous regions of Russia, lands in the land fund were described separately for each ethnic group on its outskirts, where a large number of 'non-Christians' lived (the use of this term in relation to the period being discussed should be recognised as an obvious modernisation). Thus, separate *piscovaja knigas* [cadastral] existed in Eastern Meshchera for the lands of Russian and Tatar landlords, as well as for Mordovians and honey hunters (a special category of the Orthodox population), and entries were made there in accordance with various administrative units (*belyaks*, *stans*, *volosts*, etc.), which arbitrarily overlapped with each other [Belyakov, 2013; Geraklitov, 2013; *Piscovaja kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd*, 2012]. S. Orlenko rightly pointed out that the existence of this land fund resulted in legal conflicts in the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye* (Art. 3 and Art. 14, Ch. 16). According to one of them, it was ordered 'to give foreigners' [estates] to foreigners having no estates or small estates, and foreigners' estates could not be given to anyone else. But Russian estates shall not be given to foreigners', while another allowed exchange of estates between Russian and foreign (non-Orthodox) landlords [Orlenko, 2004, p. 77]. It should be noted that no attempts have been made to locate this land fund yet. At present, we are certain of the existence of such a fund only in Meshchera.

There was another important difference between a national and a semi-national. A foreigner could not become a member of the Tsar's court. This was a privilege of Orthodox people only. However, there were probably some exceptions here. For example, several Muslims were *Oprichniki* of Ivan the Terrible [Spisok, 2003, p. 56].

Thus, limited opportunities for career growth were the major legal feature of Serving Tatars. Baptism, and consequently a transition to full-fledged citizenship, sometimes became a springboard to significant improvement of their status and increased material prosperity [Belyakov, 2003; Oparina, 2007; Hamamoto, 2004; Hamamoto, 2009].

The attitude of the central authorities towards forced baptism of internal foreigners, including Serving Tatars, should be discussed separately. It is difficult to agree with the statement that Moscow was adhering to a policy of any deliberate infringement of the rights of its non-Orthodox nationals (including Muslims) [Nogmanov, 2002, pp. 17–64]. In general, the central authorities were trying to follow a well-balanced, pragmatic policy on this matter. The state was primarily interested in guaranteed tax payments and the ability to protect its territory. Separate 'extremist' actions of certain representatives of the Orthodox Church rarely found support from the Tsar, although such people were not punished, but just sternly reprimanded. Adherents of the ancient piety (*Bogolyubtsi* or the God-loving) behaved especially aggressively in this matter: Stefan Vonifantiev, the Tsar's confessor and the archpriest of the Kremlin Cathedral of the Annunciation; Daniil Nikitin (*Mikitin*), the Temnikov archpriest; Misail, the Archbishop of Ryazan; and Simeon, the Archbishop of Siberia [Vozdvizhensky, 1820, pp. 86–97, 116; Morokhin, 2003; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1648, file 21; fund 1167, inv. 1, file 864, p. 10; file 1353]. It was extremely difficult to cope with this tendency in some periods, and the authorities were forced to take certain very restricted (and often temporary) measures [Orlenko, 2004, pp. 140–168].

However, at present, we can only name one restrictive legislative act for the whole 16th and most of the 17th centuries, which, in particular, was directed against Muslim landlords. This is a decree dated 1622 that prohibited unbaptised Tatars from settling Orthodox serfs in their households [Zakonodatel'ny'e akty', 1986, No. 119, p. 113]. The situation changed only in the latter half of 1670. Some decrees appeared prohibiting Tatar landlords from owning Orthodox peasants and applying to individual regions of Russia (the Upper Volga Region, and then Lower Reach cities, primarily Meshchera) [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire 1, vol. 1, No. 616, p. 1029; vol. 2, No. 867, pp. 312–313]. However, for various reasons, these attempts were not carried out and were gradually curtailed. The 'national question' among the service class would be finally solved only at the beginning of the 18th century by Peter the Great [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire 1, Vol. 5, No. 2734, pp. 66–67; No. 2920, p. 163]. However, forced baptism was not permitted even in these cases [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire 1, vol. 5, No. 3410, pp. 726–727].

Thus, it should be recognised that there were no special Russian legislative norms regulating only Serving Tatars in the 16–17th centuries. At the same time, we must recognise that they had a special land fund, as well as a trend towards gradual complete prohibition on ownership of Orthodox dependent categories of the population by Muslims.

Regions of Residence. Researchers had long and quite successfully tried to find specific regions of compact residence of Serving Tatars. However, as factual evidence was accumulated, the picture collapsed. It turns out that 'Tatar traces' can be found in nearly all uyezds of European Russia where there was manorial land ownership. However, we can still establish the logic of the initial distribution of this population group. They were settled on the banks of the Oka River (Novy Olgov Town, Serpukhov, Kashira, Kolomna, Kasimov) and the adjacent border territories (Zvenigorod, Yuryevets-Polsky, etc.). Thus, they protected the country against regular military raids of neighbours, primarily the Crimean and Kazan Khanates.

However, in the 17th century, places of compact or relatively compact residence of the Tatars became fewer. There were several reasons for this. One of them, of course, was gradual voluntary conversion to Orthodoxy of the Serving Tatars living in small enclaves among the Russian population. The Tatars living in Bordakovo (Ryazan uyezd) may be cited as an example [Azovtsev, 2003, pp. 31–32; Belyakov, 2011, p. 252]. The same fate befell the Novgorod Tatars. It should be emphasised here that Novgorod lands were used to settle various Tatar groups during most of the 16th century. At the same time, both loyal voluntary immigrants and those who had resisted the conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates by Moscow, or shortly after this, were settled there. The process of conversion to Christianity proceeded very rapidly in the region for unknown reasons. Another reason was the start of the Time of Troubles, which sometimes led to a complete change of the population in certain uyezds. For example, that was when the Dorogobuzh Tatars disappeared, who had been settled there by Boris Godunov [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1622, file 4].

Five major regions of compact residence of Tatars gradually formed: the Upper Volga Region (primarily Yaroslavl, Romanov and Rostov uyezds), the indigenous territories of the former Kazan Khanate, Meshchera with its adjacent territories, the Lower Volga Region (Astrakhan) and Siberia.

Yaroslavl had already become a kind of 'Tatar capital' at the turn of the 16–17th centuries. A large number of noble korm Tatars settled in the city (and were maintained by receiving daily korm (food) and drink.—*A.B.*) [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 298–300]. We see the Chinggisids and their relatives here, as well as a considerable number of Nogai mirzas. The reason for granting the city this a status is apparently due to the fact that a river route to the East passed through it. The banks of the Oka, where the main line of the state's defence passed for a long time, were not shown to embassies from the East. In addition, in the nearby city of Romanov, Nogai mirzas were settled shortly after October 1564, and later became the ancestors

of the Yusupov and Kutumov princes. Together with the mirzas, their military detachments with a total of 225 people were also placed there [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 291; Trepavlov, 2003, pp. 333–335, 342–350; Moiseev, 2004; Akty' sluzhily'x, 1997, No. 307, pp. 298–299]. Serving Tatars started to settle in Rostov and Suzdal uyezds somewhat later.

Due to the destruction of the archives, we have very little information about the Serving Tatars of Kazan uyezd and its adjacent territories. Much more information has been preserved about the Meshchera Tatars. In general, thanks to the extent of preservation of documents relating to Meshchera, the Meshchera Tatars are a kind of a 'model' group for studying the whole phenomenon of the Serving Tatars in Russia in the 16–17th centuries. In addition, Kasimov, Kadom and Temnikov Tatars actively colonised lands to the east and southeast of their initial places of residence. The reason for this phenomenon must be found primarily in the overall growth of the Tatar population in the region and the lack of land necessary for their economic activities. Finally, it was the Kadom and Temnikov Tatars who began to actively settle the territories of Alator and Arzamas uyezds. The Meshchera Tatars formed the backbone of the territories that later became Tambov, Penza and Simbirsk guberniyas.

The Tatars most likely settled in Temnikov and Kadom uyezds at the end of the 14th century. Their arrival is associated with the name of Prince Bekhan, who came there with his detachment at that time. The vast majority of famous 'princely' families of the region go back to him [Akchurin, 2011; Sabitov, Akchurin, 2013]. At present, it is not known exactly when and how the region finally became subordinated to Moscow. We can only say for certain that this was a peaceful process. The region apparently became a 'soft' protectorate fairly early, probably at the end of the 14th century. Pressure from Moscow was gradually increasing, and in the 16th century we can observe a control regime in the region that was comparable to other territories of Muscovy, although with certain regional peculiarities remaining even in the 17th century.

The Tatars appeared in Kasimov in the middle of the 15th century, when the tradition emerged of settling and granting income from the city and uyezd to a particular Tatar Tsar or Tsarevich. There have been heated disputes regarding the status of the Kasimov Chingisids and the nature of its origin [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1887; Belyakov, 2011; Rakhimzyanov, 2009]. The city gradually acquired additional functions for a number of Muslims living in Russia. In the 16th century, it became a Kurug—a place where family tombs were concentrated and serving the dynastic necropolis of Chinggisids in Russia [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 292–297]. The city had some sacred meaning even for some Muslims, who had no relation to the 'golden family' (Altan Urug is one of the names of Chinggis Khan's descendants) [Gordlevsky, 1927].

The history of the Astrakhan Tatars has still not been written either. We can say only that initially the local Turkic population was loyal to the invaders. As a result, the governance and the military organisation of the Turkic population in the region were generally retained. The story of the addition of Meshchera was more or less repeated there. However, after an unsuccessful Crimean Turkish raid on Astrakhan in 1569, when part of the local elite supported the Turkish expansion, the original freedoms were significantly limited.

In general, the Siberian Serving Tatars also accepted the new authorities relatively peacefully. There were several reasons for this. However, the main reason was that Sarts, who were natives of Central Asia, predominated in the circle of Kuchum Khan and his descendants [Trepavlov, 2012, pp. 7, 20, 23]. Therefore, for the local population, some conquerors were simply replaced by others. In addition, the central authorities, who were interested in quick pacification of the territory and uninterrupted receipt of furs, were taking measures (that were not always effective, however) to protect the land belonging to the local population from Russian migrants [Tychinskikh, 2010].

Number and Sources. This is one of the most difficult problems in the study of the Serving Tatars. We are currently unable to evaluate the true total size of Tatar detachments serving in Moscow. The problem is that the sources we have often do not distinguish Tatar detachments. In some cases, Orthodox honey hunters, as well as Mordovian divisions, may also be included here [Belyakov, 2009; Belyakov, 2013a]. In any case, their number was very significant in some periods. However, in no case should it be exaggerated. There were a few thousand soldiers. But the total number of Tatar cavalry never reached 10,000 people, even in the most favourable years. Even if we take into account the Nogai mirzas, who were specially invited to take part in some military campaigns [Kniga, 2004; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 3]. It should be noted that throughout the 16–17th centuries, individual Serving Tatars converted to Orthodoxy, which also reduced their number. The fact is that they usually merged with Russian servicemen immediately after being christened or somewhat later. In addition, certain difficulties could arise between the owner of a detachment and his Cossacks, which were primarily of a financial nature. We can clearly see this process in the example of the Romanov Tatars. At the beginning of the 17th century, Baray Murza Kutumov had 100 Romanov Cossacks. In accordance with a decree of 1615–1616, the Tatars were 'freed and given estates', and entrance charters were issued for them. In 1620–1621, at Murza's persistent petition, the Cossacks and lands were returned to him. However, the Serving Tatars did not want to submit to their Murza, who reduced their pay at his own discretion. Moreover, Baray Murza was soon deprived of income from the city of Romanov, part of which was allocated to pay salaries to 26 korm Cossacks. Dissatisfaction was growing. Baptism became one of the forms of disobedience. By 1631–1632, 15 people had become Orthodox and went with their estates to a Russian service-class city. Others simply did not go into service. In the 1630–40s, Baray Murza could provide no more than 35–40 servicemen at any one time [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1621, file 16].

It should be noted that Tatar in Russia in the 16–17th centuries was not an ethnic, but rather a confessional characteristic. All Muslims were often attributed to the Service Tatars. A list of the Novgorod Tatars sent in 1602 to meet Hans, the Prince of Denmark and the prospective groom of Tsarina Xenia, is very indicative in this regard. We see both actual Tatars and Circassians ('Cherkashenins'), 'Araps', Nogis and Bukharans among them [Selin, 2014, pp. 306–308].

A large proportion of 'Tatar-like' Mordovi-ans could be seen among the Temnikov, Kado-
ma and Alatyr Tatars. At least in the middle of the 17th century, documents called the Serving Mordovi-ans 'Tarkhans' and constantly mixed them up with the Serving Tatars [Razrjadnaja kniga of Alatyr uyezd, 2012; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1167, inv. 1, file 1438]. In fact, they were in service together. Therefore, the Mordovi-ans gradually ceased to be distinguished as a separate group. They completely merged with the Serving Tatars. In this regard, attention should be paid to another important issue. A Temnikov book of Collecting Fees for Supplying Honey and Brewing Beer dated 1603–1604 mentioned the Serving Tatars, who received permission to supply honey 'for molenie' (a distortion of the Mordovian 'molyany'—pre-Christian Mordovian religious holidays.—A.B.) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1167, inv. 2, file 1]. It would be logical to assume that some Mordovi-ans who had decided to become the Tsar's servicemen were called Tatars to distinguish them from other Mordovi-ans who continued to pay state tributes.

Regional Tatar corporations were not absolutely static. We can observe certain movements of their individual members to other regions that were sometimes very distant. Thus, a person from Meshchera could move to Siberia for one or another reason [Tychinskikh, 2010, pp. 82–83]. However, we can more frequently observe another process—some Tatars (or more correctly, Muslims, as we have already mentioned) left neighbouring countries to go to the Moscow Tsar. It should be especially noted that the Serving Tatars were not a united entity in the 16–17th centuries from the ethnic standpoint.

Financial Condition and Features of Economic Activities. This is currently one of the least studied matters in the history of the Serving Tatars. It should be noted that each region had its own distinctive features. We will point them out, wherever possible. However, most of the available information relates to Eastern Meshchera (Kadom and Temnikov uyezds).

It was traditionally believed that to ensure prosperity, a service-class person should possess a large plot of land and many peasants to cultivate it. However, this was not always true in the case of the Serving Tatars. To begin with, we will list all the forms of support for the Tatar cavalry. These were the daily korm (given to the korm Serving Tatars), estate salaries, annual salary, life hereditary permission to collect income from certain territories, annual fixed payments, Tsar's Dachi to perform a specific military campaigns, possession of honey-hunting patrimonies. We will consider them separately.

The Tsar's grants (Dachi) to carry out a specific military campaign. This type of salary was typical of the 15th and early 16 centuries. Later it was recorded only once. In 1555, such payments were made to a Tatar military detachment of 1500 people led by Abdulla b. Ak-Kobek, an Astrakhan Prince, who had been sent on a campaign to Sweden [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 263–264].

Daily korm and drink. It could be obtained both by noble Murzas and ordinary Serving Tatars (Cossacks) who did not have estates. The size of this salary depended on many factors: first, on the person's nobility, his father's salary (if any), as well as personal merits. The daily korm was most often paid to noble foreigners. Nogai mirzas formed the vast majority of those receiving the daily korm, but sometimes it was paid to ordinary Tatars as well.

Estate salary and actual land ownership. This is the main indicator that allows us to identify the place of a person in the service class. We should speak separately about the salaries of noble foreigners and the Tatars of lower rank. The maximum possible salary of a Muslim was 2,000 chets. However, only a Chinggisid could receive it. A salary of a little

more than 1,000 chets could be paid to some Nogai mirzas (children and grandchildren of beys), as well as to noble Crimean natives (Yashlavskys and Kulyukovs). Salaries of other people did not exceed 1,000 chets, like those of Russian servicemen. In the 1640s, salaries in Meshchera varied from 25 to 700 chets [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, inv. 9, col. 184, little column 5]. However, in most cases, the salary did not indicate the actual amount of land owned. Except for the Serving Tatar elite, servicemen had much less land. At the same time, it is obvious that the relationship between the actual amount of ploughland and the number of hayfields of most Tatars (primarily Murzas) differed greatly from the state 'standard', according to which two stacks of hay must be produced from a third of a ploughed field. Here the ratio could reach 1:40 and even 1:100. The total amount of haying in Meshchera could reach 4,500 stacks per person. This gives a reason to assume that cattle breeding played a more important role than agriculture in Meshchera for a long time. Incidentally, the same tendency is seen among the Siberian Tatars [Tychinskikh, 2010, pp. 273–279].

The amount of estate salary paid to novices depended on their fathers' salaries. Children's salaries were usually initially lower than their fathers', but could increase over time. In the 1640s, the highest salaries in Meshchera were paid to the children of heroes of the Time of Troubles [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, inv. 9, No. 184, column 5].

We should also note that our observations are true with respect to the service-class corporations that were directly subject to the Moscow Tsar. However, detachments belonging to Chinggisids or Romanov Murzas had some characteristic features. A special land fund was allocated to maintain servicemen, lands of which were distributed by the detachment owner. The fate of these lands is quite interesting. In Kasimov, Chinggisids managed to seize all of them and make them part of their estates. Similar attempts were recorded in Romanov. But they were unsuccessful. The reason for this may be that some Romanov Tatars were baptised. After being baptised, they moved to

a Russian service-class city together with their estates [Belyakov, 2013b].

At present, it is absolutely unclear, how some Serving Tatars carried out their economic activities. Only the elite usually had peasants. At the same time, the ratio of ploughed fields to available peasants looks quite strange. There are both estates of 100 chets without a single peasant and estates with up to 25 peasants for each 20–30 chets of land. We can assume that the land was rented. It should be noted that not all adult children of Service Tatars went to serve. Apparently, they stayed to take care of the household for a while.

The size of the actual estate varied greatly. There are estates of several chets, and even of one or two chets. But there are also large estates of up to 1,000 chets. Estates of 10–20 chets were the most common. When servicemen escaped to neighbouring regions, they abandoned estates of up to 20 chets. There were cases when families had no estates for several generations. However, they were serving and could be clearly considered the elite of their corporations. 'Honey-hunting patrimonies' were probably the source of their wellbeing.

Annual monetary salary. This is also a kind of indicator of its owner's position. Most information currently available is related to the Kadom Tatars. In 1621, they were paid an annual monetary salary of 2–18 rubles (there is no information about the largest salaries, but they were unlikely to be much greater) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, inv. 9, No. 1084, column 1]. However, in a later period there were many Tatars who remained unpaid for several decades. This makes us doubt whether this type of salary was important and whether it was paid at all. However, some representatives of the Tatar elite received payments annually. These were the so-called chetvertchiki [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, inv. 9, No. 184, col. 5]. Tatars who transferred to foreign detachments in the 17th century apparently received an annual monetary salary more regularly.

Honey-hunting patrimonies. They consisted of vast forest areas of mature trees in which hollows would be cut in the hope that a colony of bees would settle there. These trees

were marked with a special sign, the owner's banner, to indicate right of ownership. For a long time, honey-hunting was the main form of economic activity in Meshchera and the adjacent territories borrowed from the Mordovian population. They were sold, pledged and given as a dowry. 'Honey-hunting patrimonies' are recorded among the Serving Tatars since the middle of the 15th century [Akchurin, Abdurakhmanov, 2011].

Very little is known about the nature of the 'honey-hunting patrimonies'. Specifically, it is unknown what the right of ownership covered: only the trees where bees had settled, or the entire territory. It is not clear who had the right to cut trees with no bees. However, it is known that a patrimony often had extensive hayfields and ploughed fields. But the right to hunt and fish was always agreed separately. It is important to remember that honey-hunting patrimonies could belong to Serving Tatars or Mordovians, Russian honey-hunting landowners and manor peasants. We can assume that ploughing the fields on honey-hunting patrimonies became the basis for wealth of baptised Tatar mirzas at the turn of the 17–18th centuries.

Lifetime hereditary right to collect income from certain territories, annual fixed payments. We can distinguish at least four types of such income. Tatar Tsars and Tsareviches who had the right to collect income from cities received all income that had previously been paid to the Moscow Tsar [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 265–297]. Romanov mirzas received fixed amounts collected 'from trading quarters and Romanov uyezd, yamskiye money and tamgas, as well as from taverns, and other income' [Akty' sluzhilyx, 1997, No. 307, pp. 298–299; Moiseev, 2004]. Some Kadom and Temnikov mirzas were granted the lifetime hereditary right to receive income collected from individual Mordovian belyaks [Akchurin, Isheev, 2008]. Enikeev Temnikov princes also received money from city trading quarters, customs service and taverns along with the income received from the belyak. Moreover, the right to a fixed part of the income received from the customs service and taverns was granted to the whole family.

Thus, we see that the property status of the Serving Tatars varied greatly. It should be also noted that we have relatively complete information only on the 17th century. Information on the earlier period is rather fragmentary. Concerning estate size, it should be noted that two diametrically opposed processes can be seen there simultaneously. On the one hand, estates were split with each successive allotment of land plots. But at the same time, large some estates appeared due to the concentration in the hands of one person of escheated estates of his relatives and abandoned lands of Tatars who had left for other regions of the country, and whose estates apparently existed in the 16th century, but were not recorded at the beginning of the 17th century.

Serving Tartar Tsars and Tsareviches. Chinggisids represented a special group of the Serving Tatars in Russia. We have already touched upon some aspects of their residence in Russia. However, some aspects should be discussed separately.

The institution of Serving Tatar Tsars and Tsareviches appeared in the 15th century. However, it began to flourish only in the 16th century. The forms of their use for public purposes were finally established. The system for financing them was perfected. Their internal hierarchy was established. Of course, the Great Horde Chinggisids were in first place (they were called 'Astrakhans' in Russia), followed by Crimean and Kazan Chinggisids. However, the situation was more complicated with regard to the rest of them. Their history and genealogical connections were almost unknown in Moscow. Therefore, it was difficult at first to determine the status of such Tsareviches (for example, Siberian and Kazakh Shibanids). However, political expediency was taken into account in each specific case. In the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, Kazan, Astrakhan, Khiva, Kazakh and Siberian Chinggisids were known in Russia. Moreover, while Astrakhan natives clearly predominated in the 16th century (Temür Qutluğ Tsar's children), in the 17th century, Siberian Shibanids were definitely predominant. Altogether, about 150 representatives of the golden family are known to

have lived in the period in question. However, several dozen of them died in infancy or early childhood, leaving only their names. Others left their marks in Russian history. Here, we should name Kazan khans such as Shah Ali b. Sheikh Aular and Yagdar Muhammad b. Kasay (Kasim) (Simeon Kasaevich), Kasimov Tsars such as Sain Bulat b. Beg Bulat (Simeon Kasaevich), Uraz Muhammad b. Ondan and Arslan b. Ali, the Crimean Tsarevich Murad Giray, the Siberian Tsarevich Altanay b. Kuchum, the Khiva Tsarevich Avgan Muhammad b. Arab Muhammad.

The conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates created a situation where the Chinggisids were no longer seen as possible Russian successors to neighbouring Tatar thrones. Now there were attempts to use them to achieve other objectives. First of all, this was undoubtedly to increase the Moscow Sovereign's prestige as the Tsar of Tsars. There were several opportunities to emphasise this point: the appointment of a particular Tsar or Tsarevich as a nominal regimental voivode in the army, their presence at audiences given to ambassadors, as well as numerous court ceremonies [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 115–129]. The great reign of Simeon Bekbulatovich should be recognised as the brightest page in the history of the Serving Chinggisids of the 16th century (1575–1576). Researchers continue to argue about the true nature of this event, but there is no escaping the fact that a Chinggisid, although nominally, ruled in Russia for 11 months [Belyakov, 2011a]. We must also mention the Kasimov and Kazan Khan Shah Ali b. Sheikh Aular, whose image was idealised to show Russian citizens what a true vassal meant [Belyakov, 2011, pp. 387–388].

However, at the same time, they were the victims of their high status. According to the established rules, they yielded in honour only to the Kalitiches; and in the 17th century, under the reign of a new dynasty, only to the Tsar and his children. As a result, even after baptism, they remained in a sort of vacuum. They could not occupy any public positions, were limited in their choice of spouses; their life was free from many problems and difficulties, but at the same time it was regulated in many aspects.

The latter primarily concerned their movement in the country. Figuratively speaking, they lived in a kind of golden cage and were not supposed to fly.

In the 17th century, the status of the Serving Chinggisids changed drastically. They no longer had the right to collect income from cities. They were deprived of their own military detachments. Tsareviches were no longer presented to diplomats. The authorities were trying to experiment with the status of baptised Tsareviches. However, Moscow did not dare to finally merge them with other titled Moscow noblemen. And under the reign of Aleksey Mikhaylovich, a kind of renaissance in the position of Tatar Tsareviches began. The Moscow Tsar tried to restore the situation of the latter half of the 16th century, but as he understood it. All the existing Tsareviches were baptised, sometimes even by force. They became regular participants of court ceremonies, and in some cases substituted for the Moscow Tsar in cross processions. This became particularly evident during the reign of Peter Alekseyevich, who often left Moscow. Among other things, Tatar Tsars became relatives of the Romanovs by marrying the sisters of Moscow Tsarinas. However, revival of the tradition of appointing Chinggisids as nominal regimental voivodes was considered unjustified and was abandoned.

We should also mention that baptised Chinggisids gave Russia two locally honoured saints—Theodore Dolgolyadsky (the Kazan dynasty) and Yakov Kasimovsky (the Siberian dynasty) [Belyakov 2010; Belyakov, 2012].

In general, the 'death' of the institution of Serving Chinggisids virtually coincided with the enthronement of Peter the Great. However this did not happen immediately, but gradually, almost imperceptibly. But the beginning of this process was very symbolic. A dispute between Prince M. Golitsyn, who had not taken part in a cross procession because of the Siberian tsarevich Grigory Alekseyevich, served as the basis to abandon the institution of mestnichestvo [order of precedence] [Eskin, 2009, p. 188]. Only one Chinggisid was appointed to a public position during the reign of Peter the Great. The Kasimov Tsarevich Ivan Vasilyevich was ordered to head the Mining Prikaz [Mining Chancellery] from 1705 to March 1713. Tatar Tsareviches had already begun to yield their position to other foreign noblemen at the end of the 17th century. Georgian Tsars and Tsareviches moved ahead of them in their status. At that time, the title of Tsarevich became an anachronism. But it still remained for some time. The dynasty of the Kasimov Shibaniids ended in the first third of the 18th century. Other branches of the descendants of Khan Kuchum soon ended as well. In 1718, Tsarevich Vasily Alekseyevich was involved in the case of Tsarevich Aleksey. After being tortured, he was exiled to Archangelsk, where he soon died. In the same year, his children were ordered to call themselves Princes, not Tsareviches. The history of Service Chinggisids ended with this. However, the descendants of Vasily Alexeevich would be known in Russia for another two centuries. And some of them would be long remembered [Lyubimov, 1915, pp. 55–79].

2.2. Regions where the Class of Serving Tatars Formed

Ildus Gabdullin

The Kasimov Khanate and Kasimov uyezd. Along with appanage principalities such as Mozhaysk, Belozersk, Staritsa and Zvenigorod, which were ruled by the Rurik dynasty, a new appanage appeared in the territory of Muscovite state in the middle of the 15th century, where Tatar feudal nobility was the ruling elite.

With the strengthening of the Muscovite state, the status of the Kasimov Khanate and its rulers changed. Whereas at the beginning of the Khanate's formation, Kasim, the Kasimov Khan, was somewhat autonomous from the Grand Prince of Moscow, over time, Kasim's successors simply became puppets of the Moscow authorities. They were under

strict control. Each new Kasimov Sovereign was obliged to swear a 'šert' (oath—I.G.) of allegiance to the Muscovite state, and Grand Princes passed Kasimov to certain Tatar Tsareviches, taking into account foreign policy and other considerations. At a time when relations between Moscow and the Crimea were more or less friendly, power in Kasimov was in the hands of representatives of the Crimean branch of the Chinggisids. Immediately after a serious cooling of relations between the two countries, power in the Khanate was passed to Siberian tsareviches. The Khan's power became nominal in many aspects. This is also confirmed by the fact that the Khan was accompanied by a Russian voivode acting as a supervisor. According to a decree to a voivode dated 11 July 1651, he, like all previous voivodes, had to 'find out and ensure that no parcels or advice are received by the Kasimov Tsarevich or his people from any infidel states, or from the Nogai people or the Mari regarding any matter; and that the Tsarevich's sayyids or other people shall not be advised or sent anything, and that the tsarevich shall not be robbed by anyone; and if he discovers a shady deal or communication with any suspicious person, he shall immediately write to the Moscow Tsar about it'. The voivode had to prevent meetings of the Kasimov Tsar and his people with foreign ambassadors passing through Kasimov on their way to Moscow [Firsov, 1866, pp. 94–95; Nikolsky, 1919, p. 23].

Starting in the reign of Ivan III, the Kasimov Khanate fulfilled the role of a counterweight in Moscow's struggle against the Kazan Khanate. Along with Kasimov, Kasimov Tsars Shah Ali and Jan Ali ruled in Kazan for a while. Kazan, Crimean, Nogai and Siberian exiles together with their suzerains, as well as part of the captive Turkic population, were also settled in the Khanate. The Chinggisids placed in the Kasimov Khanate were used to exert pressure on certain Tatar states. The presence of a Muslim possession within its territory was used by Muscovy as an argument in a dialog with the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Empire) to prove their religious tolerance.

Together with Khans and Tsareviches, their entourages also moved to Kasimov. We also know the names of Princes Kobyak Aydarov and Isak Akhmatov, who were subject to Kasim, the first Kasimov Tsarevich. It is possible that the latter had a direct relation to Akhmatovo village that later existed in Kasimov uyezd (the Tatars called it Karlar), as well as Akhmatov Stan. In addition to princes, other categories of the Muslim elite are also mentioned in the Khanate of 15th century: uhlans, treasurer, darogas and sayyids. Later, many inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate were also settled by the authorities in the Kasimov Khanate. In particular, we know about Mamin, a Kazan prince, who was granted one of the Mordovian 'belyaks' in the first half of the 16th century. His name is also apparently connected with the Tatar village Mamishevo (Malyshevo) recorded in Kasimov uyezd in 1715. In addition, we know about the Kazan princes Aipovs and Kastrovs (Kostrovs), who were also settled in the Kasimov land.

Along with Kazan natives, Muslim noblemen in the Khanate were reinforced by other ethnic components. Thus, a tutor of tsar Araslan Aleevich, 'dyadka' Kelmamet Atalyk Aygildeev, 'left Siberia together with Tsar Araslan'. Deum Bektemirov, Isengildey Yangildeev and many others were of the same origin. The ethnogenesis of the Kasimov Tatars included the Kalmyks and the Turks. Kalmyks Molla Chepanov and Kichey Chorov were among those serving in the 'Tsar's court'. Musa Asanov is shown as a 'Turk'. Emikey Bibulushev was Moscow Tatar, and Abdulla Abyz Asanov was a Crimean Tatar.

There were many natives of the Nogai Horde. Thus, the founder of the well known princely Shemerdyanov family—Tokhmamet Shemerdyanov, Sara Elomanov and a number of other members of the 'Tsar's court' were Nogai Tatars originating from Kazyev Ulus [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1627, file 1, pp. 28–53]. Several descendants of Edigu, a Ruler of the Golden Horde (1352–1419), also found themselves in the Kasimov Khanate. Among them were Syuyundyuk murza, the son of Said Ahmet (Sheydyak) and the grandson of Musa, the ruler of the Nogai Horde. By the beginning of

the 17th century, they already lived in Butakovo village. We should also mention that Butak Murza is noted among Edigu's descendants. Apparently, some members of the Syuyundyukov family moved to Kazan uyezd. Later, in the latter half of the 17th century, some members of the Kazan branch of the Syuyundyukovs' family were transferred to Ufa uyezd and lived in Kulaevo village on the Osinskaya road for a while [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 3, book 115, p. 510; Ahmetzyanov, 2004, pp. 72–83]. By 1622, Nogai murzas Yan Mamed Dzhanaev and his uncle Abdul Tenikeev lived in Kasimov.

According to the information from the *deyatnya* [documents of the Muscovite Rus' presenting lists of service people] of 1623, there were 446 serving murzas, Tatars and Cossacks in the Kasimov Khanate [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, file 11, pp. 2–29]. By 1638, the number of Serving Murzas and Tatars had reached 610 people [Rakhimzyanov, 2001]. All these figures are apparently connected with newly recruited Serving Tatars. Bearing in mind that there were many non-recruited Serving Tatars, the total number of the Tatar service class must have been greater. In this regard, the figures given by V. Velyaminov-Zernov for the number of Serving Tatars in Meshchera Territory may be considered reliable. According to him, there were 3,400 Serving Murzas and Tatars in Meshchera. However, according to D. Iskhakov, the number of serving Tatars with their families reached 24,000 people in the Kasimov Khanate alone [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 233, 239]. During the 1st revision of 1719–1724, the Kasimov Tatars (Kasimov uyezd) lived in 5 settlements and 44 villages, and in trading quarters of Kasimov.

Meshchera Territory (Temnikov, Kadom and Shatsk uyezds). Turkic noblemen began to settle in the area between the Oka and Sura rivers long before the 'Great Troubles' in the Golden Horde. According to genealogists, Bakhmet Useinov, an ancestor of the Meshchera princes and a member of the Shirinskys family, had already appeared in Meshchera at the end of the 13th century. Tatars built fortified towns Narovchat, Temnikov, Elatma and

others in the new place. According to M. Safargaliev, Temnikov dates back to 1257–1259. Narovchat has been known since 1312, judging by the coins minted in this city [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 362]. By 1614, the possessions of Serving Murzas and Tatars had been relocated near these towns. In the 14th century, prince Sekiz Bey appeared near the Pyana River, and prince Tagai and others in Narovchat.

Meshchera Territory was included in the Muscovite state according to a grant charter issued in 1392 by Tokhtamysh, the Khan of the Golden Horde, to Vasily Dmitrievich. At that time, the Meshchera region was adjacent to the Ryazan principality. After Meshchera Territory was included in the Muscovite state, its rulers, who needed military forces on the outskirts of the state, invited feudal lords from the Golden Horde feudal to serve in Meshchera by the 16th century. Thus, in 1552 the Moscow Tsar addressed the Nogai Tatars as follows: 'After leaving your yurts, you are now travelling without shelter. And you want our salaries; so come to us together with all your people, who are now with you. And we will provide you and all your people with a place in Ukraine, in Meshchera, which will be good for your migrations' (cited from: [Orlov, 1992, p. 29]).

The presence of a large number of Tatar landlords with subordinate Tatar, Mordovian and Russian peasants is a characteristic feature of Meshchera Territory. For example, there were a total of 451 landlords, mainly Tatars, in Temnikov uyezd in 1612. By the end of the 17th century, more than 500 out of 647 landlords in the uyezd were Tatar murzas and princes [Alishev, 1990, p. 94]. Members of the Tatar ruling elite in 1678 included 57 Murzas and Enikeev Princes, 50 Akchurin Princes, 32 Devletkildyevs, 31 Kudashevs, 19 Tenishevs, 18 Bibarsovs, 17 Tugushevs and Toksheykovs, 15 Dashkins, 7 Kugushevs, 5 Mansyrevs and 5 Makulovs, 4 Diveevs, Isheevs, Kulunchakovs and Shikhmametevs. There were also Dolotkozins, Utyashevs, Efaevs, Sedakhmetevs, Chanyshevs and others [Zavaryukhin, 1993, pp. 28–29].

The Tatar elite had extensive possessions. For example Kadom Murza Icenyi Mokshev

Butak's son became a prince ruling over Ryazan Mordvinians in Kirdyanovsky belyak. Land grants continued in the 16–17th centuries. Prince Devletkildeyev was granted Kirdyushevsky belyak on the Sura River; service murzas R. Altyshev and his 20 companions were granted estates in Arzamas uyezd in 1586, and Urazay Enashev founded the town of Ruzaevka in 1631. In the 17th century, members of the Kugushev family owned the following belyaks: prince Akiri—Erykhtinsky (22 settlements), prince Tenish—Kirzhansky (24 settlements), prince Enikey (Temnikov) and prince Yengalych (Telyadim). In 1629, there were 216 Serving Tatars in Arzamas uyezd, 420 Serving Tatars in Alatyr uyezd, and 409, 250 and 389 Serving Tatars in Kasimov, Kadom and Temnikov uyezds, respectively [Alishev, 1984, pp. 56–57].

Some Tatar servicemen were transferred from Meshchera Territory during construction of lines of defence on the borders of the country in the 17th century. For example, in 1642, Temnikov Serving Tatars were transferred there in connection with construction of Saransk, and other Temnikov Murzas and Tatars in 1646, when Insar was being built. In 1648, there were 386 Serving Tatars in Kurmysh uyezd. In the latter half of the 17th century, Serving Tatars, who were migrants from Meshchera Territory, appeared in the territory of modern Tatarstan (southeast) and Bashkortostan. Thus, in 1658, they were moved on the Bolshoy and Maly Cheremshan and Sheshma rivers from Arzamas, Temnikov and Saransk.

According to the census of servicemen, there were 506 people in Alatyr in 1661–1663 (all of them served from the land). Most of them (320 people) were serving murzas and Tatars [Oshanina, 1961]. Along with Kazan uyezd, some Temnikov murzas and Tatars were transferred to Nizhny Novgorod and Arzamas uyezds. This is also evident from toponymic data. In particular, settlements called Azeyevo existed in Arzamas and Kazan uyezds along with the Meshchera Krai.

Possessions of the Bardakovo Tatars in Ryazan uyezd were located near Meshchera lands. The Bardakovo Tatars, namely, Yeldash Emaev

and others (a total of 28 people), owned a third of Oderekhinskaya village. There were four landlords' households, a servants' household, 11 peasants' households and 3 bobylys' households. There were 40 chets of ploughed land and 60 chets of fallow land. They also owned manorial lands in Kamenka Stan of Ryazan uyezd amounting to 1,122 chets, and 1,222 chets in two stans [Anpilogov, 1982, p. 220].

Kazan uyezd. After the conquest of Tatar lands of the Kazan Khanate, the Moscow Ruler was regarded as their absolute owner and received the title of 'Tsar of Kazan'. The former social structure of the population of the conquered territory was also preserved. After the 'pacification' of Kazan uyezd, the government 'granted' the right to collect yasak [tribute] to its new nationals. The privileged population groups that were loyal to the Russian government (Tatar Princes, murzas, tarkhans and Cossacks) were included in the service class of Muscovy. They were granted estates and patrimonies, often those they had owned 'before the Kazan conquest' or 'as it was before'.

Tatar feudal noblemen suffered significant losses during the struggle for independence of the Kazan Khanate against the Muscovite state. Some of them were killed during the war for Kazan and during subsequent revolts in the latter half of the 16th century. Captured Kazan feudal lords were sent to the inner regions of Muscovy. Some of them were forced to flee to the Crimean Khanate and the Nogai Horde. In particular, this is described in the Tatar Chronicles rewritten by Nurmukhamet, Ahmetzyan's son [Istoriya, 1937, p. 123]. Some Tatar feudal lords 'were given patrimonies and estates in towns near Moscow' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 487]. According to the estimates of D. Iskhakov, the total number of Serving Tatars together with their families was no more than 7,500 people by 1646 in Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds, the main territory of the former Kazan Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 232]. It should be also noted that this group, especially in Sviyazhsk uyezd, was largely represented by Serving murzas and Tatars transferred from the inner regions of the Russian state. For example, the Census Book of Sviyazhsk uyezd

for 1646–1652 states that the Serving Tatars included members of the prominent Tatar feudal Yengalychev, Baishev and Karaev families, who had previously lived in the Meshchera Krai and Arzamas and Alatyr uyezds [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 433, p. 1, 32 reverse, 50 reverse, 98 reverse]. Although there was a reverse process immediately after the conquest of the Kazan Khanate, when some Tatar feudal lords moved to the Meshchera Krai and other uyezds of the Russian state, it could hardly be called significant. In particular, Tatar Princes Kastrov and Aipov were transferred to Meshchera Territory.

Some servicemen of Kazan uyezd found themselves among the tribute-paying population because of 'poverty', 'lack of funds' and inability to serve for this reason, or because their lands were transferred to the tribute-paying class. Thus, at the beginning of the 17th century, the ancestors of a famous Tatar oil industry businessman and elder Nadyr Urazmetov (died in 1758) lived in Bolshoy Menger village of the Arsk daruga in Kazan uyezd. The *piscovaja kniga* of 1602–1603 states that its residents included serving Tatars Yanbakhta, Yanbay and Tlevlesh who, along with an estate, owned a honey-hunting patrimony and a tavern that were granted to them 'for service to their father Toygozi' [Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, pp. 180–181]. By 1678, Toygozi's (Toygilde) descendants had moved to Adayevo village of the same Arsk daruga (modern Kukmor district of the Republic of Tatarstan). By this time, they had become tribute-paying Tatars [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 6453, pp. 723 reverse–725], but they did not forget their 'Tarkhan' origin, which is proved by a petition of one of Nadyr Urazmetov's relatives Urazka Baybirin to grant him the title of Tarkhan. His charter states that 'his relatives have long been serving...in Ufa with the title of Tarkhan' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864a, p. 46].

According to the data contained in the Census Books of 1646 collected by I. Pokrovsky, the number of Murzas, Serving Tatars or newly baptised Tatars owning patrimonial estates or lands in 160 households along the Alat road amounted to 166 people, along with 279 children, 6 stepchildren, 31 grandchildren; in 99

households along the Arsk Road, 99 landlords, 151 children, 1 stepchild, 24 grandchildren, 29 brothers and 18 nephews; in 203 households along the Zyureyskaya Road, 201 landlords, 296 children, 8 stepchildren, 22 grandchildren, 32 brothers and 9 nephews. There were 16 Murza landlords along all the roads, 5 of whom had the title of Prince: 'Prince Stepan Prince Yakovlev, Asanov's son, Ishkey Murza Prince Bagishev, Yakushev's son, Kadrek Murza Prince Komaev, Smilenev's son, Ishteryak and Yashtiryak Murzas Prince Semeneev, Yakushev's children, Moskey Murza Baykeev, Kadyrmamet Murza Doskeyev, Yakushev's son, Bogdan Murza Iseneev, Yakushev's son, Kulay Murza Sabakaev Chinikeev, Shiga Murza Sabakaev, Yanikeev's son, Bogulka Murza Semeneev, Yakushev's son, Moskov, Urekey and Iseney Murzas Togildins, Ishkey and Kadyrmamet Murzas Yakushev'. In Kazan Territory, possessions of some Tatar landlords occupied huge areas, but there were not enough peasants to maintain them. The largest number of peasants—288 people—belonged to Murzas Ishteryak and Yashtiryak Yakushev. Their possessions were located along the Alat and Zurey roads [Pokrovsky, 1909].

Khlynov uyezd (Cheptsas and Karino Tatars). The formation of the Cheptsas group of the Serving Tatars is connected with the Arsk Road of the Kazan Khanate. It should also be kept in mind that the Turkic population appeared in the Cheptsas River basin long before the emergence of the Kazan Khanate, when Volga Bulgaria still existed. Epitaph inscriptions dating back to the first quarter of the 14th century also show that the Turkic population lived in this territory. The sources call the feudal elite of the population of the Cheptsas River basin 'Arsk princes', or according to the name of one of the major Tatar settlements in the region—Karino settlement—the Karino Tatars. The epithet 'Arsk princes' clearly shows that the area of the Cheptsas River basin was for a while (until 1489) included in the Arsk Road of the Kazan Khanate. The population that depended on them also lived there. Sources call the 'Aryans' (1489), 'Votyaks' or 'Otyaks' (circa 1505–1509), 'Chyuvashes' (1511) or 'Besermians' (1615). The fortified town of Nukrat

was a kind of a capital of the Karino Tatars. When Vyatka Territory was added to Muscovy, some 'Arsk princes' were mentioned, whom Moscow troops 'destroyed'.

According to a shejere (genealogy), feudal lords of the region wrote in their genealogies that they were descended from Kipchak Emir Bachman, who lived in the Lower Volga region in the first half of the 13th century. Sources of the 16th century describe representatives of Tatar feudal lords, who lived in Khlynov uyezd, quite fully. The earliest documents date back to the reign of Vasily III (1505–1533). One of the earliest sources associated with the Karino Tatars and dated 18 December 1511, includes in the titles of Vasily III such forms as 'the Sovereign of all Russia and the Grand Prince... of Pskov'. At the same time, a copy of another document, which is also associated with the reign of Vasily III but is dated 25 June 1509 due to carelessness of the scribes of the original (the year 1583 according to the modern calendar—I.G.), does not include these titles of Vasily III. Therefore, we can conclude that this charter was executed between 1505 and 1509, when the Pskov land was included in the Muscovite state. This is the charter that mentions the name Kara Beg, written as Karachura. It also names his father—Ramadan [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 38, inv. 1, file 204, p. 162]. Somewhat later, in January 1555 (1548—I.G.), Bakshanda (Bashkanda), one of Karachura's sons, is mentioned.

The population dependent on Tatar feudal lords was apparently taken away from them after 1489, after the region was joined to Russia. Therefore, it is not surprising that the letter of grant issued to Karachura Ramadanov orders him 'not to call or accept local Vyatka Otyaks, who are registered tribute payers, with or without books'. Specifically, Karachura Ramadanov was allowed to accept 'from Kazan land' Votyaks called by him, who were supposed to be settled 'in Gozhanova Ramenye and along the Sellya River'. The newly arrived population group (Votyaks, Chuvashes) found themselves under the legal jurisdiction of local Tatar feudal lords. Khlynov viceregents of the Moscow Tsar had the right to judge the population sub-

ordinated to Arsk princes only in cases of 'murders or being caught red-handed in robbery'. A general court was assumed in case of a dispute between a person dependent on the Tatar elite and 'Vyatka region residents, Russians or Tatars, city or stan people'. In all other cases, the Tatar prince was to 'conduct...and judge'. Tatar princes also collected tributes from the Votyaks and Chuvashes. It was only during the reign of Tsar Fyodor I of Russia in 1688–1689, that the practice of collecting yasak [tribute] by the Karino Princes from their dependent population was abandoned. From that time, Tatar feudal lords were granted a monetary salary like other non-Orthodox servicemen. Two items of a monetary salary were stipulated—of 10 and 7 rubles [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1173, inv. 1, file 978, pp. 7–8].

In the 17–18th centuries, a considerable number of Serving Tatars moved to Kazan and Ufa uyezds.

Ufa uyezd. Within the territory of the modern Republic of Bashkortan, the serving Tatars and the Meshcheryaks (Mishars) were a military service class during the 17th to 19th centuries. In 1792, the Meshcheryaks living in the Ufa namestnichestvo, wrote as follows: 'Our ancestors originate from the Nogai landowners' families and murzas, serving Meshcheryaks and Tatars' (cited from: [Demidova, 1955, p. 261]). According to some sources, the Mishar Tatars (Meshcheryaks) appeared in this region at the end of the 16th century. In a letter to his father, Chancellor I. Golovkin, dated 24 September 1720, a future Senator Colonel I. Golovkin wrote, 'Here the Serving Tatars are called...Meshcheryaks; as they say, many have been settled in Ufa uyezd under charters issued by the Kazan Prikaz' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 3, book 115, p. 235]. The 'Note of the Orenburg Government on the Issues of Managing various population groups in Bashkiria' (1800) states as follows regarding the Mishar Tatars: 'These people are not native to Orenburg guberniya, but have moved there from Alatyr and Simbirsk uyezd in accordance with a regulation issued in Simbirsk guberniya' [Materialy po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj

Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1960, p. 581]. Already at the beginning of the 17th century, the 'Sloboda Tatars' were shown as the inhabitants of a sloboda near Ufa [Rakhmatulin, 1988, p. 52]. The serving Tatars they have been also known in later times, when they were called 'Sloboda Tatars' [Novikov, 1870, pp. 15–16].

When in 1658 the government was going to impose the obligation to pay *yasak* [tribute], some Meshcheryaks filed petitions not to impose this *yasak*, reasoning this by the fact that 'they were the Serving Tatars, children of servicemen; their grandfathers and fathers served in Alaty, Arzamas, Kadom, Temnikov, Romanov, Sviyazhsk, Kurmysh, and they had been serving in Ufa for 15 years or more, fulfilling the Tsar's various orders, accompanying noblemen, sons of boyars, foreigners, other servicemen and recruits on exiles and other trips' [Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library, fund 364, inv. 7, file 2a, pp. 24–25]. Later, this category of the population was replenished by new immigrants from inner regions of the Russian state. In 1650, an Ufa voivode Fyodor Miloslavsky ordered just six men from the ploughed land to 'serve' the Serving Nogais, Teniberdeyka Mitenev and Mametka Kanchin [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1173, inv. 1, file 1119, pp. 40, 63]. In 1651, Karachurin Princes (Kaybish Uzeev, Kuzma Mirasev, etc.) moved to Ufa uyezd, where they founded Kulbarisovo village (the modern Sabaevo village of Mishkinsky district of Bashkortostan) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 3, book 115, p. 435; fund 350, inv. 1, file 3790, p. 3 reverse; Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-386, inv. 1, file 1, p. 76 reverse]. They are the descendants of Chura Narykov, a Kazan prince and a hero of a Tatar epic poem, 'Chura-Batyr'.

At the same time Murzas Kireevs were settled in the territory of Osinskaya road. They were first mentioned in Bashkortostan in 1650, when Murzas Ishey and Bulay Dosaevs, Kirey's sons, together with their comrades, were 'recruited' near Kemeevo village of the modern Mishkinsky district. At the same time, the Murzas were granted 50 chets of land each,

and the Serving Tatars 0150 20 chets each. At the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th centuries, the family of Bulay Dosayev, Kireev's son, moved to Alaty uyezd, from whence Bulay Kirey's descendants returned in 1778 to Orenburg guberniya, as tribute-paying Tatars, and settled in Kucherbaevo village of the modern Blagovarsky district. Ishey Kireyev's descendants belonged to the 'Mishar' class and lived in villages such as Karakuchukovo, Ikhsanovo, Rasmekeevo, Akhmetovo and Birukazganovo. Some of Ishey Kireev's descendants were granted the title of noblemen for their length of service and given officer ranks (Karakuchukovo, Rasmekeevo, Birukazganovo). The descendants of murza Bigay (Bekbay), Dosay Kireev's third son, settled in Chelyabinsk uyezd. Most of them received the title of noblemen in 1800 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, collection 248, inventory 3, case 115, sheet 450; collection 350, inventory 2, case 1148, sheet 398os. -399; collection 1355, inventory 1, case 449, sheet 20os. ; Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-1, inv. 1, file 1343, p. 16; fund I-172, inv. 1, file 83, pp. 265–266, 630].

By 1658, the villages, where the 'Serving Tatars' settled in Ufa uyezd, were the following: the villages of Urazaevo, Kulbarisovo, Nalmasovo, Baybakovo, Ishmaevo (settled in 1656), Kulaevo, Baybyurino, Sikiyady, Chetvertakovo, Basy. In the 'census of various serving ranks and people' dated 1657, some inhabitants are represented as the Serving Tatars, and in 1658 already as the Serving Meshcheryaks. Altogether, 84 people were recruited in these villages. At the same time, the residents themselves said that previously they had served in Temnikov or Alaty. Some of the newly arrived Meshcheryaks were to be sent to Sviyazhsk, Kurmysh, Alaty and Arzamas uyezds, to 'those cities, where they came from' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1173, inv. 1, file 488, pp. 13–45; file 1119, pp. 35–39].

A special sub-group of the group of the Ufa serving Tatars was represented by immigrants from Khlynov uyezd, the so-called Karino Tatars. They got a security charter for the lands near the Kama river and its tributary, the Izh river, still in 1649. They founded villages

such as Varzi, Salagush, Rysovo, Ishmame-tevo, Atabayevo, Baybekovo, Kabanovo and Mushugi, Kuchukovo and Yutazy on the road to Kazan road from Ufa uyezd. The Karino Tatars included representatives of the following families: the Khilyalovs, Kasimovs, Devletyarovs, Khozyaseitovs, Zyanchurins and the Seytyakovs. All of them were the descendants of Karino land-owning families [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1173, inv. 1, file 861, pp. 5–7; Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 17–18]. Judging from a number of documents, the position of the Karino Tatars was close to the status of the tribute-paying Tatars. Apparently, this resulted in the fact that this population group later joined the class of teptyars. In particular, there were ‘Tatar teptyars’ in Kurmashevo and Novoye Alimovo villages (the modern Aktanysh district of the Republic of Tatarstan), who were the descendants of Devletyarovs, the Karino Serving Tatars [Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-1, inv. 1, file 1343, p. 186 reverse].

It is also necessary to note the fate of the Devletyarov Princes in the territory of Orenburg guberniya. In the 1740s, some representatives of the family moved to Orenburg’s Seitov Posad (trading quarters), from whence they later moved to Yasherganovo village (the modern Sterlibashev district of the Republic of Bashkortostan). By the middle of the 19th century, 57 Devletyarov Princes from the village belonged to the Bashkir class, 5 to the Mishar class, and 44 to the class of state peasants. In addition, some representatives of the family found themselves in the Teptyar class [Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-1, inv. 1, file 1343, pp. 51, 186 reverse, 218].

Tarkhans also belonged to the ‘Meshcheryak’ class for a while. Some representatives of the class, being the feudal elite in the ‘Nogai yurt’ of the Kazan Khanate, were granted estates with tribute-paying peasants in near vicinity of Kazan, for their service to the Kazan Khan. In addition, they also owned legacies in the territory of the former Belovolzhskaya and Bashkirskaia lands. Having remained in the territory of Kazan uyezd after his conquest by

the Muscovite state, this category of the population, like other feudal lords, were ranked among the military service class of the Muscovite state and were called the serving Tatars. Thus, in a charter dated 1702, the following Serving Tatars of Basy village, who were recorded as servicemen, were also recorded as Tarkhans: Kutlumetko Kulushev, Urazaka Ishmetev, Aliyka Ishmetev, and from Yangaz village: Narat Abdrakhman Kaminkin.

Tarkhans from Kyr-Ilanskaya volost were known about since the ‘Enaley’s revolt’ that took place in 1615. These Tarkhans were awarded estates for their participation in the capture of Enaley Emametev. Later, these Serving Tarkhan Tatars became a part of the Bashkir class. At the beginning of the 18th century, Bashkirs Kutlumbetevs (Kutlumetevs) were known in Kyr-Ilanskaya volost. Tarkhans and the Serving Tatars are also linked to a number of settlements in the south-east of the Republic of Tatarstan, in particular, Taysuganovo, Kulsharipovo and Kichuchatovo (the modern Almet’yevsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan). According to a legend, Taysuganovo village was founded by Abdrakhman (Abdrakhman Tuymukhametov—Gabdrakhman Tuymukhemmet al-Bikchurai) (1691–1764), who came with his relatives (they were from the Buguruslan side of the Kinel river) from Galino village. It is known that this village belonged to the Sultangulovo volost of Buguruslan uyezd. The Bashkirs of Kipchak volost, who originated from Tarkhans Manashevs, lived there. Abdrakhman Tuymukhametov lived for a while in Murtysh-Tamak village of Baylyar volost. The Baylyar tribe belonged to the Kipchak tribal alliance during the Nogai dominance of the Southern Urals (at least, until the 16th century). The Manashev family itself is associated with the Serving Tatars from Kugarchin village of the modern Rybno-Slobodsky district of Tatarstan.

Some servicemen of Ufa uyezd, who had been called previously serving Tatars, also became a part of the Bashkir class. In particular, this is confirmed by a petition of Urazayka Nagaev, a Bashkir of Ilanskaya volost, dated 1668. In his petition, Urazayka Nagaev indi-

cates that his grandfather served for a salary of 8 rubles, and ‘his grandfather and father... were Serving Tatars, but not tribute payers’ [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1173, inv. 1, file 676, p. 1]. In 1727, Umer Tokhtarov, a Bashkir of Bulyar volost, complained that Almet Adnagulov and Masyagut Tatimov, Bashkirs living in the same volost, were ‘foreign Tatars, and not original...Bashkirs’. Some years later, when the Bashkir Commission began its activities, Masyagut Tatimov was brought to the authorities by other Bashkirs with accusations of the fact that he ‘was a foreign Meshcheryak’ [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 9, inv. 1, file 150, p. 41; Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund I-172, inv. 1, file 120, p. 75; Materials on the History of the Republic of Bashkortostan, 1936, pp. 134–135]. Later Masyagut Tatimov (Tyatimov) was known as a Bashkir foreman of Garey volost. D. Sokolov noticed a similarity between tamgas of the Sviazhsk Tatars (many villages were ‘Mishar’ in this uyezd) and Bashkir tamgas of Menzelinsk uyezd [Sokolov, 1904, p. 87]. Thus, the feudal elite of the tribes living in Ufa uyezd, who were a part of the Serving Tatars of Kazan uyezd, or who became tribute-paying Tatars for whatever reasons (but in no case ‘tribute-paying Chuvashes’) became one of the components that formed the Bashkir class.

In 1699, there were already 748 serving Tatars and Meshcheryaks in Ufa uyezd [Rychkov, 1887 pp. 72–73]. Census books of ‘Serving Meshcheryaks’ dated 1720, recorded that they lived in 41 villages, mostly on the Osinskaya road. In total, there were 380 households. In a census dated 1736, the Serving Meshcheryaks stated that there were 20,000 people, including 5,000 people eligible for service [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 3, book 135, p. 42]. Apparently, this number included those Meshcheryaks, who had been previously obliged to pay a head tribute, but were called for service during a rebellion that occurred between 1735 and 1740, with an exemption from the tribute for the time of the service. This is evident from the fact that later in 1766, there were 1937 households of serving Meshcheryaks (comprised of 15,517 persons of both sexes),

237 households of Serving Tatars (containing 1429 people) and 443 households of Tarkhans in Ufa and Isetsk provinces [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 815]. Although service was the primary responsibility of the Ufa Meshcheryaks, in 1699, it was ordered that 1 ruble should be charged from them instead of from the ‘Kamysenskaya service’. Later, after the transformation of the serving Tatars of Kazan guberniya into lashmans in 1718, the Meshcheryaks of Ufa uyezd were again obliged to pay 1 ruble. In 1732, under a decree of the Governing Senate, the Meshcheryaks were ordered to serve ‘as they did earlier with Ufa noblemen and foreigners’ [Malov, 1885, p. 36]. Within the period from 1747 to 1754, the Meshcheryaks paid a 25–kopeck tribute that was then removed [Istoriya Bashkortostana, 1996, p. 289]. From this time on, military service became the Meshcheryaks’ primary responsibility. They were one of the constituent parts of the Bashkir-Mishar army, formed in the 19th century.

The basis of the Mishar class in the territory of Ufa uyezd was formed by feudal, to some degree, relative groups known as the serving Tatars in Kazan uyezd, or as the serving Tatars, Meshcheryaks and Tarkhans in Ufa uyezd.

Romanov and Yaroslavl uyezds. The appearance of Tatar population on the ethnic map of the North Eastern Rus (Ruthenia) of the 16th century (the modern territory of the Yaroslavl oblast) is associated with granting of Romanov town (the modern Tugayev town of Yaroslavl oblast) as an appanage to the Nogai Murzas Kutumovs and Yusupovs. This happened between late 1564 and the first half of 1565 [Trepavlov, 1997a, pp. 58–59]. ‘Their Cossacks’ came to service together with Elmurza Yusupov and his cousins Murzas Aydar and Alei Kutumovs. Along with Romanov town, the Tsar granted the new nationals a number of palace settlements in Romanov uyezd. The size of the land owned by Nogai murzas in Romanov uyezd is shown in the control book of this uyezd for 1616. According to the book, murza Syuyush Yusupov had 72 peasant villages and 2 settlements in 5 stans [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 375, p. 1reverse–3].

At their new place of residence, the Nogai murzas recruited their Cossacks (serving Tatars) themselves and gave them estates or monetary salaries, depending on 'who was deserving, and what he deserved'. All the income from the town and the granted estates were also received by the Kutumovs and Yusupovs. The Nogai murzas were to present 225 people for service in return for the land granted to them [Gurlyand, 1904, p. 4]. Military detachments consisting of the Romanov Serving Tatars were usually deployed on the southern borders of the Muscovite state headed by Muscovite voivodes. Thus, in 1641 the Romanov Tatars were sent for service to such cities as Moscow, Tula, Yablokov, Belgorod, Krapivna and Livny [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1641, file 3, pp. 1–85].

Like in Kasimov, a voivode was assigned to Romanov. The voivode, along with fulfilling his direct duties of managing the uyezd, had to control the Tatars' own lands. In this respect, it is interesting to review Stanisław Niemojewski observations. He was a trusted messenger of the Queen of Sweden, who visited Romanov uyezd in 1606 and met Elmurza Yusupov there. S. Nemoevsky writes as follows, 'Once, when we sent people to him to sell some things and buy food, he, being about sixty years old, sadly told them: "You will be able to leave soon, when this war ends, where I, an unfortunate man, lost my son. But I arrived there voluntarily forty years ago, and only the God knows whether I will see my homeland again". He wanted to continue to talk, but a superintendent standing nearby ordered him to keep silent' (cited from: [Trepavlov, 1997a, p. 59]).

In addition to Romanov uyezd, the Nogai murzas were placed in Yaroslavl uyezd, Rostov and Suzdal. By 1637, the Nogai noblemen could be found in the following cities: in Romanov—Syuyush murza Elmurzin, Yusup's son, Baray murza Aleev, Kutum's son; in Yaroslavl—Kanay murza Dzhanaaleev, Sheydyak's son, Panteley murza Kasimov, Dosa murza Kantandeev, Soltanay murza Kaplanov, Sheydyak's son, Korel murza Chinmurzin, Yusup's son, Devlet Murza Dzhanaaleev, Sheydyak's son, Khan murza Kaplanov, Shedyak's

son, Shakhtemir murza Khoteyev; in Rostov—Mustafa murza Mamaev, Semenderov's, Dosay murza Kangildeev, Murat's son; in Suzdal—Sabanay Kulchumov, Asan's son. In 1652, the following Tatars lived in Romanov: Dzhanmurza, Akmamet Murza and Ishteryak Murza Syuyushevs, Yusupov's children, Khanmurza Barayev, Kutumov's son, and his brothers. P. Kasymov noted that together with the Sheydyakovs that settled in Yaroslavl, there lived Akmanay Murza Bigeev, Smailev's son. However, Korel Yusupov, Sh. Khoteev and D. Kantandeev were not recorded as living there [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, inv. 1, 1637, file 1, pp. 3–6; inv. 1, 1652, file 8, pp. 4–5].

The dynasties of the Romanov Serving Tatars had the following number of families by the middle of the 1670s: Aytulushevs (one family), Akdavletovs (2), Alikeevs (from Yaroslavl, 1) Altyganovs (1), Arazleevs (2), Baygildeevs (5), Baymyshevs (2), Bakaevs (5), Bibarisovs (3) Bigildeevs (1), Bikkineevs (3), Bityukovs (1), Bulatovs (3), Esekeevs (3), Ilbaevs (1), Isenbaevs (1), Isenevs or Esenevs (4), Ishkaraevs (1), Kadyrberdeevs (3), Kadyshevs (1), Kangulovs (2), Karamyshevs (5), Karaulovs (2), Karashovs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Kizynbaevs (1), Kishtanaevs (1), Kuvatovs (2), Kurlenevs (1), Kurmanaleevs (3), Maikovs (2), Mametevs (1), Mamkeevs (3), Machakovs or Mochakovs (2), Musakovs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Nagaevs (1), Orakovs (1), Sabaneevs (1), Sariyevs (1), Safarovs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Siyushevs (3), Smailevs (1), Tanatarovs (1), Tarberdeevs (1), Targulovs (1), Tokalovs (1), Toksarovs (1), Tolbaevs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Tokhpaevs (1), Shaychurins (from Yaroslavl, 1), Shamratovs (1), Chekmaevs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Eshmetevs (3), Yangildeevs (7), Yanodarovs (from Yaroslavl, 1), Yanchurins (1) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 8302, pp. 26 reverse—52].

Later, in connection with the policy of Christianisation, the majority of feudal Nogai noblemen, who served in Romanov and Yaroslavl, were forced to convert to Orthodox Christianity. Under these conditions, many Ro-

manov and Yaroslavl Serving Tatars tried to be transferred to other regions, where there was no religious persecution. Thus, some Romanov Serving Tatars transferred to Kazan and Ufa

uyezds. The Romanov Tatars are connected with Staroye Romashkino village (Iske Roman in the Tatar language) located in the modern Chistopol district of Tatarstan.

§3. Serving Tatars in Siberia

Zaytuna Tychinskikh

'Yomysheles' or 'Serving Tatars' were a special category of population that existed among the Tatars in Siberia during the 17th to 19th centuries. This category of people emerged during the conquest of the Siberian Khanate by the Muscovite state, when the surviving part of Tatar feudal elite, like in other conquered Tatar khanates, such as Kazan and Astrakhan, was compelled to enter the service of the new government as a military service class. Later, the Serving Tatars made up a special group among the religiously and ethnically ragtag bunch of Cossacks, whose efforts 'brought Siberia under the Russian power'. They played an important role in the Russian state's further annexation of new eastern territories.

The evolution of the service class among Siberian Tatars can be divided into three main periods:

The initial period was from the late 16th to the early 18th centuries, a stage when the Serving Tatars emerged as a special social group of the service class. Late 16–early 18th centuries was the initial period, a stage when the Serving Tatars emerged as a special social group of the service class. During this period, the feudal nobility of the Siberian Khanate, while remaining in the position of 'best people', gradually transformed into a class at the service of Muscovite state.

The early 18th century–until 1822 was the period when the units of serving 'Yurt' Tatars existed as part of Cossack garrisons in the Siberian cities (such as Tobolsk, Tyumen and Tara). Serving Tatars began to be considered as one of the special units among the Russian Cossacks.

1822–1868 was the final period, the beginning of which has been determined by the reforms of Michail Speransky ('Statute of Out-

landers' and 'Statute of City Cossacks'). It has been the period of unifying the Serving Tatars with other categories of Cossacks and transferring them subsequently from military to tax-paying class.

For a long time, the service class people, who were mostly Cossacks, were the main military force in Siberia. The researchers remarked upon the multi-ethnic composition of the Cossacks, who emerged from different social groups [Minenko, 1975; Nikitin, 1988; *Istoriya kazachestva*, 1995]. Along with the Russians, the people serving in Siberia included 'Lithuanians and Germans and Circassians and the newly baptised Tatars and Cheremis' [Nikitin, 1988, p. 40].

The Serving Tatars made up a special group among Siberian service class. For a long time, this ethno-class group retained its unique characteristics that had been caused by both external and internal factors.

The formation of Tatar military and service class responded to the needs of a colonisation policy led by Muscovite authorities who, 'in order to advance in the depth of Siberia and levy yasak from people', used former vassals of Kuchum Khan by 'giving them a range of rights and privileges in return' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 163].

The category of 'yomysheles' Serving Tatars began to emerge almost immediately after the conquest of Siberia. According to G. Müller, as early as 1595, the garrison of the city of Tyumen contained Serving Tatars. For example, he reported that, in 1595, 50 serving Tatars, along their wives and children, left Tyumen and travelled to the area in the upper reaches of the Tobol River, by taking with them another 30 tribute-paying Tatars and Tyumen Serving Tatars [Müller, 1941, p. 12]. In 1598, during the last

campaign against Kuchum Khan, A. Voyeykov, Tobolsk voivode, charged a detachment, which included 40 Cossacks and 60 Tatars, with a separate operation. G. Müller made an assumption that individual serving Tatars were recruited by special order of Yermak [Müller, 1998, p. 218].

However, the defining moment in the formation of a Tatar military training and service contingent in Siberia, under the Russian command, should be considered to be the final defeat of Kuchum Khan's army in 1598. This victory was the most crucial stage of Russian advancement in Siberia.

S. Remezov reported that, in 1598, an army had been sent 'into campaign against Tsar Kuchum'. Many prisoners, including 3 sons, 2 daughters and 6 wives of Kuchum were captured following the battle, and the army 'safely returned with other property and cattle'. The captured members of Kuchum family were sent to Moscow. With a few supporters, Kuchum went to Nogai lands, where he was killed, while his people 'came to the town of Tobolsk and agreed to pay yasak, and some of them were baptised and recruited to serve as part of the Copy of newly baptised, and among murzas and sons of murzas, 300 were recruited to serve and given a regular pay of 15 rubles and 7 rubles. And a Russian official was appointed as their commander' [Remezov, 1989, pp. 567–568].

Apparently, these 300 'Murzas and sons of Murzas' made up the bulk of the Service Tatar contingent in Tobolsk, the main Siberian town. Their number remained almost unchanged during the 17th century and, in Tobolsk, remained within the range of 250 to 255 people [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 163].

Therefore, the bulk of the Service Tatar contingent has been formed by representatives of the feudal elite of the former Siberian Khanate. They represented the military serving elite of Siberian Khanate before the annexation of Siberia. Among them, S. Bakhrushin mentioned Prince Yenbulat, who served in Tobolsk in the 1590s, his son Prince Kutuk and his grandson Allagur murza, murza Kaydaul Bayseitov, his sons Mamet, Chitey and Aitkul Kajdaulovs, Tara Prince Tynmamet Berdeley-Murzin, his

son Kuchuk Tynmametov and his grandson Talayka Kuchukov [Ibid., p. 164–165]. The well-known Tatar murzas of the 17th century included 'Prince Atkacharko Akhmanaev', a Tyumen Service Tatar [Russian Historical Library, vol. 2, p. 349], such Tyumen 'Yurt Service Tatar best men' as Devey Irtyshev, Buydak Emachtaev, Tugoka Kelementeyev, Moyumas Azekhmatov, Kazad Engildeyevev, Ustemir Kanchurin, and others [Müller, 1941, p. 159]. Some of the captured Siberian Tatar feudal lords were sent to Moscow. It is known that, in 1584, the captive Tsarevich Mametkul was escorted to Moscow by a detachment of Cossacks led by ataman Groza. In Moscow, Mametkul was kindly received by Tsar Fyodor and, following his enrollment into the Russian service as a 'regimental voivode', he took part in the Swedish campaign in 1590 as well as in the campaigns to pacify the Tatars [Müller, 1998, p. 138; Golodnikov, 1882, p. 8].

In contrast to the Russian Cossacks, the overwhelming majority of whom came from the lower classes of society in Siberia and reached a certain social status due to their service, the changes in the social position of Tatar Cossacks were in the opposite direction. The descendants of Serving Tatars traced their pedigrees from the military and feudal elite of the Siberian Khanate. Many of them were related to noble families of the Turkic—Mongol world [Bakhrushin, 1955, Vol. 3, part 2, p. 163]. After entering the Tsar's service 'for many privileges' and 'by maintaining to a certain extent their former rights, they made up a special category of so-called 'Yurt Serving Tatars' selected from the main masses of tribute-paying people' [Ibid.]. In the Tatar military and service nobility, the Muscovite state found a professionally trained military contingent that played an extremely important role in the further colonisation of Siberia.

In Siberia, as noted by P. Nebolsin, the Tatars had been recruited to the service class for their special services, often at their own request, but primarily among those 'from whom no treason was expected' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 110].

The recruitment of Tatar military and service class nobility had a tremendous signifi-

cance for the Muscovite State. Therefore, the efforts of local authority actions were aimed at complying with the instructions from the central government: '...to dissuade the best people from serving Tsar Kuchum so that they go to serve The [Russian] Tsar' [Ibid., p. 118]. Tobolsk Tatars, who had already switched to the Russian service, were engaged to this end. The government created a system of rewards and privileges: '...And those who come from the Tsar, shall be favoured, and given broadcloth, and bread. And those Princes and Tatars, who serve the [Russian] Tsar and come to the town to voivodes and pay the yasak and bring different news about Tsar Kuchum and his plans and about the Nogais, must be given drink and food from The [Russian] Tsar's stores, must be well treated and taken care of and be allowed to go home without being detained'. [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 118].

Following the annexation of the Siberian Khanate to Russia, the tsarist government largely preserved the traditions of military service established as far back as the Khanate period. In the late 16th until the early 17th centuries, the Serving Tatars were still considered 'the best men', they retained their 'patrimonial lands', and they were given various privileges. In addition, like the Russian service class people, they received their pay in the form of money, grain and salt. However, after that time, the position of Serving Tatars was gradually changing.

In the 17th century, the Serving Tatars were included in the garrisons of Tobolsk, Tyumen and Tara. Throughout the 17th century, these first Russian towns in Siberia were in constant contact with the steppe peoples. As a result, they could only operate successfully as military and administrative centres by having a significant contingent of cavalry. The cavalry service was assigned to Russian mounted Cossacks, and to the Cossacks of 'Lithuanian', Cherkassian and newly baptised copies, as well as to the Yurt Serving Tatars.

According A. Lyutsidarskaya, a third of the garrisons of most cities of Western Siberia was made up from the 'outlanders', whose prevailing group was the Serving Tatars. In Tobolsk, the largest Siberian city, during the second

quarter of 17th century, their share ranged, over the years, from 34.1 to 56.6 percent [Lyutsidarskaya, 1992, p. 55].

Most of the Serving Tatars were registered to Tobolsk [Nikitin, 1988, p. 36]. There were from 250 to 255 Serving Tatars in the 17th century Tobolsk (in 1635, their total number, including their brothers, children and other non-serving relatives, was 461); in Tyumen, there were on average about 75 Serving Tatars, and later this figure exceeded 100; in Tara, according to official reports, there must have been 36 people in the first quarter of the century, but the real figure was 49, 57 and, later, 65 people. In 1701, the total number of service class people, including adults, children (the younger generation) and brothers, was 84 [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 163].

When the changes in the number of Service Tatar population in these towns during the 17th century are examined, the following picture emerges.

In 1630, the total number of Cossacks in Tobolsk was 730, including 252 Yurt Serving Tatars or 34.5% of the total population. By mid-century (1663), the 1645 people-strong military contingent of Tobolsk included 249 Serving Tatars or 15.1%. At the end of the 17th century (1699), there were 256 Yurt Serving Tatars, while the total number of all service class people was 2,156. Therefore, at the end of the 17th century, Tatars represented 11.9% of Tobolsk serving population.

In Tyumen, there were 76 Serving Tatars in 1630 for 334 Cossacks, or 22.6%; in 1663, the total number of service class people was 698 people, including 107 Tatars or 15.2%. In 1699, out of 946 service class people 108 were Tatars (11.4%).

In Tara, there were 425 service class people in 1633, including 50 serving Tatars, or 12%; in 1663, the total number of service class people was 656, including 66 serving Tatars (10.2%); in 1699, out of 783 serving people 65 were serving Tatars (8.2%) [Nikitin, 1988, p. 33].

By the end of the 17th century, the size of military and service contingent in Siberian towns has significantly increased. Overall, in three major Siberian towns, it was 1,489 in 1633; 2,999 in 1663; 3,885 in 1699 [Ibid].

The total number of military personnel in Siberia increased almost three-fold over the 17th century. The composition of Tatar teams in Tobolsk, Tyumen and Tara remained virtually unchanged. If, in 1630, it was about 380 people, at the end of the 17th century, the number of Serving Tatars was 429. Therefore, compared with the beginning of the 17th century, its end was marked by a sharp change in the balance between the Serving Tatar population and the total size of the service and military class. In the course of the century, its share fell from one third to one tenth of the total size.

It should be noted that the changes in the size of serving population of the towns of Western Siberia was in line with the objectives faced by the military and administrative apparatus of particular towns in the development of the region. Among Siberian towns, the most radical increase in the garrison size was observed in Tobolsk which, in 1590, became the main city of Siberia. After becoming, in 1629, the centre of the area that included nine uyezds, Tobolsk remained the capital of the region and continued to send its service class people to that region's various areas [Nikitin, 1988, p. 27].

The main functions of Cossacks in the 17th century were as follows: 'They stood guard everywhere, were used in the construction of slobodas, provided various services in towns for the voivodes, collected yasak for the treasury from tribute—paying peoples and kept them in proper obedience to their superiors...' [Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk, fund 239, inv. 13, file 7, p. 440 reverse]. Alongside the Russians, the Tatar teams were involved in these activities. Russian mounted Cossacks, 'Lithuanians', and newly baptised and Yurt Serving Tatars usually fulfilled the orders related to the mounted service.

As mentioned above, the Tatar detachments participated in military campaigns against Kuchum Khan and, as part of the serving population of Siberia, appear in the earliest documents [Nikitin, 1988, p. 90]. The serving Tatars went to campaigns not only against Kuchum Khan, but also against his sons and grandsons, and took part in the expeditions aimed at building

the Siberian cities. They were used to protect towns and townships that faced the danger of Kalmyk and Nogai raids, as well as for a variety of assignments that required local knowledge and ties to the population.

Among the assignments performed by Siberian Serving Tatars in the late 16–early 17th centuries, a special place was held by various diplomatic missions. Such assignments included the negotiation with Kuchum's Tsarevichs, Kalmyk taishis, the embassy missions to Asian countries, as well as the trade relations with China. It should be noted that a similar service was also assigned to Serving Tatars in the former Kazan Khanate, where the Serving Tatars had usually been seconded to the embassy missions sent to Muslim rulers, as well as being sent to Crimea in order to deliver various letters of notification [Stepanov, 1964, p. 63].

These types of assignment were usually entrusted to the most reputable and knowledgeable representatives of Tatar service class.

There were repeated delegations to 'Kuchum's Tsarevichs'. For example, in 1601, a special mission sent from Tyumen to the sons of Kuchum Khan, Tsarevichs 'Ali with brothers', was headed by Abyz Menglibay Bigildeev who was accompanied by the Russian Cossacks Isaac Lukhovets and Philip Dmitreev (apparently, a newly-baptised Tatar) as interpreters, as well as by Imamet Sarychev and Bakhturaz Kaspurin, who were Yurt Serving Tatars. This embassy mission was instructed to convey to the Tsarevichs the message that 'The Sovereign would like to offer them a great royal wage and would like to keep them under his sovereign royal arm, and that they should go along with them...to the city of Tyumen and serve the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia, Boris Fyodorovich...' [Russian Historical Library, vol. 2, p. 274–283].

In 1623, M. Godunov, Tobolsk voivode, sent an embassy mission to the Kalmyk taishi Talay that was headed Dmitry Cherkasov, a member of Tobolsk gentry. D. Cherkasov was accompanied by Kelmamet Yakshigildeev, a Tobolsk Serving Tatar, Lazarko Vasiliev, Ofonka Tabanak and Karabashko Ishimov, the Tyumen service class people [Müller, 1941, pp. 94,

300].—² Serving Tatars, Enigeyko Adyakov and Urmametko Urusov, were allowed to go with them as cooks' [Ibid., p. 291]. The above-mentioned Kelmamet Yakshigildeev sent in 'to accompany' the embassy mission of D. Cherkasov, was named by G. Müller as Kilmametko Begishev [Ibid., p. 300]. Therefore, here we can see a direct confirmation of the fact that Kelmamet, the founder of Kulmamev clan of the Serving Tatars, was the son of Prince Begish. On the other hand, the fact that Kelmamet Yakshigildeev was sent with such a mission confirms his high position.

Such diplomatic missions were also entrusted to the Serving Tatars in the subsequent periods. According to the Cossack Head Bogdan Arshinsky's report of 1638 to 1639, Yakov Bugolakov, a newly baptised Tatar; Teney Iteev and Ediger Brykov, Yurt Serving Tatars; Saruol Yaksheev, a Tyumen Tatar; and 'to accompany them' Korumka Abymanov, a Tobolsk Bukharan, were sent to the uluses of Kalmyk taishis near the salt lakes [Ibid., p. 453].

In 1638, Kuzma Abramov, a mounted Cossack, and Khozhemamet Iteev, a Yurt Serving Tatar, were sent by Tobolsk voivodes to the Kalmyk kontaishi with an embassy mission and returned to Tobolsk with the envoys from the kontaishi. In February 1640, Uruskan and Noeda, the ambassadors of kontaishi, were 'allowed to go to the Tsar' to Moscow. Savatey Mokrinsky, a member of Tobolsk gentry, was sent to accompany them; Yakov Bugolakov, a newly baptised Tatar, was sent as their interpreter; and Kuzma Abramov, a mounted Cossack, and Khozhamamet Iteev, a Yurt Serving Tatar, were sent as their guides. In 1669, Onufry Fedorov, a mounted Cossack, and Nazar Nadyrov, a serving Tatar, were sent from Tobolsk to Bukhara 'as ambassadors' [Ogloblin, 1900, p. 44].

It is known that a number of Russian embassy missions headed by S. Kulmamev were sent, in the second half of the 17th century, to the Khans of North Mongolia [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 126, inv. 1, 1676, file 77].

Even the central government sought the advice of Yurt Serving Tatars, as the experts in Asian politics. For example, in 1646, Moscow

asked Tobolsk voivodes to 'summon Tobolsk Tatars and ask them how to convince Kalmyk taishis not to send their ambassadors to Tyumen' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 167].

Tobolsk administration also asked the Serving Tatars for information on Siberia, which they could provide as they were local inhabitants. Their testimonies were used by Peter Godunov, a Tobolsk voivode, to compile the map of Siberia [Ibid., p. 167]. In early 18th century, M. Gagarin, the Siberian governor, used the services of Sabanak Azbakeev (Kulmamev), 'the best Tatar murza', as an interpreter of the Kalmyk language when the Prince communicated with the 'Erget Boyar' about the sandy gold mined near the Kalmyk town of Erget [Pamyatniki Sibirskoj istorii, 1885, p. 140].

The Serving Tatars played an important role in providing diplomatic assistance to suppress 'mischiefs' in specific tribute-paying volosts. Unlike in the Kazan Khanate, where relations between the victors and those who were defeated remained tense for a long time, former vassals of the Siberian Khan had a less painful reaction to colonisation, as they switched to serve the new authorities. This was largely caused by the fact that, in distant Siberia, the Russian government only had a small military contingent and, as a result, pursued a more flexible and tolerant policy towards the native population, as opposed to in Kazan, where it took harsher measures with regard to conquered people. On the other hand, the Siberian serving nobility made a realistic assessment of the political situation, as the Siberian Khanate fell after Kazan and Astrakhan.

One of the most important functions of Siberian Cossacks in the 17th century was the construction of cities and forts. The Serving Tatars also participated in the construction of many Siberian cities.

The city of Tara on the mid Irtysh River was built by the efforts of service class people, most of whom were serving Tatars. The construction of this city had great strategic importance in the development and retention of Siberian lands and in the struggle with Kuchum Khan. In 1594, Tsar Fyodor sent Prince Andrey Yeletsky to Siberia to establish a new city at the place of or nearby the Tatar town

of Yalym. The Tsar assigned 147 foot soldiers to Yeletsky. 300 Bashkirs, 100 Kazan and 100 Zainsk Tatars led by Mamly Maltsev were sent from Ufa. All these people were brought to Tobolsk first, where they were joined by Andrey Yeletsky and his people.

Among the Siberian cities, Tara had a special importance. Until the end of the 17th century, it played the role of being a military outpost and barrier in the way of Kuchum's forces, Kalmyks and other 'warlike' people. The construction of Tara involved the participation of the Serving Tatars, as an army of 1,200 mounted serving men and more than 500 foot soldiers from Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Tetyushi, Tyumen, Tobolsk, Tabor and Koshuki were brought to that place. 'There were Yermak's Cossacks, streletsy, Polish Cossacks, Lithuanians, Circassians, Bashkirs and Tatars' [Nebolsin, 1849, p. 116].

The total size of the army sent to build Tara was 1,541 people. The Tatars and Bashkirs made more than two thirds (1,030 people) of the detachment, and only 511 were Russians, Poles, Lithuanians and others. When the construction of the city was completed, 550 horsemen of Mamly, 50 horsemen of Bayazit, 300 horsemen and 150 foot soldiers from among the Irtysh Tatars, 50 mounted Tyumen Tatars, 50 mounted Tatars from Tabor and Koshuki were sent back. 50 Tatars headed by Baibakhta were left to spend the winter in the newly built city [Atlasi, 2005, p. 81–82].

In 1604, the city of Tomsk was built in the lower course of the Tom' river, which then became the major defence base for developing and defending the Middle Ob river region. The construction of the city involved the participation of service class people from various cities, including the Siberian Tatars and Koda Khanty [Istoriya kazachestva, 1995, p. 27].

Serving Tatars also took an active part in the construction of Tobolsk, the main Siberian city. The Siberian Chronicle reported that, in 1687, 'a new bridge and shops on both sides of that bridge were built over the Kurdyumka River by Russians and Tatars of various ranks' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, p. 225]. In 1689, on the orders of A. Golovin, a boyar and voivode, two new bridges were

built over the Kurdyumka river in Tobolsk, including the Kazachy and Pryamskoy bridges. 'These bridges were built by Russians and Tatars of various ranks' [Ibid., p. 229]. The Serving Tatars also participated in the construction of the Tobolsk stockaded fort and gates: 'A fort of eleven sazhen was built onto the tower at the Bazar entrance. This gate and fort was built by Tobolsk Yurt Tatar Bukharans. The old Bazar Tower with the gates was built two and half sazhen in height to the eaves with sixteen rows of logs... The gates were built to allow the passage from Bazar Tower to the mountain... These Bazar gates and doors, and the fort were built by Tobolsk Yurt Tatar Bukharans... From Peter and Paul Tower, Tobolsk Serving Tatars built a rampart and a moat that were seventy seven sazhen long...' [Ibid., p. 226–227].

In 1626, Tobolsk voivodes sent a detachment of service class people and Tatars to Yamysh Lake to survey the area for building an ostrog [stockaded town] [Russian Historical Library, vol. 8, pp. 376–378]. However, only a century later, Ivan Buchholz was able to establish the Yamysh fortress [Shcheglov, 1883, p. 164].

The Yurt Serving Tatars were constantly used in annual expeditions to Yamysh lake for the salt. In the cities, the voivodes had to ensure that they always possessed a sufficient stock of salt. Every year, several thousand poods of salt were brought from this lake. Other categories of mounted service class people were usually only sent 'for the salt' if there were an extremely alarming military situation.

Although the state trade of salt had not yet been introduced at that time, a certain amount of salt was still required as a form of pay to service class people. One of the main purposes of establishing the town of Tara was to solve economic problems. A. Yeletsky was instructed to 'create plough lands in Tara and arrange salt making' [Butsinsky, 1999, p. 149]. Since that time, Tara freely supplied salt to Tobolsk and other Siberian cities in the neighbourhood from the town's salt lakes.

In 1610, the Kalmyks captured the salt lakes and prevented the Cossacks from taking salt from there. A charter was sent from

Tobolsk to Tyumen's Voivode S. Volynsky, in which it was stated that 'in the last 119th year, salt was sent to Tyumen from Tobolsk for the wages of Tyumen servicemen, because there was no salt in Tobolsk, it had not been delivered from Tara for two years, since the Kalmyks captured the lakes, also there will be no salt from Tobolsk for servicemen's wages in other towns' [Müller, 1941, pp. 221–222]. In 1611, the Cossacks in Tyumen, Tobolsk and other towns received only half of the salt due to them. A certain number of serving men and the serving Tatars were summoned from all towns [Ibid., p. 221]. In 1611, Tobolsk's Voivode I. Katyrev-Rostovskiy ordered Tyumen's Voivode, M. Godunov, to send Tyumen service people and the Tatars to the salt lakes near Tara uyezd. 'And in the spring, as soon as ice breaks, send servicemen and the Tatars from Siberian towns to the salt lakes, on boats and on horses, to get salt; he should say Tyumen servicemen of 20 people and the serving Tatars of 20 people to be ready to leave for salt in the spring...' [Ibid., p. 222].

In 1613, a cavalry captain Bartosh Stanislavov was sent to the upper reaches of the Irtysh River, together with servicemen from Tobolsk, to inspect the salt lake. He found the lake and brought salt from it to Tobolsk [Ibid., p. 34]. G. Müller believes that it was the discovery of the Lake Yamysh, which subsequently provided most of the salt in Siberia instead of other lakes, although they were closer to Tara on a dry track but farther from the Irtysh River. The Lake Yamysh was preferable among the three lakes not only because of its closer position to the Irtysh River but also due to the fact that salt, extracted from that lake, had a far better quality than any other salt, mined anywhere in Siberia. Every year, 50 serving Tatars were dispatched to Lake Yamysh for salt [Tobolsk, 1885, pp. 27–28].

In 1628, 72 people of the Lithuanians, Cossacks and soldiers, as well as 28 serving yurt Tatars were sent from Tyumen to the Lake Yamysh behind Tara; a boyarin's son was with the 100 Lithuanians, Cossacks and soldiers together with 10 Serving Tatars. In 1629, 348,456 kilos of salt were brought to Tobolsk from the Lake Yamysh [Btsinsky, 1999, p. 149].

The Serving Tatars were taking part in salt campaigns until the end of the 17th century. According to a list of 1678, 'behind Tara, to Lake Yamysh...sent the voivode with a sotnik and soldiers with the dismounted Cossacks of 250 people, 3 gunners and 100 Tatar people' [Tobolsk, 1885, p. 33]. Isbrand Ides and Adam Brand, who visited Siberia at the end of the 17th century, wrote that 'the Kalmyks lived between the upper reaches of the Tobol and Ob Rivers up to the Lake Yamyshevo. Every few years, the Tatars would have skirmishes with the Kalmyks, who oppose the removal of salt but are forced to give way...' [Notes, 1967, p. 227].

One of the documents from the first half of the 17th century—a list of names from 1628—contains data on services, assigned to the Tatars, who served in Siberian towns in the specified period. Out of 258 yurt Tatars, serving in Tobolsk, 40 were sent to serve in Tomsk for a year along with 20 Cossacks, Lithuanians and soldiers. In addition, 'from the Sovereign's grain stocks' they dispatched 'a son of boyar with 13 people of Cossacks, Lithuanians and 13 soldiers as rowers together with 15 yurt Tatars from Tobolsk' to pay wages to Tomsk's servicemen [Istoriya Sibiri, 1996, pp. 52–53]. 2 Serving Tatars, with a Cossack from the Lithuanian list, were sent as scouts to find out the Kalmyks' location. In total, judging by services and dispatches from Tobolsk, there were 23 little landowners (boyars), a sotnik (captain of strelets soldiers), and 272 Lithuanians, Cossacks and Streltsy, as well as 147 serving yurt Tatars. The remaining Serving Tatars 'were delivering mail by post horses with the Tatars from the Trans-Urals, with their brothers and nephews along four roads: to Berezov, Surgut, the Narymsk and Yeniseysk ostrogs, to the town of Tomsk, and to the Kuzneisk ostrog. The second road—to Tara, the third road—to Tyumen, to Turinsky, to Verkhoturys, the fourth road—to Pelym' [Tobolsk, 1885, p. 70].

In addition, the Cossacks and the Tatars, who remained in the town, were used for fishing tasks, took part in campaigns 'as pristavs (bailiffs) and tolarchs (interpreters)', 'on ships for Irovaya fish', as well as to tributaries' areas to collect tribute.

In the town of Tara in 1628, there were 57 yurt Tatars. 10 people of Tara's yurt Tatars, and 100 Cossacks together with soldiers were dispatched to the Lake Yamysh 'for salt'. 10 people of the Serving Tatars were dispatched with representatives of other military classes 'in monthly shifts without stationing' to the upper tributaries' areas 'to protect from the Kalmyks'. The serving Tatars and the Cossacks, who remained in the town, were sent 'to villages-crossing points, the watchmen's village and to the town and as prison guards, and at winter times, starting from the fall, while there is a lot of snow, they are sent to the upper and lower tributaries' volosts to protect residents from the Kalmyks in groups of 15 and more people, because Tara is located in the steppe, and the Kalmyks are frequently camping nearby' [Istoriya Sibiri, 1996, pp. 53–54]. If there was information about any dangers, servicemen were dispatched from Tobolsk to assist Tara's garrison.

Tyumen's Serving Tatars also were sent on salt campaigns to the Lake Yamush, as well as being used for one-year service in Tomsk, to where 20 yurt Serving Tatars were dispatched annually. The Cossacks and the serving Tatars, who remained in Tyumen, were sent 'to village—crossing points, the watchmen's villages and to the outpost for the sovereign's tenth duty in Tyumen uyezd, to the town and as prison guards...' [Ibid., p. 54].

The garrison in Tomsk was one of the largest in Siberia. By 1628, it was comprised of 480 servicemen. 112 of them had a one year term of service. Documents from the 17th century show that in Tomsk there were 120 Tatars from Tomsk, Chatsk and Tuluman with their Murzas along with '11 people and gentries together with their ataman, 349 Lithuanians and Cossacks...' [Ibid.]. In 1627, a nobleman was sent there from Tobolsk. He brought 20 Lithuanians, Cossacks and strelets soldiers, 40 Serving Tatars; from Tyumen—30 servicemen, including 20 Tatars. In 1628, 40 Serving Tatars were sent to Tomsk from Tobolsk, led by a nobleman, they were followed by 10 Russians and 15 Serving Tatars from Tyumen. By 1635, Tomsk's garrison grew up to 628 military men, which allowed them to abandon the practice

of sending one-year servicemen from other uyezds [Puzanov, 2005, pp. 111–112].

The most onerous duty for the Serving Tatars was to deliver mail by post horses. Although the service was nominally assigned to the service-class Tatars, it was usually performed by the Serving Tatars' children and the Tatars from the Trans-Urals: 'in Tobolsk, 201 people of the yurt serving Tatars' children and nephews, not drafted yet, and the Tatars from the Trans-Urals deliver mail by post horses from Tobolsk to four destinations' [Tobolsk, 1885, p. 28]. Tyumen's Tatars even had a class of 'Tatar post horsemen'. 'Tobolsk's serving and Trans-Ural Tatars were riding carts with any customers with and without runs from Tyumen to Yalutorovskaya sloboda, to Tara and Pelyma, to the Aremzyany volost'; 1,978 carts were sent in 1707 alone [Ibid., pp. 27–28].

The Serving Tatars were sending petitions to Moscow, asking to free them from the work as post horsemen. In 1601, voivode Luka Shcherbatov in Tyumen received the Tsar's letter concerning the arrangement of post horsemen's work: 'We received petitions from Tyumen's Tatar head, Divei Irtyashev, and from Maatmas Azikhmatov, Marama Yakshigilingeyev, Dyane Yanshikov, and Yanguz Kanchurin, along with all yurt Tatars of 50 people, who said: they have served us in Siberia, in the spring and in the winter, on horses and dismounted, taking part in campaigns and dispatches to Tara. Their carts are used for our treasures and other riders, being ridden to Tobolsk and from Tobolsk to Verkhotuye, from Verkhoturye to Sol and Kamskiy. From hard use, many of their horses have died, while their carts have been taken because the Tatar tributaries do not have their own horses, all of them died; they have also accompanied Grisha Yasyr and Ondryusha Tonnyryakov, with three of their horses dying; so they cannot afford to serve as post horsemen; in all towns, there are post horsemen's izbas but there are none in Tyumen; so they ask to be freed from the obligation to serve as post horsemen. And we order the establishment of post horsemen near Verkhoturye and Yapanchinskiy. As soon as you receive this letter, start searching for post horsemen' [Müller, 1941, p. 164].

However, despite the Tsar's orders, Tyumen's serving Tatars and the ones from the Trans-Urals continued to carry out post horsemen's service for a long time.

When Yu. Suleshev became Tobolsk's voivode, he made significant changes in the work of post horsemen. In 1624, Suleshev assigned the task of delivering post in Tyumen to the Tatars from the Trans-Urals and children of the Serving Tatars, who then were paid post hunters' wages. However, in 1625 a Tatar leader, Neudacha Molchanov, was already telling how 'Serving Tatars and Trans-Ural Tatars were aggravated by working as post horsemen' at Tyumen's voivode office [Ibid., p. 550]. In 1625, the Tatar servicemen filed a petition, asking to be freed from serving as post horsemen, 'which was not in their traditions', and for it to be assigned it to Tatar tributaries of the Ilenskaya volost. They even agreed to pay more tribute 'compared to the previous amount'. The voivode acceded to their request and assigned the Tatars of the Ilenskaya volost to serve as post horsemen, relieving them from the payment of bread tribute. However, it was performed after Yu. Suleshev had left Siberia. According to a clerk from the Nizhnaya Nitsynskaya sloboda, Boris Tolbuzin, the Tatars of the Obukhov yurt and the Ilensakaya volost wanted to leave for the steppe in 1625 because of the hard work on post horses and asked to free them from that work. The Tsar's letter, dated 13 October 1625, directed Tobolsk's voivodes to summon three or four Tatars from the Trans-Urals, from the Lenskaya (Ilenskaya) volost, and persuade them 'to continue their work on post horses as established by their nobleman... Suleshov' [Ibid.].

In December 1651, the Tsar's letter was sent to Verkhoturye, prohibiting the confiscation of horse carts from the Tatars in Tyumen for couriers [Historical Acts, v. 2, p. 10].

Almost every year, several dozens ('judging by received news, even more') Cossacks, strelets soldiers and Serving Tatars were sent from Tobolsk to Tara, usually between spring and autumn [Butsin'sky, 1999, p. 156]. Such dispatches were especially frequent after 1630, when Kuchum's descendants and the Kalmyks increased their raiding activities [Ibid.]. In Oc-

tober 1630, Tobolsk's voivodes had already taken steps 'on the occasion of treason of Tara's yurt and volost Tatars, as well as the Kalmyks' camping near Tara [Ibid.].

In the spring of 1632, 40 Lithuanians with the Cossack horsemen and 60 yurt Serving Tatars, led by Tobolsk's nobleman I. Shulgin, were dispatched to Tara for the protection of Tara's volosts from nomad raids, 'following the news'.

Another dispatch to Tara to help the first servicemen was led by Ye. Zabolotsky, it included 20 archers, the dismounted Cossacks and 30 yurt Service Tatars [Ibid.]. In total, 60 Cossacks and 90 yurt Serving Tatars were sent to Tara in that year.

In the first half of the 17th century, a system of tollgates and prisons was organised in Tobolsk and Tara uyezds for fending off the Kalmyk raids. The Kalmyks frequently united with Kuchum's sons, (and later with his grandchildren) and made raids upon volosts of the Tobolsk and Tyumen volosts. They directed their forces mostly towards the Irtysh and Tobol Rivers. Special detachments comprised of Cossacks and serving Tatars were to provide protection from the Kalmyks and Kuchum's descendants. In approximately 1631, the Russians built several ostrogs to protect themselves from the Kalmyks and Kuchum's descendants, namely the following: in the Tarsk uyezd—Kaurdatsky, Tebendinsky, Ishimsky; in Tobolsk uyezd—Vagaysky and Tarkhansky. The Tarkhansk jail 'was a fortified place of the Siberian Tatars and was called Tarkhan-kala' [Gubernskie Vedomosti of Tobolsk, 1859, p. 4]. In 1624, in the place of an ancient Tatar fortress Chubar-tura, the Russians built the Chubar sloboda.

The Cossacks were sent from Tobolsk to those ostrogs for temporary service.

Major groups of such Cossacks were sent from Tobolsk to Tara, which was in the most perilous position in comparison to other Siberian towns in the first decade of the 17th century. For example, in 1632, 100 people, headed by nobleman Ivan Shulgin, were sent from Tobolsk to Tara: 40 Lithuanians and Cossack horsemen, as well as 60 yurt and serving Tatars. Later, 50 more men were sent there: 20 strelets

(soldiers) and dismounted Cossacks and 30 yurt Serving Tatars.

In 1661, a detachment of 40 Cossacks of the Lithuanian list, newly-baptised, horse Cossacks and Tatars was sent to the Atbash ostrog for a one-year service [Puzanov, 2005, p. 109]. And in 1669, another 40 service class people from Tobolsk—28 Lithuanians, Cossaks and newly-baptised and 12 serving Tatars were also sent there for one-year service.

Annually 10 streletsy [harquebusiers] and dismounted Cossacks together with 10 horse Cossacks were sent to Chubar sloboda from Tyumen [Puzanov, 2005, p. 111].

In total, researchers distinguish three regions of Western Siberia, where new soldiers were sent to for a one-year period of service. Tomsk–Kuznetsk–Krasnoyarsk, which suffered from raids by the Yenisei Kyrgyz troops, supported by the Mongols and Oirats throughout the 17th century. Secondly, it was Tarsk uyezd, where the Russians fought against the Oirats and Kuchum's descendants. Thirdly, it was South-Western Siberia—Verkhoturinsk, Turinsk, Tyumen, and Tobolsk uyezds—where the Russians clashed with the Oirats and Kuchum's descendants, and later with the Bashkirs and Voguls [Puzanov, 2005, p. 116].

All categories of Siberian servicemen in the 17th century were entitled to three types of wages—cash, grain and salt. The yurt Serving Tatars were an exclusion. Most of them were not receiving bread wages [Nikitin, 1988, p. 105].

According to N. Nikitin, the average wages of ordinary dismounted Cossacks and soldiers in towns with 'ploughed lands' (which were favourable for growing crops,—that is, provided employment in farming conditions) in the 17th century amounted to 4.25 rubles [Ibid., p. 106]. Such categories as nobles and yurt Serving Tatars, as well as senior officers, had higher wages in the capital of Siberia.

The number of yurt Serving Tatars who received bread wages, was insignificant even in the main Siberian town—Tobolsk. Serving Tatars in Tara never received bread wages. Most Serving Tatars had lower rates for bread and salt wages than military servicemen of other

categories. N. Nikitin believes that this fact was kind of a common factor for the serving Tatars and the Tatars-tributaries, making their service similar to paying yasak [tribute] [Ibid., p. 109]. In his opinion, this is an example of a practice, common in Siberia: to subtract the amount of yasyk from wages of the servicemen, drafted from the indigenous population.

Salt wages were usually paid in a lump sum, while bread wages—simultaneously with salt wages but not always in full, sometimes part of them were later. In the 1635–1636, most nobles in Tobolsk received their wages twice (October and November), while most of the Tatars—all at once (in January). The predominant part of other categories of servicemen—three times or even four. For example, in 1636 and 1637, most of Tobolsk's cavalry (Lithuanians, newly baptised and Cossack horsemen—in June; yurt Serving Tatars—in July) were paid a lump sum in cash. The procedure of paying wages in two or three parts became a widespread practice in the Russian state [Ibid., pp. 124–125].

N. Nikitin notes that 'the system of paying wages consistently reflected the government's commitment to save as much public money as possible at the expense of lower categories of the population' [Ibid., p. 141]. The size of most wages only provided a living for the serviceman himself and, as a rule, of not more than one adult member of his family. Until the end of the 1660s, those wages were paid in full, however, until the second half of the 17th century one cannot call those payments regular: most of the servicemen received their wages every year at a different time. Part of the wages were appropriated by local administrations in various ways. All of these circumstances forced military men to seek additional sources of income.

Wages varied in size significantly not only among different categories of servicemen but also within a specific category in different cities. Servicemen in Tobolsk, including the Serving Tatars, had much higher wages than those of the Serving Tatars in other cities. The Serving Tatars from Tyumen, Tara and Tomsk sent numerous petitions with a request to equalise their wages with the ones paid to Tobolsk's

Serving Tatars. So, in 1629, Tara's yurt serving Tatars sent a petition to the Tsar, asking for an increase in their wages similarly to the level of Tobolsk's serving Tatars and draft their sons, nephews and so on. The Tsar responded to that petition as following: 'the Sovereign listened to your words and decided: to write to Tara—order to tell the yurt serving Tatars not to ask for it anymore, the existing wages will stand, Moscow's Tsar does not hold all towns in equal standing, they are not equal to Tobolsk' [Ogloblin, 1900, p. 118].

Data for 1631 show that 4 people in Tobolsk were paid 12 rubles; 4—11 rubles; 2—9 rubles; 10—8 rubles; 18—7 rubles; 18—6 rubles; 36—5 rubles; 68—4 rubles; 1—3.5 rubles; and 82—3 rubles. In addition, 12 of the senior officers were paid 2 parts of rye and 2 parts of oats. Tyumen's Tatars received approximately the same wages. 1 person was paid 12 rubles and bread wages, another person ('yasaul')—9 rubles and bread wages as well. 3 people were paid 8 rubles each; 8—7 rubles; 1—6.5 rubles; 7—6 rubles; 15—5 rubles; 5—4.5 rubles; 17—4 rubles; 1—3.5 rubles; and 16—3 rubles. The Tatars, serving in Tara, received much lower wages: 1 person was paid 7 rubles; 1—6 rubles; 1—5 rubles; 12—4 rubles; 10—3 rubles. Only 2 people got bread wages [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, p. 2, p. 171].

According to tax books for 1696, the largest wages among the Tatars, serving in Tobolsk, were paid to heads of the Serving Tatars: Avazbakei Kulmametev—23 rubles, and his son Sabanak Azbakeyev—16 rubles. The highest wages among the Serving Tatars—15 rubles—were paid to Karmyshan Kochemametev, Takhlybai Koplandin, Yuzyup Alyshayev, Mamet (according to other sources—Ishmamet) Semenev, and Mamet Murat Azbakeyev. Akshats Mamedeev, Kutlumamet Isenev, Anichko Aitkulov, Urmashko Nadyrov were paid 14 rubles each [Tobolsk, 1885, p. 59]. The Russian administration preserved a hierarchy among the 'best people' of the indigenous population during the 17th century, which is why wages of the Serving Tatars reflected the social significance of the old khanate's elite. In addition, deceased servicemen were usually replaced with their children or brothers for the same wages.

Based on the above, it is obvious that the Serving Tatars included descendants of the Siberian Khanate's noblemen, including, perhaps, Kara-cha-beys.

In addition to their wages, the Serving Tatars, as well as the Russian Cossacks, received awards for taking part in battles. Typically, this award was one ruble for each enemy, dead or taken prisoner.

The highest wages among all categories of servicemen in Tobolsk, including even Russian officials, were paid to the head of the Tatars.

According to tax books for 1647 to 1648, in the first half of the 17th century the wages of the Tatars' head was 30 rubles in cash, 30 quarters of rye, 30 quarters of oats, as well as about 50 kilos of salt [Nikitin, 1988, p. 100]. If we compare the wages of the Tatars' head with the ones of heads of Russian Cossack units, then the same tax books show that a head of the dismounted Cossacks received 22 rubles, and a head of Cossack horsemen—11 rubles in cash [Ibid.]. Thus, there was a significant difference in cash wages, determined by the complexity of tasks and the importance of roles of heads of the Tatars. In the 17th century, posts of heads of the Tatars were assigned to Russian officials, later the administration started to appoint members of the Tatar servicemen for such roles. Already at the end of the 16th century—in the early 17th century, the Serving Tatars were appointed as heads. Among them was Maitmais Achekmatov. However, the wages of Tyumen's head of the Tatars were significantly lower than that of Tobolsk's head—only 8 rubles [Russian Historical Library, vol. 2, p. 352].

A charter of January 1618 from Tsar Michail Fyodorovich to Tyumen's governor, Fyodor Korkodinov, reads as follows, 'In the current 126th year, on the 9th day of December, you wrote to us and sent us a petition from Maitmas Achekmatov, head of the yurt serving Tatars of Tyumen [Ibid., pp. 349–353]. In his petition, Maitmas Achekmatov pointed out that he had been in the state service since 'when the town of Tyumen was founded',—that is, for more than 30 years. The document also contained a list of M. Achekmatov's merits, as well as a request to increase his wages similarly to 'Tobolsk's Serving Tatar Kyzylbay Kaplyndayev'.

Maitmas Achekmatov was paid 8 rubles, while the cash wages of Kyzylbai Kaplandyev comprised 12 rubles. In addition, Kaplandyev was receiving two parts of rye and oats from the treasury. It should be noted that at first the size of wages for the Serving Tatars was not a fixed amount, it depended on 'the best people's merits', and in the major towns it was significantly higher than in other settlements.

In the 17th century, they began to practise the system, whereby the Serving Tatars, along with the Russian Cossacks, were provided with arable land instead of bread wages.

As S. Bakhrushin rightly noted, 'through favouring the local nobility to use it to hold tributaries in obedience, not explicitly affecting the nobility's privileges and advantages, the government gradually weakened their independent position and reduced yesterday's feudal lords to ordinary Russian servicemen 'by selection'. Previously independent 'Princes' of their own uluses, were quickly becoming ordinary servicemen 'by selection' without noticing it. They were dutifully carrying out their duties for a small monetary reward and a bread ration', 'legally retaining all the past

privileges, they turned from virtually free vassals of Siberian Khans into slaves of Moscow Tsars' [Bakhrushin, 1955, vol. 3, part 2, p. 173]. According to the Oath on Cross Book of 1682, 'the yurt serving and Trans-Ural Tatars, by lists and above, gave sworn šert at the voivode's office' [Tobolsk, 1885, p. 65]. Being Muslims, the Serving Tatars swore oaths of allegiance to their new authorities on the Quran.

They were gradually losing their position of 'the best people', and by the end of the 17th century turned into quite a homogeneous mass. Those trends became more prominent in the 18th century.

The process of the transformation of Siberian military servicemen into a closed group was typical for the serving class in general [Nikitin, 1988, p. 71]. Similar processes were taking place among the Serving Tatars, who were increasingly perceived as part of the service class. It is significant that since the end of the 17th up to the of the 18th centuries the Tatars were increasingly called 'Tatar Cossack team', 'Tatar Cossacks', etc., while earlier they had been viewed as 'the Serving Tatars', 'the best people', etc.

§4. Lithuanian and Polish Tatars

Yakov Grishin

In the 17th century the migration of the Lithuanian and Polish Tatars continued. In this context we should mention Budzyak Tatars who rebelled against the Crimean Khan, Bahadur Giray, and then fled to the steppes of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. On 19 August 1637, they sent a letter to the Grand Crown Hetman Stanislaus Kontsepolsky declaring their willingness to surrender to the Polish and Lithuanian state and requesting to live within its borders. Despite the fear that the Budzyak Horde settling down in Podok could cause a war with Turkey, the request was favoured. Then sejmiiks and the sejm expressed their opinion on the issue in 1638. However, the Khan managed to persuade the Budzyak Tatars to come back. However, there were three

to four thousand Tatars on the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (according to Hetman Kontsepolsky—about 2,000 sabers). They started serving for the private magnates' heraldic flags [Baranowski, 1949, p. 73–77; Baranowski, 1957, p. 110–111; Rocznik Tatarski, 1932, pp. 180–183].

Later on Tatars were recruited to the troops of the Polish and Lithuanian state. Many local Tatars were their commanders.

The last major influx of Tatars occurred after the war against Sweden. In 1656, Tatar warriors were granted lands in Podol and Volyn with the same rights as the master's Tatars in Lithuania. This was the result of the efforts of their commander, an honoured captain of horse, Alexander Krichinsky.

At the same time wars on the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the middle of the 17th century were ruining Tatar houses and disorganising their households. The Tatar population of Lithuania began by fleeing from the foes and then, for economic reasons, started pulling up their roots and leaving for Volyn and Podolia, and to a lesser degree to Kurland, and settling down in magnates' Dobry [Sobczak, 1984, p. 35]. This was caused by the demand of professional soldiers who fought against Khmelnytsky in the Crown troops.

In the second half of the 17th century, emigrants from Turkey and even Albania came to the Muslim community in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to serve at the king's and magnate's courts. However, they couldn't make a handsome contribution because of their small number and dispersion.

On the whole, the migration of Tatars within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the 17th century was gradually changing. The migration was no longer wide-scale. Whereas the influx of Tatar captives was not large in number, they were treated in a different way, too. The captured Tatars did not settle down in Tatar communities in Lithuania. They were mostly passed on to the king or the magnates (Ukrainian for the most part). After forced Christianisation they were made servants and were used as a workforce to build castles, monasteries and Catholic churches [Sobczak, 1987, pp. 42–43; Łoziński, 1974, pp. 102–103; Czapliński, 1976, pp. 21, 52, 168]. At that time certain groups of Tatars settled down not only in the Russian voivode region, but also in the Krakow area [Zdan, 1935, pp. 396–399; Jacewicz, 1936, pp. 67–68; Kryczyński, 1932, pp. 227–278].

They were lodged in the king's *dobry*, namely in Brest, Kobrin and Grodno economic zones. At risk of pre-empting, we should say that since that time the settlements in Maloshevichi, Studzyanets, Krushinyany, Drakhlya and Bokhoniki are the longest established [Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, p. 9].

Tatars did not own the lands, but they had to undertake military service. Lands were granted without the sejm's consent, and this affected the Tatar population settled there causing dis-

putes about the nature and validity of Sobieski bills. This means the beginning of migration was disputed [Sobczak, 1987, p. 51].

August II continued settling Tatars following Yan Sobessky who had started the process. This was a reward for assistance rendered in the war against Charles XII and Stanisław Leszczyński.

August III also settled Tatars in economic zones. Tatars migration to the royal economies took place during the times of Stanisław August.

Tatars migration in the Grand Lithuanian Principality and the royal colonies was affected by the political events of the first decades of the 18th century. Destruction of Tatars' *dobrys* during the war, troops movements, confederacy actions, raids, counter attacks caused by the support given to the Sapegs in their fight against the Lithuanian Commonwealth caused some Tatars to emigrate to Turkey. The lands were passed on to those who were settled.

As a result the land allocation changed in those economies.

Meanwhile, some new Tatars arrived in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. These were mainly refugees from the Crimean Khanate, but those fleeing from Russia sought shelter there as well. For example, 235 soldiers settled down in Vinnitsy Starostvo. They refused to serve with the Polish troops and caused many conflicts with the local community. Their attempts to move to Turkey failed. These Tatars did not form any alliance with the Tatar population of Lithuania [Ibid., p. 69]. The whole of the 18th century was a turbulent one for Tatar migration. The number of Tatars living in Lithuania was no longer growing. Moreover the migration of the Tatar population—their moving to the Crown lands, returning to Lithuania and emigrating to Turkey became obvious. These movements surely had to improve the economic and legal situation among Tatars living in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth [Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, p. 9]. However, it did not.

After Poland was divided, parts of the Baranovsky and Ulanov went to Prussia and tried to form a Tatar regiment there. Kościuszko's riot and the Napoleonic wars decreased the

number of professional army officers, among whom there were many Tatars.

The population of Tatar communities near Vilno, Kovno and Novogrudok was decreasing too.

Since Tatars had arrived in the Grand Lithuanian Principality, there had remained social differentiation. They had their Khan titles: honorary titles brought from the Horde and Kipchak. The highest rank belonged to princes, murzas, ulans, the lowest—to common people [Lappo, 1901, p. 461].

Besides their titles, noble Tatars also had ranks in accordance with positions they held. These were captains of horse, cornets and marshaloks.

There were other categories of Tatars in the Lithuanian Principality. Among them there were the so called master's Tatars. Captives of high rank were regarded as such, those who had relatives, fellows or sworn brothers among the settled Tatars in Lithuania, and they paid ransom for them.

When in Lithuania, they settled on the royal lands and became king's subjects. They were awarded special privileges (1662, 1667, 1699).

In the course of time master's Tatars were called landowners (landlords).

Tatars living in the magnates' *dobrys*—primarily in Rad-zivillov and Sapeguy—had a special legal status. According to the researchers, they were not homogenous (in social and economic context). They rented lands that caused them to serve in the private magnates' militia. They helped to make new communities [Sobczak, 1987, p. 42; Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, pp. 10–11]. The rest were servants at pan's (gentleman's) courts in the 17th and 18th centuries either in their own private burgs or *juridicas*.

According to Sobchak, in the second half of the 17th century there was a new Tatar group living in the royal economies, and their legal status differed from those who owned land.

Groundlings should also be taken into consideration. During that development phase of the city, Tatars were valuable and versatile migrants. They were mobile. Tatars knew how to practise crafts, render transportation services,

go into trade and do gardening, grow crops and rear cattle.

When numerous private burgs were being established in the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, many Tatar families moved there and were exempted from taxes (for 6 to 10 and even 16 years). There were up to a few hundred families in small cities like Mysh, Belitsy, Koydanuv, Smoleviche, Poporche, etc. [Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, p. 26].

In the late 18th century, Tatar communities could be found in Vilno, Minsk, Slonim, Mizha and Ostrog. At the same time new communities in Lakhovichi, Novogrudok and Iva were being established. In the early 19th century, they also covered Grodno, Oshmyany, Byala Podlyaska and Brest-upon-Brug. However, most large Tatar communities were established outside of towns [Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, p. 28].

As a closing remark about the social structure of the Tatar population, one more group should be mentioned, common soldiers captured during raids who were made subjects to landowners. They were domiciled everywhere. Their ranks were the lowest, though in the 16th century they enjoyed religious tolerance together with groups of soldiers.

Tatars who came to the Grand Lithuanian Principality were 'soldiers of flesh and blood'. War was the most important part of their life. The history of Tatar hordes shows a constant pattern of fighting and military actions. Tatars fought enthusiastically, they needed to do that. When the steppes were parched by heat, Tatars had to go and get bread from the neighbouring regions. Economy, sowing and cropping divided Tatars' life into periods of peace and war [Kryczyński, 1984, p. 125].

The period under discussion was no exception, either. In the early 17th century, they took part in the campaign in Livonia [Herbst, 1938, p. 25]. They demonstrated their wonderful skills in September 1690, in their battle against the Swedish near Kirchholm. This resulted in the defeat of the Swedish troops, who lost 9,000 soldiers, and their King Charles IX.

King Sigmund III presented the Lithuanian Tatars with different lands and villages for their

courage they showed in their battle against the Swedish [Dziadulewicz, 1929, p. 337, 349, 361; Kukiel, 1929, pp. 55–56].

In the 1620s, they again took part in the battles in Livonia, in the 1640s and 1660s, they were involved in the Cossacks wars, and then again fought against the Swedish, and in the war between Poland and Russia for the Ukraine [Ibid.].

From 1694 to 1699, a civil war in Lithuania took place. Tatar units, who fought for the Sapegs, played an important part in it. In the fight between the supporters of S. Leszczyński and August II (1700–1709) Sapeg Tatars fought for the former and the Crown Tatars for the latter. In the battle of Kalish (1709) the Swedish and the Sapeg cavalry, including a large number of the Lithuanian Tatars, fought against the Sassky, Russian and Crown Polish troops with their Tatar detachments [Kryczyński, 1984, p. 23].

We see Tatar troops in the Seven Years' War between France and Prussia (1756–1762) too.

In 1792, the light brigade with three Tatar regiments fought a defensive war against the attacking and outnumbering foe from Stolptsy up to Brest until the attack was over and King Stanisław August marched into the Targovitsa confederation.

Before dividing Poland, Polish and Lithuanian Tatars sent thousands of subordinate officers, hundreds of captains of house, dozens of regiment commanders and only one general, Jusef Belyak (1741–1794), from Novogrudok [Kryczyński, 1932, pp. 46–94].

After the third division of Poland, part of the Tatars in the Prussian kingdom tried to form lancers. However, they failed because the land offered to them for their service had to be leased. Moreover Lithuanian Tatars were asked to convert. Prussian authorities did not legitimise their szlachta.

In 1797, General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski formed a Polish legion in North Italy that fought together with France. There were Polish Tatars among its officers.

Besides military service, Lithuanian Tatars mastered other professions. The conditions they lived in turned them into intermediaries between the Polish–Lithuanian Common-

wealth, Crimea and Turkey. They shared religion, origin and in most cases language, and this made it easier for them to find common ground with people from the East making it possible for them to work as diplomats. It is no coincidence that documents often mention names of Lithuanian Tatars as messengers, heralds, secretaries, interpreters and even bailiffs. 'However,' justifiably writes Bogdan Baranovsky, 'their achievements were not always valued and remained in the shade of the magnates, who declared that it was they who had gone to Istanbul with 1,000 carts, though they managed to do less than one messenger, a common Tatar' [Baranowski, 1950, p. 137].

After Lithuanian Tatars had lost their mother tongue, the number of interpreters among them gradually decreased.

For instance in the 17th century the Tatar interpreters from eastern languages were very few, and they might have been Muslims who had come from the Crimea.

In the 18th century there were Tatars from Lithuania acting not as interpreters but rather as heralds sent to the East. For example, in 1716 Captain of horse Stefan Sulkevich went to the Crimea. In the period of the Bar Confederation Colonel Alexander Mustafa Korytsky was sent to Khochimsky Pasha [Konopczyński, 1932, p. 62; Kryczyński, 1935, p. 46].

Lithuanian Tatars sometimes acted as intermediaries, paying ransom for Polish captives who were imprisoned by the Muslims. This happened to Hetman Kontsepolosky who was defeated and captured by Turks.

Some sources say that Lithuanian Tatars often accompanied foreign merchants and acted as guides.

The position of an interpreter was important, but not widely spread. However, farming, especially gardening, was traditionally the Tatars' favourite activity [Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31, part 26], the poor ones of course. Tatars had their small plots of land, sometimes reduced to estate land only, but they cultivated them perfectly. They were especially good at gardening [Ibid., part 25].

Carting was an important source of income for Lithuanian Tatars. In this regard they were

so successful in it, turning it into their monopoly that was indispensable for the commerce of that time. Moreover they were honest and accurate intermediaries between the remotest towns and regions, which meant a lot amid the impassability of roads and lack of domestic security. Although this occupation was initially practiced by the lower ranks of the Tatar population and was not considered fit for gentry, according to many documents as well as the Lithuanian laws, it was widely spread among Tatars.

It was not only farming, gardening and carting they practiced. The Lithuanian Statute of 1588 mentions one more occupation of theirs—leather tanning. All of the important sources of the 16th and 17th centuries agree that tanning was their most popular occupation. They enjoyed a good reputation and mastered all production technologies. They specialised in tanning goat and horse skins, and made beautiful morocco and unhaired leather.

Moreover, they practised cattle breeding, especially horse breeding. They were experts, second to none in horse breeding. Their herds compared favourably with other ones. They could both breed animals, take care of them and masterfully tame them. These traditions were observed up to the 1930s.

It is no coincidence that there were uncertified horse doctors among the Tatars. There were many of them, and this means they had lots of experience.

Besides they sold horses that were always highly valued especially in wartime or when it was over, or when they acted as intermediaries.

Lithuanian Tatars were engaged in petty trade too, selling vegetables, fish and meat. However they faced obstacles to doing this. Not everyone was allowed to practise that craft. In 1606, the legal status of poor Tatars was regulated, but only those who accepted urban law were allowed to trade, so they became bourgeoisies and were ready to pay taxes [Ibid.].

Moving to cities and becoming bourgeoisies, Tatars started serving in the city militia that was formed in the middle of the 17th century. Some Tatars were part of Polish gentry, and this enabled them to act as assessors of district and city courts, as well as judges.

Speaking about the life of Tatars we should mention that it was not always serene. They were often discriminated against or persecuted. This is seen in the available documents.

One more peculiarity should be pointed out. As soon as the relations between the Polish—Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Muslim countries worsened and turned into armed skirmishes, a section of the public made the Polish—Lithuanian Tatars scapegoats for that. This was also accompanied by malevolence towards the Islamic religion, along with the growing religious tension between the Christian religions. This caused szlachta to put forward anti-Tatar demands. For example in 1613 and 1616, the Constitutional sejm prohibited Tatars from the selling of lands and the purchase of szlachta's *dobrys*, and this resulted in dropping reduction in the number of soldiers serving under the Lithuanian Tatar heraldic flags. Sejms kept up with sejms. They requested that Muslim Tatars should be prohibited from having servants and for Christian people, mixed Muslim-Christian marriages faced the death penalty. However, there is no good reason why Tatars were accused of stirring up trouble and inducing people to convert to the Islamic religion.

Tatars' foes spread accusations against them. In this regard N. Chizhevsky's work 'Al-Furkan the Tatar (1616) divided into forty parts' should be noted without mentioning where it was published. According to the Acts about Lithuanian Tatars, it was full of false accusations of various superstitions and even crimes against Tatars [Ibid., part 20].

One more attack on the Tatars was carried out in 1766 in the form of the revision of the royal economies initiated by Lithuanian *podskarbi* Tizenhaus, who had headed the Department of Economical *Dobry* since 1765. He carried out an expulsion that caused trials, petitions, disputes and claims that continued until the Polish—Lithuanian Commonwealth split.

It was quite natural for Tatars to protest under such conditions. They managed to recruit the support of Ksaveri Branitsky, later on the Grand Crown Hetman, in whose troops many of them fought against the Bar Confederation. Upon their request, he met with the king and

try to persuade Tizenhaus not to deprive Tatars of their estates. The king, to whom the noble Tatars applied, satisfied their claims despite his good relations with Tizenhaus.

Another misunderstanding between the administration and Tatars took place in 1778 and 1779. The reason for that was Tyzenhaus's request to liquidate a quarter debt of Tatars from 1768 to 1775. Again a wave of requests and claims arrived, submitted by Tatars living in the king's economies. Some of them were signed by the first Lithuanian Tatar general, Jusef Belyak.

In July 1779, the king's brother, Stanisław Poniatowski, supported the Tatars, Colonel Azulevich and Branitsky served in his general staff.

The matter was terminated by the king, who exempted Tatars living in the economies from their quarter debts in 1779.

It was finally solved in the sejm constitution of 1786 that recognised all Tatars' estates as inherited. The economies administration retained the right to purchase back Tatars' lands. Moreover, Tatars could settle down in two mentioned starostvas—Crown and Lithuania.

The sejm returned to discussing the buy—out of the Tatars' lands in 1793 and gathered a committee of three that had to assess Tatars' *dobry*, their income and name the equal lands in starostvas. However political events ruined the work of that committee [Sobczak, 1987, p. 57].

The most striking example of discrimination against the Tatars, was the unwillingness to recognise them as the Polish gentry.

No regulation regarded Tatars as the Polish gentry. Tatars, irrespective of their religion, did not take part in sejmiks, nor could they or did they perform any administrative functions. The decrees of sejmiks show the public and legal difference between them and *szlachta*. Tatars could not act as deputies, nor could they influence the deputies' instructions. They still had an opportunity to submit their requests and claims to Sejm. Starting from 1786, they could do that through the military department [Sobczak, 1990, p. 355].

It should be noted that Tatars did not consider themselves Polish gentry, and in their pe-

titions that were addressed to kings and sejmiks they wrote about themselves as 'Tatar people' in contrast with *szlachta*. This name was also used in regulatory documents especially in the 17th century.

Speaking about their discrimination, it would be wrong not to mention certain privileges that Tatars were sometimes granted. For instance Wladislaw IV granted them to Tatars, and the succeeding kings—Jan Sobieski, August II, and, finally, Stanisław August Poniatowski—extended them. The latter ordered to make a summary of birth certificates from the Lithuanian chancellery and sealed it with the seal of the Principality [Lappo, 1901, p. 466–467]. Moreover rights and freedoms of Lithuanian Tatars were repeatedly confirmed in the sejm constitutions in 1656, 1668, 1673, 1674, 1677, 1678, 1726, 1736, and finally in 1775.

According to them, for example, Tatars except for those who lived in the royal lands, could sell, grant, change or pledge their estates, keeping any potential profits from it. There are a lot of documents among the Statutes of Lithuanian Tatars that reflect real estate transactions.

After Lithuanian provinces were integrated into the Russian Empire, the status of Tatars did not change. All the following laws 'favoured them'. Catherine II issued a Supreme edict on 30 October 1794, ordering the governor-general, Prince Nikolay Repnin, to take care of the Tatars settled in the Lithuanian regions. 'While performing the duties you were charged with, do not forget about the Tatar troops settled in the Lithuanian regions. They are brave and open-minded people, thus making us take care of them. We hope to see the good qualities that Tatars are known for. For this purpose we order you to take their oath together with other Lithuanian people, and to maintain their ownership and privileges, and give them hope that we allow them to conduct their religious services and to have all they already have in Lithuania. But we also want to provide for them and to make them happy, that is why we hope you will see into their situation and find the ways to increase their benefits' [Complete code of laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 33, p. 572].

In December 1795, there was a new confirmation. After the death of Catherine II this was made by Paul I (November 1796).

In 1797, Lithuanian Tatars formed a special ten-squadron cavalry regiment named Pinsky [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 24, p. 523].

After two years there was an edict to preserve the status of the nations living in Lithuanian guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 25, p. 573].

Lithuanian Tatars were not separate ethnographic group living together with Belarusians and Lithuanians, nor did they differ much from them. They did not even called themselves Tatars. 'We are not Tatars, we are Muslim szlachta, they said, and only peasants call us Tatars' [Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31, part 22].

Having lived too long among other nations (the Polish, Russians, Belarusians and Lithuanians) Tatars forgot their mother tongue. This is quite understandable. Because Russian was not only the official language of management, it also dominated the whole economic and everyday life within most territories of the Grand Lithuanian Principality. All documents in that part of the Polish and Lithuanian state were made in Russian until the 18th century, except for Podlyasskoe office of voivode, where the szlachta's sejmik had introduced the Polish language before.

Tatars married adherents of different faiths, and this contributed to their losing their mother tongue [Bogdanowicz, Chazbijewicz, 1997, p. 32].

The influence of the Russian language was over by the end of the 16th century. In the following century the Muslims were getting Polonised, especially its elite, landlords. They were often in contact with Polish society and culture, they spent years in the army serving the king or magnates. According to Ya. Tyshkevich, in the second half of the 17th century most Polish and Lithuanian Tatars signed using the Polish and Lithuanian *versha* (75%), and this only spread in the 18th century. Studying was in Polish in the Grand Lithuanian Principality, but mostly Polonisation was a matter of choice

there. Studying in Polish at local schools was in accordance with parents' provisions, who could ask for their children to be taught Russian or Lithuanian. There were too few people who knew the Arabic alphabet and language.

Therefore, the author states, after the period of Russification (both in language and culture) Polonisation started together with personal assimilation, and they converted to Christianity (from the 17th up to the beginning of the 18th century) [Ibid.].

At the same time, Tatars maintained their national identity that made them different from all other people. Rich Tatar landowners were especially successful in this.

Tatars' physical traits suggested their oriental origin.

According to Mukhlinsky, Tatars were 'mostly tall, slim and dark-haired, with dark complexion, regular traits, expressive face and posture. Women are getting whiter-faced as compared to their great grandmothers, and modesty was their attribute' [Mukhlinsky, 1887, p. 47–49].

As for clothes, the Statutes say the following, 'They were similar to those of their Belorussian and Lithuanian neighbours, but their women preferred bright and conspicuous colours for their dresses. Their comparative prosperity shows itself in their wearing boots instead of bast sandals, like most Belorussians do. Whereas their women and girls wear shoes with red and yellow heels' [Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31, part 23].

Tatars living in the countryside built houses, barns and other outbuildings that were common for that region. Rich Tatars had their house divided into two parts—clean and black. The former one (a bright room) with wooden floor was where guests were received, for family festivities, etc. The latter one with clay floor and where the walls were not whitewashed was half dark and it was where they performed their common household duties. A poor Tatar's hut had only one living room and it often had a stove, but no chimney.

The interiors were similar to those of peasants and minor gentry. A Tatar's estate was

fenced, there was a front garden with common country flowers. Almost every household had an orchard.

In general, the Acts say that the environment of a Lithuanian Tatar showed his cultural level, though there were illiterate persons among them [Ibid.].

As Mohammedans, Lithuanian Tatars stuck to monogamy.

Besides mixed marriages there were intermarriages. They were most often contracted between the families of the Crimean Khaganate, especially in the 17th to the 18th centuries. The so called *Kitab* by Milkamanovich (1781) teaches the contracting of marriages between the Muslims. It should be noted that the core of the Polish and Lithuanian Tatars were usually Muslim families [Lapicz, 1986].

As for Tatars' personal traits, they were highly valued both by Mukhlinsky and the Statutes. They were appreciated for their honour, manners, gentleness and forbearance, hospitality, kind-heartedness, tenderness, common sense and diligence. They can boast 'honesty, sobriety and they are persistent in carrying out their promises; they can easily get on with other people without getting assimilated, sticking to their tribal order of precedence, they are gentle and kind to their wife and children, and this is their advantage as compared to their neighbours—the Christian Polish gentry' [Dovnar-Zapolsky, 1901, p. 641; Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31, part 25]. They do not often quarrel or fight. According to Mukhlinsky, they were almost never convicted for criminal cases [Mukhlinsky, 1887, pp. 48–49].

One of their main traits that made Tatars stand out, was their religion to which they had adhered, since their appearance in the Grand Lithuanian Principality. This was what stood out most.

During their life in the Grand Lithuanian Principality and later on, Tatars were Sunnis. According to the traditions of tolerance, the first mosques were built in crowded areas. In the 17th and 18th centuries, 20 new holy shrines were built, and those that had been erected previously were also operating. According to the Statutes on the Lithuanian Tatars, mosques 'in

the Tatar settlements were plain mostly wooden buildings'. Mosques and preaching houses were steadfast centres of the Tatars' religious life, and the centres of Mohammedan parishes (gmin).

Each parish was led by a mullah (imam). It should be noted that the second term did not catch on in Lithuania. The sources usually called the mullah 'molna', less often—Tatar priest. He was usually elected by the parish. In the 16th and 17th centuries mullahs sometimes came from the Crimea. They were more educated.

However, it should be noted that most priests were trained at home. The mullah was like an authorised delegate of his parish, their agent in dealing with authorities. An elderly person was usually elected to act as a priest, one who could read and write in Russian, and who Arabic.

They acted as public notaries, they certified wills and letters of deposit, and kept records. Starting from the 16th century they also registered vital statistics—marriages and births. Tatar priests took oaths of their co-religionists in courts or the army. The law said that mullahs had the right to perform some duties of a judge, for example hearing cases of children's naughtiness, last will contests over private property or inheritance between Mohammedans, etc., but in fact parishioners did not often apply to mullahs and preferred the courts of justice [Acts of the Vilno Commission for Handling the Ancient Deeds, vol. 31, part 25].

Along with mullahs, there were also muazzins. They called people to prayer in the mosque or the prayer-tower or just walking about the streets. This was done to call to believers to go to the holy shrine, and because his voice could not be heard in remote houses.

Throughout many centuries Muslims were provided with religious literature. It is no coincidence that in the late 16th century handwritten texts of the Quran were found in Lithuania, and they 'were written in a beautiful handwriting'. Moreover, there were prayer books and other religious texts translated into Polish. There were also books in Russian-Lithuanian and Russian-Ukrainian dialects, and, according to Mukhlinsky, 'there were a large number of

them, they could make a whole small library, and this shows that Tatars liked sciences, and there were Muslim theologians among them' [Mukhlinsky, 1887, p. 29].

Sunnis in the Polish-Lithuanian state were mostly Tatars. Being a large group staying in contact with their sworn brothers from the Crimea and the Volga region, their religious life was arranged on a legal basis and included observing traditions. It should be noted that over many centuries, Lithuanian—Polish Tatars retained their cultural and ethnic individuality mostly due to the cultivation of Islam. The religious factor kept them together as a gmin, allowing them to retain their specific rites, and to contract marriages among other believers [Tyszkiewicz, 1989, pp. 281–282].

It should be noted that Tatars were never a significant element among other nations within the former Lithuanian state. They never made any claims for political independence. It is no coincidence that the native peoples lived in peace and harmony with them.

The Lithuanian—Polish government spent much energy and many efforts fighting against the Russian Orthodox and the Hebrew (Jewish) elements thinking they were hostile to their statehood. However, it highly valued the Tatars for their best qualities, seeing they were loyally answering their callings. It also favoured and patronised them, granting rights and privileges to them from time to time. This what the tsarist government did after the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided.

CHAPTER 3

Serving Tatars and the Russian Authorities: Between Mutiny and Service

§1. Tatars and the Kazan Region in the Time of Troubles

Iskander Izmaylov

Troubles erupt: Serving Tatars against Vasily Shuysky. The Kazan Tatars were depleted after a series of revolts and wars of liberation in the latter half of the 16th century. The most intransigent of the Serving Tatars were killed in battle, while the others took the Russian service and became a privileged class of dukes and nobles. Some of them adopted Orthodoxy, either voluntarily or under duress, and made up a separate class of the 'newly baptised' gentry. All of this created unusual living conditions for the Tatars and the Muslim tax-paying population. They were not politically active, lacked authoritative leaders and did not expect to succeed in any armed confrontation with the Tsar's authorities. This explains why as early as in 1575 the Tsar ordered, in his mandate to the ambassadors in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, 'And if they ask about Kazan, Fyodor should say: 'why are you asking about Kazan...the Tsar tells the Kazan men to go to their service, and the Kazan men take the service as long as they are told to...' [Posol'skaya kniga, 2004, p. 86]. The Serving Tatars of the Kazan region backed the central government or those representing it, such as local governors, and took part in various military affairs.

However, after the appearance of False Dmitry II and the ill-considered actions of Vasily Shuysky's government, a civil war broke out in the country. The new Tsar owed his accession to the throne to the major landowners and represented their interests, thus setting the small-estate owning service gentry against him. The appearance of Ivan Bolotnikov and the new pretender, False Dmitry II, and their anti-boyar slogans caused a split

in Russian society [Skrynnikov, 1988, pp. 74–151]. The rebellion of Cossacks and those in the border Cossack regions was joined by the wider service class, including the Serving Tatars. From that point, a significant number of Serving Tatars ceased to support the Tsar and began to side with False Dmitry II. In fact, the situation had returned to that of the beginning of the Time of Troubles, when the bulk of the population was dissatisfied with the domestic and foreign policy of the autocracy (see: [Skrynnikov, 1985, pp. 11–96; Christensen, 1989, pp. 78–91]).

The rebellion against the so-called 'boyars' Tsar' instantly turned into a civil war. The Meshchera and Nizhny Novgorod serving Tatars found themselves in the centre of the events. It must be noted that the Serving Tatars of the Meshchera region made up a significant military contingent. In fact, it was one of the most numerous gentry corporations: the 1604 campaign against the pretender lists 450 Kasi-mov Tatars, 537 Temnikov Tatars, 542 Kadom Tatars and 220 Mordvins from Kadom and Temnikov (see: [Stanislavsky, 1990, p. 55]). The biggest danger for the authorities was the fact that the main driving forces behind the revolt were the servicemen, who were familiar with the hardships of military life, and were as well armed and trained as the tsar's troops. Naturally, they all had different goals, but they were united on one issue: to stop the abuse of power by the dynastic Moscow boyars, represented by the Shuyskys, who neglected the interests of the service classes.

In Soviet historiography, these events were usually interpreted as an anti-feudal and anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of the Volga

region. But if we remove the ideological blinders, it becomes clear that this struggle was the struggle of the service class for their rights and against the policies of the country's boyar elite, whose spokesman was Tsar Vasily Shuysky. It is for this reason that some historians have called the Time of Troubles an 'aristocratic revolution' [Rozhkov, 1922, pp. 5–6].

For the Middle Volga Region, the Time of Troubles began in 1606, when the Volga people received news about the death of Tsar Dmitry. Detachments of Cossacks who were on their way to Moscow in answer to his summons mutinied and, calling people to revolt against the new Tsar, engaged in warfare. Many cities responded to the call, and in the autumn of 1606 the rebellion swept through cities like Alatyř, Arzamas, Yadrin, Kurmysh, Cheboksary and Sviyazhsk.

Soon the rebellion in support of the new 'Prince Dmitry' covered vast areas of the Oka and Sura Regions. Arzamas became the centre of the uprising, and the Serving Tatars were among its most active participants. For example, murza Aydar Yenibiyakov was one of the leaders of the Tatar detachment battling against Nizhny Novgorod, and the baptised Tatar nobleman A. Kazakov fought against the Kurmysh garrison. The Tsar's authorities were forced to send the troops of the loyal voivodes G. Lushkin and S. Adadurov (Odadurov) against the insurgent Arzamas voivode B. Domozhirov. The rebellion was suppressed, and part of the rebels joined the government troops. In 1607, Prince Peter Urusov (born Urak, son of Nogai bek Jan Arslan), together with S. Adadurov, was placed in command of the detachment of the Kazan, Romanov and Arzamas Tatars, who fought against I. Bolotnikov near Tula, where they played a prominent role in suppressing the rebellion.

By the end of 1606, the uprising covered the entire Volga region, from Astrakhan to Nizhny Novgorod, and also the Vyatka and Perm regions. Only the cities of Nizhny Novgorod and Kazan remained loyal to Shuysky's government. The government was forced to call in an army under the command of F. Sheremetev, into the region, but his efforts to suppress the rebellion proved futile. He failed to capture the

rebellious Astrakhan and retreated to Tsaritsyn. Being powerless in the centre of the Cossack rebellion, he was only able to repel the attacks of the rebels.

In 1608, when the impostor False Dmitry II approached Moscow, the uprising in the Kazan and Meshchera regions flared up with renewed vigour. In December 1608, 'there came (to Nizhny Novgorod)...the thieving men of Nizhgorod, the boyar children of Arzamas, Tatars, the Cheremis, and all kinds of tax-paying men'. The garrison repelled the attack and shattered the rebel forces, capturing about three hundred people, 'seized their banners and bells, with little of those thieves managing to escape' [Dejstviya Nizhegorodskoj uchenoj arxivnoj komissii, p. 9].

However, resistance to the authorities persisted. In 1608, voivode Sheremetev, who had failed in the Lower Volga, was recalled to the Kazan region, where the flames of war were spreading towards the Hill Land.

In November 1608, Sheremetev reached Kazan, where he replenished his supplies and rested. A month later, he was back in the Hill Land and, together with the Nizhny Novgorod regiments, inflicted several defeats on the rebel troops. While suppressing the armed uprising, he issued a memorandum to his commanding officers, the administrative official M. Slovtsov and the streltsy's Colonel D. Zmeyev, 'to administer a šert [oath of allegiance] to the Cheremis and Tatars in all villages, so that that they would always be... subordinate to the Tsar', 'and if some districts do not take the šert ...to fight the Cheremis and Tatars there, take their wives and children prisoners, loot their houses and burn the villages' [Akty, otnosjashhiesja do juridicheskogo byta Drevnej Rossii, vol. 2, pp. 672–673]. This meant that it was clear for the commander of the punitive detachments that the Serving Tatars and the Cheremis were the driving forces behind the uprising.

Nevertheless, the revolt continued to flare up on and off in various districts. In late December, the rebels advanced on Sviyazhsk, where they confronted the Tsar's army. They were defeated in a battle on 1 January 1609. According to the voivodes, 'the tsar's men beat

to pieces the thieves of Sviyazh and Cheboksary, Kokshaysk and Alatyr, the Tatars and Mordovians and the Cheremis, and cut them down like pigs, and laid their bodies over seven miles' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 197, No. 100]. After that, voivode Sheremetev moved toward Kozmodemyansk with his main forces, pacifying and subjugating the 'Mordovians..., Cheremis and Tatars... to an oath of obedience' [Ibid.].

However, the suppression of the armed uprising in the Hill Land did not mean its suspension in other regions of the Volga-Urals. The areas that previously put up a strong resistance during the Cheremis wars were now again ready to revolt. This became the destination for the rebels who were cleared out of the Hill Land and the Meshchera region. The new outbreak of the uprising centred in the city of Yaransk, which was captured by the rebels on 5 January 1609. According to a witness, cathedral dyak P. Mokyeyev: 'Murzas from Arzamas, Bibay and Tereberdey Mustofins came to the city of Yaransk, bringing along with them many thieving men, Streltsy and Cossacks, Mordovians, and the Chuvash, and the Cheremis, and they had the Yaransk men baptised for the sake of the thief called Prince Dmitry'. The city government headed by Peter Glukhov was deposed, and the rebels 'elected Asanchuk Gorikhvostov from the boyars to govern the city of Yaransk', and P. Mokeev as assistant clerk, who later admitted to it when questioned [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 221, No. 116]. Based in Yaransk, the rebels disseminated letters ('thieves' letters') to the neighbouring towns, with demands for them to join the uprising. Some towns joined the revolt, such as Kukarskaya sloboda, but the Vyatka, Arsk, Urzhum, Malmyzh and Laishevo regions, as well as 'the Tatars, the Chuvash and the Cheremis living near those cities' remained loyal to the government [Historical Acts, vol. 2, p. 170].

The main danger came from the servicemen of the Meshchera region, because the rebellion not only persisted there but was also attracting new forces. At the same time, the Kasimov Tatars led by Khan Uraz Muhammad and Peter Urusov sided with the enemies

of Vasily Shuysky. This caused a surge in the uprising in the Volga region. The rebels from Alatyr, Arzamas and Kurmysh uyezds, gathered under the command of Princes Jan Ali Shugurov, Bryusheyk Enikeev, and Yavush Gladkov, and were joined by 'many men from those cities: sons of boyars and Streltsy, Mordva and Bortniks, the Hill Chuvash and the Cheremis' and marched on Sviazhsk [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 217].

By the spring of 1609, they had again assembled an army and were preparing to march on Sviyazhsk, which was regarded as one of the major governmental centres, and provided the connection between Nizhny Novgorod and Kazan, controlling both the Volga route and the ferry crossings on the Volga. The report by the Kazan voivodes to the government stated that 'thieves from Alatyr and Kurmysh, from Yadrin and Arzamas, from Temnikov and from Kasimov...many men from those cities, sons of boyars and Streltsy, the Mordovians and the Bortniks, the Hill Chuvash and the Cheremis', headed by Prince Enaleyko Shugurov, Prince Bryusheyko Yanikeev, Prince Ivanko Smilenev, and sons of boyars Fedko Kireev, Yakushko Glyadkov, Vaska Rtishchev and Semeyka Kuzminskiy [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol.2, p. 217] to march against Sviyazhsk. This shows a fairly wide range of participants in the uprising, from princes to servicemen.

The Kazan voivodes sent large forces against the rebels: 'many men of Kazan—the nobles and the gentry, servicemen and murzas, the newly baptised and Tatars, the Chuvash and the Cheremis, the Votyaks and Laishevo men, and Mussulmen, and many Kazan streltsy with firearms and cannons (that is, handguns and artillery—I.I.)'. The army was led by colonels Osip Zyuzin and Andrey Khokhlov. The troops met on 10 March near the Burundukova village (probably, present-day Burunduki—I.I.), and the rebels were defeated again. Simultaneously, a punitive detachment was sent to Kukarskaya sloboda [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 217]. The defeat of the rebels allowed the Kazan authorities to step up their actions against the rebels. However, in autumn the uprising broke out

again, especially in the Hill Land and in the forests of the Meadow Land, preventing large forces of government troops from marching to Moscow in order to protect the Tsar Vasily Shuysky.

Detachments of F. Sheremetev were rapidly moving around the Middle Volga Region, from Cheboksary uyezd to Kasimov uyezd, but could not gain full control over the territory.

The tragedy was that the Tatars, like all Russians, were hostages to the Time of Troubles. They fought and died for different rulers, sharing the same hardships and privations as the entire country. A typical case can be found in the petition filed to False Dmitry II in 1610 by his supporters, the Serving Tatar Prince Mustafa Mameshev and Murza Mamesh Tereberdeev, who asked to be given the estates of the Tatars Tenikey Enibiyakov and Bekbey Sobaev, who were fighting on the government side.

The situation was complicated by the frequent incursions of the Nogais and Crimean Tatars into Russia, at a time when the boundaries were supposed to be guarded by Serving Tatars, among others. The border guards were reduced or even transferred from the border to participate in the civil war. Every year, large and small groups of the Nogais invaded the southern periphery and even the interior of the country, sometimes reaching the vicinities of Moscow.

However, by the end of the summer of 1609, a turning point occurred in the war. The Tsar's troops under the command of boyar F. Sheremetev were moved to Kasimov. But the Tatars 'held the field with no intention to abandon the city to the Tsar'. The garrison put up a strong resistance, but in the end, the city was captured in the course of a siege, and many of its defenders and civilians were killed. During the successful military campaign, the troops of Sheremetev 'subjugated' the Hill Land and the Meshchera Krai and cleared out the rebels from the cities of Murom, Kasimov, Meshchera, Elatma, Kadom, Vladimir and Suzdal [Zagoskin, 1891, p. 140]. This allowed Sheremetev to march up the Volga, secure the oaths of cities which had previously supported False Dmitry II, including Gorodets, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Uglich, Tver, Romanov and others.

From the Upper Volga region, he moved to Moscow and there, in the Alexandrova Sloboda, joined forces with the army of Prince M. Skopin-Shuysky, who had brought his army from Novgorod with the 'Pomor militia', after the conclusion of peace with Sweden. A turning point occurred in the war between the two Tsars in favour of Vasily Shuysky.

Meanwhile, the Kazan voivodes did not rush to support the Vyatka Land despite their important victory at Burundukova. While part of the combat-ready troops was sent to the Hill Land to aid Voivode Sheremetev, even a victory would not have guaranteed the pacification of the entire region in the circumstances of the guerrilla war. No victory would have been final, while defeat could have been catastrophic. It is obvious that the policy of the Kazan authorities was to preserve the delicate balance and try to prevent an armed mutiny of servicemen. In fact, the policy was dictated from Moscow, which sent four charters to different social classes—the clergy (to the metropolitan), the servicemen and craftsmen, the non-Russian servicemen, and the yasak population (those paying tribute in furs), 'to our patrimony, Kazan' [Sbornik Xilkova, 1879, pp. 90–97, No. 21–24]. In the charters, the government expressed gratitude to the voivodes V. Morozov and B. Belskiy, the clerks N. Shulgin and S. Dichkov, and the clergy and service classes for their loyalty and 'important service in Kazan,' and encouraged them to continue rejecting the 'strife caused by the thieves'. Describing the difficulty of the moment, the Tsar emphasises: 'Russian thieves... are devastating and robbing, and shedding a lot of peasant blood, and ravaging holy churches, and insulting holy icons...' In his appeal to the voivodes, the Tsar urged them to prevent rebellion in the Kazan region, especially of the serving Tatars, Chuvash and Cheremis—and 'spoke' to them (that is, argued with them—*I.I.*), warning against breaking the šert (oath of allegiance) given to the Tsar. But his most important promise to his loyal subjects includes various favours and remunerations: '...and then we shall grant them a remuneration higher than before, and shall release them from paying taxes for many years' [Sbornik Xilkova, 1879, pp. 91–92, No. 21]. It

is hard to tell whether these promises played a decisive role or if the Kazan servicemen were not willing to fight in the interests of yet another imposter.

The rebellion flared up sporadically in the Hill Land near Cheboksary, as well as in the Meadow Land, where the rebels traditionally concentrated around Yaransk. The departure of the main forces of the governmental army to Moscow allowed the rebels to recuperate and once again threaten the fortresses loyal to the Shuyskys. In the winter of 1609/1610, the Kazan voivodes ignored calls for help from Vyatka, pointing out that they too were in constant danger themselves, and that Sviyazhsk was almost continuously under siege: '...the voivodes, and the nobles, and sons of boyars, and the Tatars, and all the servicemen and peasants and serfs were in Sviyazhsk under siege' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, pp. 258–259, No. 143]. Vyatka and the Hill Land were under the threat of attack by the rebels. However, the rebels did not take the decision to attack, and, moreover, the rebellion gradually began to wane.

The reason was that the political situation in the country had changed dramatically. In the autumn of 1609, the Polish King Sigismund declared war on Russia and besieged Smolensk. Supporters of False Dmitry II began to desert and side with the Polish king instead. The 'Tushino Camp' collapsed, and the 'Tushino thief' fled to Kaluga, where he began to gather supporters, mainly Cossacks led by Ataman Zarutsky, so as to organise a new offensive on Moscow. The boyars opposed to Shuysky offered the Polish king to enthrone his son Władysław.

The recently victorious army of Shuysky, deprived of its leader after the sudden death of Prince Skopin-Shuysky, suddenly began to suffer defeat after defeat. The crisis of power and the Poles' offensive led to a revolt, and on 17 July 1610 Tsar Vasily was overthrown and forced to take on the robes a monk. Supreme authority over the country passed to the 'Council of Seven Boyars', headed by prince F. Mstislavsky. The boyar government entered into negotiations with Sigismund, signing the agreement on the recognition of Władysław as

the Russian Tsar on 17 August, and on 21 September Polish troops entered Moscow.

False Dmitry II, though he renounced the Polish Prince, could not stop his people from siding with the latter. A fragile peace was established between them. Supporters of different forces engaged in various negotiations, but the Poles were advancing deeper into the country, capturing one region after another. In these circumstances, False Dmitry II was supposed to act as the unifier of the country and its liberator from the Poles, but he did not enjoy the support of the old boyar class, and his supporters from the Volga-Ural Region were depleted by ceaseless war. Against this background, False Dmitry II chose not to take decisive action, and remained the 'Tushino sitter'.

The Apogee of the Time of Troubles. Peter Urusov and the death of False Dmitry II. A complete illustration of the participation of Serving Tatars in the Time of Troubles requires further description, and the biographies of some of the participants of the historical drama may be the most illuminating evidence of the Tatars' destiny during the Time of Troubles.

The life and destiny of the Kasimov Khan Uraz Muhammad is especially typical and provides an illustrative example. He was born in the steppes by the Aral Sea and was a sultan—heir of Chinggis Khan through his grandson Tuka-Timur, and the son of Undan-Sultan from the bloodline of the Kazakh Khanate's rulers. However, Shigay's family was not a ruling one and did not have chances to ascend to any throne. Therefore, when Siberian nobles asked the young sultan to occupy the throne of the Siberian Khanate, which had been vacant after Kuchum Khan had escaped, the young sultan and his family decided to accept the invitation. They hoped to obtain power and wealth at the court of the new khan. They encountered terrible luck: the Siberian throne became occupied by Ataman Yermak, and then by other voivodes. In 1587, in the course of the war against Kuchum and Russian troops, Uraz Muhammad and all of his retinue were defeated and captured by Siberian Voivode D. Chulkov. The sultan was sent to Moscow together with the other noble captives. He was hospitably greeted and accepted into the

service. Already in 1590–1591, he took part in the campaign against the Swedes, while in 1595 he participated in negotiations with the ambassador of his uncle—Khan Tevekkel. In his writing he emphasised that he lived very well in the Russian service and was held in favour by Tsar Fyodor Godunov. He had estates in his possession and, according to the tsar's own words to Tevekkel, the sultan had been 'granted many patrimonies, and estates, as well as monetary rewards, since he had deserved them' [Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniya, 1961, p. 9, 11]. The degree of the Tsar's trust towards the young Prince was so high that in 1600 he appointed him to the position of the Kasimov Khan. It was a special and honourable appointment for a serving Prince. Not only was he granted significant possessions and wealth, but he also obtained an important political status which allowed him to play a significant role in the Tsar's court.

When the country divided after the appearance of the pretender who would become Tsar Dmitry, and was then plunged into the quagmire of the Time of Troubles, the new Ruler Vasily Shuysky called upon Uraz Muhammad and his Serving Tatars to join the military service, and sent them to fight against the rebels in the land of Severia. The Chronicle contains an entry saying that in 1607, 'Tsar Vasily ordered the Tatar and Cheremis people to fight those from the outskirts and Severia uyezds, and rob them and capture them to punish them for their betrayal' (quote according to: [Novoselsky, 1948: 68]).

It seems that some time earlier, at the court of Tsar Boris, Uraz Muhammad became acquainted with Peter Urusov, Urak by birth name and the son of the Nogai murza Jan Arslan. Peter Urusov and his brother Zorbek were the sons of a murza belonging to a younger branch of the ruling house. They got involved in the internecine struggle and began to threaten Russian interests. An Astrakhan voivode conducted a raid into their main camp and captured them. They were sent to Moscow as captives and were baptised there. Uraq was given the name Peter and Zorbek became Alexander. Over there, they were granted high ranks and monetary funds. In

particular, in 1594, when the Tsar received the ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire, Peter Urusov 'prepared' the wine and poured it for the guests during the feast. There is some evidence, though not fully conclusive, that Peter was married to the widow of Prince A. Shuysky's. During the Time of Troubles, Peter Urusov was not highly visible, but after Vasily Shuysky ascended to the throne, he supported his government.

As discontent grew throughout the country and the split in the society deepened, Peter Urusov and Kasimov Khan Uraz Muhammad, as well as a number of other Serving Tatars, decided to change their allegiance. This is how the Kasimov, Romanov and Astrakhan (Yurt) Tatars found themselves in the 'Tushino camp'. Having been sent to fight False Dmitry II, they seem to have taken his side.

The majority of False Dmitry's troops was made up of the Polish troops of Prince A. Vishnevetsky, Prince R. Ruzhinsky, etc. He was joined by part of the Southern Russian nobility, I. Zarutsky's Cossacks and remnants of I. Bolotnikov's defeated forces [Skrynnikov, 1988, pp. 189–210; Tyumentsev, 1999]. In July 1607, False Dmitry II attempted an offensive from Starodub against Bryansk and Tula. After he defeated V. Shuysky's troops in May 1608, he approached Moscow and arranged his camp near the village of Tushino, where a government was formed consisting of Russian aristocrats and prikaz [clerk] people (princes Trubetskys, A. Sitsky, Philaret Romanov, M. Saltykov, etc.). In fact, Hetman Różyński was at the head of the 'Tushino camp', and in December 1608, power formally passed to 10 elected Polish mercenaries. In August 1608, the Polish led by Jerzy Mniszech arrived in Tushino. His daughter Marina secretly married False Dmitry II. Taking advantage of the civil war and dissatisfaction with Shuysky's policy-making, False Dmitry II established control over a significant territory around Moscow in the summer-autumn of 1608.

False Dmitry's dependence on Polish and Cossack regiments made him conduct dubious policy—he fought state troops, but did not seek to unite all patriotic forces of the society around himself, while also negotiating with

the Polish. This caused a drop in his popularity, especially among the nobility of the Western districts, and led to the reduction of the territory under his control. Poland's open intervention in the summer of 1609 finished the disintegration of the 'Tushino camp'. The Poles and the majority of Russian aristocrats took the side of Sigismund III. In January 1610, the pretender escaped from Tushino to Kaluga. It's unsurprising that the impostor, after being defeated by the Tsar's troops in 1609, supposedly declared: 'My last hope is on the Tatars and the Turks' [Gobäydullin, 1989, p. 26].

The defeat of state regiments by the Polish near Klushino (June 1610) brought his supporters back to him. With the support of the Polish squad of J. Sapieha and after making him a commander, he moved to Moscow. In July 1610, False Dmitry II subdued Serpukhov, Kolomna and Kashira and stopped near the village of Kolomenskoye. But here fortune again turned its back on him.

On 17 July 1610, V. Shuysky was overthrown by nobles led by P. Lyapunov and power passed entirely to the Boyar Duma with F. Mstislavsky at its head. By the time of the pretender's decisive offensive, the 'Rule of the Seven Boyars' led by F. Mstislavsky, V. Golitsyn and D. Mezetsky had already entered into an agreement with Polish Hetman Żółkiewski. According to the agreement, the son of Sigismund III—Władysław—could be recognised as the Tsar only in case of his adoption of Orthodox Christianity. One of its obligatory conditions was the sides' responsibility to act against the impostor.

The position of False Dmitry appeared to be precarious. The stance taken by his main Polish troops also complicated the situation. On the one hand, the Poles desired to enthrone their Tsar, on the other—they didn't want to fight in his interests against the Royal Polish army. Putting the Polish squads under pressure, Żółkiewski, on behalf of the king, offered False Dmitry possession of either Sambor or Grodno. But the pretender rejected the offers and took refuge in Nikolo-Ugreshsky monastery. The Polish troops almost captured him, but he retreated to Serpukhov, leaving all of his army [Florya, 2005, p. 200–26].

In the meantime, discontent towards the Polish intervention increased both among ordinary people and the serving class. Hoping to participate in the power division, he returned to Kaluga already in September. His real support base came from the Cossacks of I. Zarutsky's and the Tatars of Peter Urusov and Uraz Muhammad. Soon, however, a series of military defeats made the Kasimov Khan doubt that 'the Tushino Thief' would be able to become the Tsar. The Kasimov khan, together with a part of the Poles led by Zborowski, who had previously fought on the side of False Dmitry II, visited the camp of King Sigismund III located near Smolensk on 1 April 1610. Over there, he and other former 'Tushino people' were met in a hospitable way.

Here it is necessary to discuss why the issue of the Tatars' loyalty was so important for the Polish king and so painful for False Dmitry II. First of all, they had a powerful cavalry—strong and manoeuvrable. It was armed in a lighter way than the Polish hussars, but exceeded them in maneuverability and the swiftness of attacking and retreating. It was practically on par with the Russian troops in every way. Secondly, the Tatars constituted a fairly significant part of the pretender's regiment—a loyal and disciplined one. In contrast to the cossacks and especially the detachments of the Polish gentry and contract fighters, they served their khan faithfully and neither organised uprisings, nor participated in plots. Thirdly, winning over the Tatars led by the Kasimov Khan sharply increased the Polish king's authority and raised his chances of being recognised by the Russian nobility. This would also contribute to his international reputation. But since a significant part of his army consisted of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars—'Lipkas', and the Crimean Khan was one of his neighbours, the Kasimov Khan's loyalty and support would not be superfluous.

Remembering all of these circumstances, Sigismund apparently did everything to win over Uraz Muhammad. The khan, in turn, agreed and pledged to bring all the Tatars with him.

However, his family remained in the camp of False Dmitry II, and the khan decided to re-

turn back to Kaluga, the pretender's residence, in order to take them away. The later destiny of Uraz Muhammad, who appeared in the camp of the pretender, is described in detail in the notes of his contemporaries. An especially detailed description was preserved in a book written by Conrad Bussow, a German adventurer in the Russia service, and an eyewitness of the Time of Troubles in 1601–1611 [Bussow, 1961].

Despite the seemingly straightforward nature of the events, it is not clear why Uraz Muhammad returned to the pretender's main camp: Did he really want to take his family away? Or did he intend to organise a scheme in order to kill False Dmitry II and destroy his camp? Hetman S. Żółkiewski hinted at the same thing in his memories. Other authors (Conrad Bussow, Isaac Massa, Johan Widekindi) described the event more extensively. After the failure to conquer Moscow in the summer 1610, the impostor retreated to Kaluga and started bracing himself for another campaign. However, Uraz Muhammad's son informed False Dmitry that his father was planning to kill the pretender, and the latter decided to pre-empt the Kasimov Khan. While hunting near the Oka River, he attacked the unsuspecting Uraz Muhammad and killed him. In order to mask the assassination, False Dmitry galloped towards his escort screaming that the Khan had intended to kill him and he—False Dmitry—escaped by a miracle [Bussow, 1961, p. 178; *Pamyatniki Smutnogo vremeni*, 2001, p. 241, 306, 323; Belyakov, 2011, pp. 228–230].

It is possible that the rumours have substance behind them. Serving Tatars were truly dissatisfied with the stagnation which 'The Tushino Thief' had caused through his policy-making. They also felt burdened at the pretender's court—they were at war with the Russian state, and as one battle passed after another, their victory seemed more and more distant, while the defeat and recompense for betrayal became clearer. In the meantime, they saw Sigismund III and his son Władysław as a power capable of uniting the country and conducting a policy favourable to the nobility. In this situation, the Kasimov Khan could not help but lead negotiations with his allies about

taking the side of the Polish ruler. However, False Dmitry II anticipated this, and wanted to put an end to 'the Tatar scheming'.

It is likely that Uraz Muhammad's death spurred indignation among Serving Tatars, and Peter Urusov came out flat against False Dmitry, accusing him of the murder. Being afraid of losing the loyalty of the Tatars who remained in his camp, False Dmitry did not dare to execute Urusov and took him into custody.

But six weeks later, after the Tatars had distinguished themselves in battle, they demanded the release of Urusov from imprisonment. Marina Mniszech and a number of eminent boyars joined them in their petition. False Dmitry had to agree under such pressure. Conceding to pressure from the Serving Tatars—his allies, False Dmitry released the disgraced prince and publicly forgave him. However, Peter Urusov himself seems to have not forgiven him, and decided to take revenge. The main thing he concluded was that False Dmitry's actions led to the defeat and deaths of his allies. He was determined to put an end to the pretender and save himself and his people.

The prince awaited an opportune moment to fulfill the plan for revenge. The moment appeared on 11 December 1610, when False Dmitry decided to go for a walk, escorted by Tatars who were led by Peter Urusov. Here is how Conrad Bussow describes what happened: 'That morning he (False Dmitry.—*I.I.*) went on a sleigh to have a walk and, as usual, took with him his jester Peter Koshelev, two servants and the Tatar prince with another 20 Tatars... When Dmitry advanced a quarter track mile across the field, a cache opened which contained all of the anger that the Tatars had towards Dmitry. Prince Peter Urusov approached Dmitry's sleigh as close as possible, and started flattering him and speaking with him in such a humble way that Dmitry could not suspect anything harmful. And the Prince, who had skilfully prepared for the attack, shot at the sitting Dmitry in the sleigh. Then he pulled out a sabre, swished off his head and said: 'I am going to teach you how to drown Tatar Tsars in the river and cast Tatar princes into prison, you sleazy deceiver and cheat. We used to serve you faithfully, and now I lay the

last crown upon your head, which you deserve'. After this, Peter Urusov gathered his troops and left the imposter's camp. 'The jester Peter Koshelev and two servants',—Bussow continues,—'galloped away to Kaluga and told how the Tatar prince 'encrowned' Tsar Dmitry...' [Bussow, 1961, p. 179; Pamyatniki Smutnogo vremeni, 2001, p. 242].

Later, two Romanov Tatars—Chornysh Yekbeev and Yan Gurcheev—escaped to Moscow after they miraculously managed to break away from Kaluga and reported about what had happened to the authorities. According to their words, 'the thief departed from Koluga on Tuesday, 11 December, beyond the fortress, to have a walk around the field towards the river Yachenka, and Russians together with Yurt Tatars escorted him. Suddenly, the Russians and the Yurt Tatars rushed back to the fortress from the field and openly told people: 'The thief ran, they said', and others said he was killed by a Yurt Tatar. And looking at this, people started to toll the bells; and nobles, and knights, and tradespeople, and various people, who did not believe it, went to see the thief's body, and both of them—Chornysh and Yan—went together with them; and they saw the thief behind the Yachenka river, at a hill near a cross—he lay dead with his head cut off, and his right hand cut by a sabre'. As a response to this, the allies of the killed pretender drew their anger against innocent Romanov Tatars: 'they ran to the sloboda where the Yurt Tatars stayed, and the best murzas: Murza Aley Sheydyakov, and Sopraley Murza, and Kara-bogaty and some other great murzas were killed by the Cossacks, and their yards were robbed' [Historical Acts, volume 2, No. 307]. Responding to this, almost all of the Tatars who had evaded death escaped from the Tushino camp and left it to the mercy of the Tsar's army.

According to C. Bussow: 'Descendants in the Muscovite state will forever thank the Tatar prince for putting an end to False Dmitry's raging, for because of him, Russia had suffered many troubles, severe desolations, murders and deaths' [Bussow, 1961, p. 179]. The death of False Dmitry II brought the final break up of the 'Tushino camp'. Peter Urusov himself escaped to the Crimea where he be-

came an important confidant of the Crimean Khan, an advisor on Moscow affairs, and one of the organisers of attacks against Poland and Russia. Taking an active part in the upheavals of Crimean internal policy, he died during the Nogai rebellion in 1639.

Two irreconcilable characters, who ignited the fire of the internecine war, left the political stage. Their allies became confused. After the overthrow of Vasily Shuysky from power, the authorities elsewhere, for example, in Kazan, started to pledge allegiance to 'Tsar Dmitry'. But this proved groundless after his death. The country was threatened with anarchy.

In the meantime, the intervention suddenly drew together foes who had been implacable until then. The common enemy, who was capable of impinging upon the privileges of the service class, forced an end to the internecine war and was the impetus for uniting around common interests. In these conditions, word spread about gathering the Zemsky [land] militia in order to oust the Poles and enthrone a new Tsar. At the beginning of October 1610, Kazan received the charter sent by Dionysius, the archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, who called upon all cities to join the military in order to liberate Moscow (see: [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 88]).

The Time of Troubles declines. 'The Kazan state' of N. Shulgin. The situation concerning Kazan loyalty which became acute at the beginning of Tsar Michail Romanov's reign, gradually developed. For a long time, it resembled neither a betrayal, nor a separatist rebellion. Moreover, the Kazan district was one of the most reliable regions loyal to the central power. This was extremely important to Moscow, taking into consideration that Kazan was the centre of a great district with a range of fortresses and towns, the largest of which was Sviyazhsk with its large military garrison. Moreover, Kazan controlled the roads to Vyatka and Perm, as well as towards Siberia which made it the key region in Russia's Eastern suburbs, as well as the most important centre of the whole Volga-Ural Region.

During the Time of Troubles, voivodes V. Morozov and B. Belsky, as well as dyaks N. Shulgin and S. Dichkov were appointed as the

heads of Kazan uyezd. This system of governance, which presupposed two permanent voivodes in the region, could be relied upon only in the conditions of the flawless functioning of the central power. However, amidst chaos in Moscow itself, it appeared to be insufficiently effective, especially because the voivodes were two completely different people.

If at one time, B. Belsky had been one of Tsar Ivan IV's favourites and considered to be one of the oprichniks, V. Morozov did not have deep family roots and in 1598 he only possessed the rank of nobility. According to some data, Bogdan Yakovlevich Belsky was the mentor and godfather of Tsarevich Dmitry who died in 1591. After Ivan IV's death, he was sent to Nizhny Novgorod as a voivode, from which he was soon returned to Moscow. However, after Boris Godunov took the throne, he again found himself in dishonour and was sent to Siberian cities. Belsky became one of those who recognised False Dmitry I and obtained the boyar title. The overthrow of the 'usurper' and enthronement of Vasily Shuysky again led to disfavour: this time, he was directed to Kazan under command of young, but birthless boyar Morozov. Unlike Belsky, V. Morozov had successfully served at courts of all Tsars and in 1606 was appointed to an important position of the Kazan voivode, though he was made a boyar only in 1608, as a token of appreciation for being loyal to Shuysky. It is likely that he sought success in the conditions of the Time of Troubles and was eager to serve any authorities.

There is almost no evidence about dyak S. Dichkov, while much more is known about N. Shulgin. He belonged to an impoverished noble family who had to become a diac. He was an active and resourceful person who sought power and wealth and could go to all length to achieve them. There is extant data that Shulgin executed nobleman Semen Netesov and seized his estate in Arzamas uyezd via falsification of the possessory charter [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 90]. In other words, fairly different people gathered in the administration of the county, and all of them aspired to obtain the absolute power within the frame of the Time of Troubles.

In general, as a peripheral region of the country, the Kazan Krai was situated somehow away from the turbulent events related to False Dmitry's ascending to the throne, the internecine feud ignited after his overthrow, as well as the Polish intervention. This was encouraged by the policy-making conducted by the local authorities who, while preserving the external loyalty and balance which existed in the Kama river region, maximally dissociated themselves from the centre. Kazan historian N. Zagoskin explained the reason for Kazan's indifferent attitude to the disturbing events of the beginning of the 17th century on the one hand—by the fact that local voivodes were afraid of possible disturbances among non-Russian peoples [Zagoskin, 1891, p. 139], on the other—by contradictions 'among contemporary personnel involved into the Kazan voivode administration' [Zagoskin, 2005, p. 493]. In the meantime, the tactics of awaiting, adopted by the regional authorities, is often interpreted not simply as a rebellious attempt to preserve power, but as an attempt to create their own 'Kazan state'. Moreover, many researchers remark in surprise that serving Tatars were not in a hurry to support these separatist tendencies. This can be explained by an obvious reduction of the tax burden and the absence of ruinous distractions for the 'state service'.

Nevertheless, the events which quickly developed in Moscow itself, as well as the patriotic wave which gathered momentum, forced the Kazan authorities to indicate the official position. The reaction was tardy, since the Kazan district was situated far from the events around Moscow. Vasily Shuysky's overthrow in the summer of 1610 placed the Kazan authorities in a dilemma: whom they should recognise as a legal Tsar.

In the opinion of a whole range of historians, it was the change of the local authorities which was important in order to understand the political environment in the Kazan region [Ermolaev, 1982, pp. 90–91; Kozlyakov, 2012, pp. 256–257]. Judging by the correspondence between Kazan and other cities, it is possible that by that time, there had appeared a kind of 'city council' in Kazan which, along with

voivodes V. Morozov and B. Belsky, dyaks N. Shulgin and S. Dichkov, included 'heads, and nobles, and knights, and centurions, and Streltsy [harquebusiers], and artillerists, and various Kazan serving and urban people', but formally, their authorities were prolonged until '...the tsar's order' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, No. 170, p. 291, 293].

As I. Ermolaev notes, it is no coincidence that the sources of this time started using the working 'all the land of the Kazan state' [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 91]. Besides, it was obviously not referring to the recovery of the former Kazan Khanate, rather it expressed the idea of formation of a separate entity at the Middle Volga River under the auspices of protection of the Christian state, the leading role in the political life of which must have been played by a group of feudal lords of the Russian origin [Ibid., p. 91]. What is interesting is that the ambiguous status of Kazan and the Kazan Krai during the Time of Troubles was reflected by exuberant names used by the different city councils: Yaroslavl wrote to 'the ruling glorious city of Kazan', Kostroma directed letters to 'the district of the Kazan state preserved by God', while the administration of P. Lyapunov's militia wrote to 'the great state of Kazan, the patrimony of the Muscovite state' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, No. 188, pp. 320–323].

The development of further events showed that there was no unity among Kazan's heads. On 7 January 1611, dyak Afanasy Yevdokimov departed to Kazan. He gave a glowing description of the conquest of Moscow by the Polish people, troubles the Russian people suffered from, as well as arrests of boyars and ousting of dyaks and prikaz [clerk] people from their positions: 'According to the order, boyars and dyaks ceased their work, and neither visitors, nor trading men were now present at fairs, and they could not stay at the table after the Lithuanian people' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, No. 170, pp. 292–293]. On 9 January 1611, an oath to False Dmitry II was quickly organised in Kazan, for on 10 December 1610 no one there knew about his death. It is not inconceivable that the oath to False Dmitry II the Kazani-

ans took in January, became an act of peace-making with serving people from the whole rebellious area of the Middle Volga Region, including both the Mountain side, and the Meshchera Region (for example, Arzamas), which started recognising Kazan's dominion and were further mentioned as part of the Kazan army [Koretsky, 1989, p. 248].

The author of 'The New Chronicler' relates 'the cross kissing to the Thief' which allegedly caused discord among the Kazan authorities, to the execution of voivode B. Belsky. In his opinion, it was dyak Nikanor Shulgin who 'colluded with those thieves' and ordered the capture and execution of the voivode. 'threw him from the tower and killed him to death' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 105]. However, after comparing a whole range of facts, historians have developed a hypothesis that the reason for the conflict within the Kazan elite was the position in respect of the First zemsky militia led by Prokopy Lyapunov, rather than the oath taken to False Dmitry II. It is likely that an argument arose in respect of joining to the First militia, as a result of which on 7 March 1611 B. Belsky was killed [Koretsky, 1989, pp. 243–244].

The successes achieved by the Zemsky militia led by P. Lyapunov in their offensive against Moscow made the Kazan authorities change their position, though they had been indifferent to the increasing patriotic movement. On 1 May 1611, a charter was sent to Kazan from 'regiments, from outside of Moscow, from boyars and voivodes, and from the whole land', in which they asked for reinforcements and money for salary payments, and also suggested to appeal to 'Astrakhan and all the territories along the lower course of the river' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, No. 188, p. 327]. At the same time, there was sent a new cross-kissing charter, in accordance with which the authorities were to subdue not only Kazan, but also 'other towns situated along the lower course of the river'—Sviyazhsk, Cheboksary, etc. It is known that the Kazan counsel appealed to Perm so that it also supported the Zemsky militia. The composition of the council is described in a detailed way: 'Vasily Morozov, Nikanor Shulgin, Stepan Dichkov,

and heads, and nobles and knights, and archers' centurions, and archers, and artillerists, and zatinshchiks [serf artillerists], and diverse serving and urban people, and princes, and murzas, and serving newly-baptised people, and the Tatars, and Chuvash, and Cheremis, and Votyaks [Udmurt] people, and various people of the Kazan state' [Ibid., p. 318].

In correspondence with other regions, the Kazan authorities explained the delay in sending troops and monetary funds due to an economic decline and a decrease in tax returns, informing in the summer of 1611, 'We, in Kazan, do not have funds in the treasury due to the following: we have not received yasak returns from Chuvashia and the Cheremis land, from yasak courts and patrimonies, for three years since the Time of Troubles began, and taverns have been shut for a long time, and no one has paid us custom dues, since there have not been any salt or other large boats neither from the upper region, nor from the lower region' [Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 2, p. 319].

At the beginning of the summer of 1611, Kazan sent local troops led by voivode V. Morozov to help the First Militia, 'and with them...the Kazan and Sviyazhsk people, and the nobles of the Kazan outskirts, and knights, and archers' heads with orders, and serving princes, and murzas, and the Tatars' [Popov, 1869, p. 352].

The arrivals of boyar Morozov's troops coincided with the tragic assassination of one of the rebellion's leaders—Prokopy Lyapunov—killed by rebellious Cossacks. Thus, instead of conducting a decisive attack, the Kazan troops were involved into small skirmishes with the Polish people and their allies, as well as domestic warfares.

The murder of P. Lyapunov outside of Moscow was used in Kazan as a formal reason for leaving the Militia's leaders' control. At the end of August or the beginning of September of 1611, Kazan dyak N. Shulgin and S. Dichkov wrote to Perm that the Kazan people 'coluded with the city of Nizhny Novgorod, and all cities of the Volga Region, as well as the Mountain and Meadow Cheremisa' and added so that they 'send us... neither voivodes, nor

dyaks, nor heads, nor different prikaz [clerk] people and do not change the former ones, let everything be as is... until the time when God gives us someone to rule in the Muscovite state' [Koretsky, 1989, p. 243]. This exact charter shows that for an indefinite time, the entire power was concentrated in the hands of Kazan dyaks. The attempts made by Prince D. Trubetskoy and voivode I. Zarutsky to re-establish control over Kazan were not successful: P. Polocheninov—one of the 'boyars' sent in 1611/12 from Moscow with charters—was killed [Koretsky, 1989, p. 243].

No wonder, Prince D. Pozharsky in the charter addressed to foreign contractual fighters (August 1612) wrote that 'The Muscovite state was torn by discords—Seversky cities were separated, and the Kazan and Astrakhan Tsardoms were on their own, and the territories situated along the lower course of the river were also on their own, and there was a thief in Pskov' [Act of the Time of Interregnum, p. 38].

The relations between the Kazan authorities and the Second militia were no less difficult. In the latter half of December 1611, lawyer I. Birkin departed from Nizhny Novgorod to Kazan in order to gather warrior hosts. There, in Kazan, according to 'The New Chronicle', he entered into a 'bad agreement' with N. Shulgin [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 117]. At the beginning of 1612, Shulgin, caving in to demand of the district authorities, was forced to send a troop of serving people to support the Second militia. In the spring 1612, he joined the Yaroslavl militia.

It is likely that in Yaroslavl, I. Birkin entered into a struggle with prince D. Pozharsky, but was defeated. As a result, according to the data provided by 'The New Chronicle', almost all people of Kazan 'as ordered by' N. Shulgin, did not provide any help to the militia and returned from Yaroslavl to Kazan [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 120]. The only one who disobeyed the command and stayed was Tatar head Lukyan Myasnoy and his twenty princes and murzas (apparently, serving Tatars) and thirty nobles, as well as archers' head Posnik Neelov with a hundred of archers. They subsequently fought in the rows

of the militia and participated in the liberation of Moscow from the invaders.

According to other information, at the beginning of 1612, Kazan seemed to have sincerely supported the venture initiated by K. Minin and D. Pozharsky. In the charter dated 9 February 1612 directed to Kurmysh, the Kazan dyaks on behalf of all Kazan 'serving and urban people' demanded that the Kurmysh people immediately march towards Nizhny Novgorod to help the Second Militia 'before Kazan's troops', threatening that in the event of further delays they would murder Kurmysh voivode S. Yelagin, 'And we, without going to Nizhny, will gather all our military men and arrive in Kurmysh, and capture you, Smirnov, and send you either to Kazan, or to Nizhny Novgorod' [Gramoty' i otpiski 1611–1612, p. 23]. Even if 'The New Chronicler' is wrong in details, in general it reflected the increase of separatist tendencies in Kazan in the period of the militia movement in 1611–1612 very accurately.

In his complex political game, N. Shulgin relied upon fairly diverse forces. First of all, he relied on a definite part of the Kazan trading quarter led by quarter chief F. Obaturov. The role of the Kazan trading quarters was sharply increased at the beginning of the 17th century, and its representatives actively participated in governing of both the city and the uyezd. Some part of Kazan serving people and clergy was also on N. Shulgin's side. However, the supreme church hierarchy of Kazan, metropolitan Yefrem, seems to have not sympathised with his plans and at the end of 1612 was discharged from governing. In the tale of Kazan dated from the 18th century, it is said that 'in the year of 120, in verdicts, there were written the name of metropolitan Yefrem and names of dyaks, and all the land of the Kazan Tsardom, while in the year 121, there were written in verdicts the names of dyaks Nikanor Mikhaylovich Shulgin and Stepan Yakovlevich Dichkov together with all the land of the Kazan state' [Koretsky, 1989, p. 246].

At the end of 1612, Kazan was close to an open rebellion. Kazan serving people, who had returned to the city after the liberation of Moscow, were arrested in Kazan. However,

the clearest idea of Shulgin's betrayal is given not even in 'The New Chronicler', but in the charter of the Zemsky sobor ['the Assembly of the Land'] directed to P. Shulgin and in the petition of dyak Ivan Pozdeev dated 1627 [Koretsky, 1989, pp. 252–258, 258–259]. Their essence reflects an aspiration to put the Kazan authorities under control, in particular—N. Shulgin, Vyatka cities which were forced to take an oath to Kazan: 'in accordance with the paper, he ordered Vyatka towns to kiss a cross [take an oath] to be obedient to the Kazan state, and not to listen to the Muscovite state in anything, and so to stand for a common cause with the Kazan state, and not to betray each other, and not to send tax collectors to Moscow, but instead direct them to Kazan' [Koretsky, 1989, p. 258]. Although we should treat these accusations made by dyak I. Pozdeev with a certain degree of scepticism, as they were written many years afterwards, he seems to have correctly described their essence. For Shulgin's disobedience to the authorities brought him imprisonment, and twelve more townsmen were hanged.

After severely punishing disobedient Vyatka, the Kazan authorities not only maintained formal relations with the Zemsky [land] government, but also at the end of 1612—the beginning of 1613 sent over 4600 Sviazhsk Tatars to help Ryazan voivode M. Velyaminov who conducted military actions against the regiments of I. Zarutsky [Koretsky, 1989, p. 248]. Around this time, N. Shulgin himself, in accordance with the Zemsky government's command, at the head of a significant Kazan warrior host, marched from Kazan against I. Zarutsky. According to I. Pozdeev, N. Shulgin led his army 'deliberately slowly'. Along the way, he demoted Kurmysh voivode Smirnov Yelagin and appointed Savvin Osipov instead of him [Ibid]. Then the Kazan army stopped at Arzamas—the centre of I. Zarutsky's movement—which represented a constant threat to the new authorities [Stanislavsky, 1990, pp. 53–56].

The decay of the Tushino camp, and the mustering of the first and second militias at the end of the day led to consolidation of Russia's patriotic forces who on 21 February 1613.

elected Michail Fyodorovich Romanov as the tsar. Among those who signed the 'Charter of election to the Tsardom' there were four serving Tatars who wrote in the Arabic script: 'I, Neshik Dobz, have put my signature here. I, prince Isaibek Tumanin, have put my signature here instead of my fellows. I, prince, Ayuka Jiran, instead of my fellows, put my signature here. Goroda Kadyna put his signature instead of Peter Siplyay and Desterzay' [Izbranie, 2014, p. 70]. There exist several theories and a range of historiographic legends about how several serving Tatars and someone named 'murza Vasily' signed the Sobornoye Ulozheniye [Council Code] of Michail Romanov's election to the Tsar throne. They, however, are not proved by sources [Morozova, 2005, pp. 131–142].

Regarding Kazan, its representatives did not come to the election council. Their absence seems to have worried the Zemsky [land] authorities and, as the council charter sent to N. Shulgin shows: a departed delegation consisting of Kirill—the archimandrite of the Ipatiev Monastery of Kostroma, Porfiry Malygin—the cellarer of the Spassky Monastery of Yaroslavl, as well as Vladimir nobles I. Zlovidov and M. Lutovinov. However, their mission was not successful, and Moscow was not even informed about reasons for the delay. According to the same charter directed to N. Shulgin, the process of election of the Tsar was delayed for a long time due to the absence of metropolitan Yefrem and elective officials from Kazan. The affirmed charter of 1613 provides the explanation of why the election date was shifted from 7 to 21 February: boyar F. Mstislavsky 'with fellows' were not present in Moscow, and it was also necessary to find out 'whom they want to see as the Tsar of the Muscovite state in all cities' [Koretsky, 1989, p. 249].

After Michail Romanov's accession to the throne, the country exhausted by the lengthy period of social stagnation, began to show loyalty to the new Tsar. Serving Tatars—in Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Arzamas, Alaty, Kurmysh and Kasimov were not slow in recognising the new power.

The news of the election of a new Tsar caught N. Shulgin in Arzamas. The only

thing he had to do was to obey the will of the Zemsky [Land] council. Nevertheless, Shulgin tried to adhere to the previous policy-making and refused to take an oath to the new Tsar explaining that 'without the Kazan council, I do not want to kiss the cross' and departed back to Kazan [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, p. 130].

The news that Michail Romanov was the new tsar reached Kazan earlier than Shulgin did. The city was overthrown: Fyodor Obaturov, relatives and allies of the dyak and tradespeople's leader occupied the places of former prisoners. At the beginning of March, Kazan also recognised the new tsar, and 'Princes and murzas, and the Tatars, and the Votyaks, and the Bashkirs, and the Chuvash, and the Cheremis people paid šert [oath]' [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 96]. The locals braced themselves for a siege in the event of the arrival of the Arzamas army to Kazan. However, the precautions were unnecessary, as N. Shulgin did not have sound support even in his own army. Once Shulgin approached Sviyazhsk, he was met by the new Kazan authorities. They arrested him and sent him to Moscow.

Dyak S. Dichkov, who had not suffered after N. Shulgin's overthrow, and Kazan nobleman G. Verevkin now headed the Kazan administration. Kazan celebrated the election of the new Tsar tolling the bells for three days. No earlier than 12 April 1613, G. Verevkin and S. Dichkov sent a charter to inhabitants of Tsarev-Sanchursk calling upon them to follow the example of the Kazan people and take an oath to the Romanovs [Koretsky, 1989, p. 249]. By the 6 May, new voivode Yu. Ushaty was in Kazan. After the coup, the Kazan delegation led by metropolitan Yefrem departed to Moscow where the people of Kazan put their signatures upon the Affirmed charter.

The Tsar's circle did not know the details of the Kazan events, though metropolitan Yefrem already accompanied Michail Romanov to the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius. A. Obrastsov 'with fellows' who arrived on 25 March and I. Dichkov who came on 5 April from Kazan, did not manage to explain the reason for N. Shulgin's arrest. The investigation of the case was delegated to Yu. Ushatov who

served from 1609 to 1610 in Sviyazhsk and knew the circumstances in Kazan very well. It is not known when N. Shulgin was brought to Moscow, but he remained there until 8 August 1618. Just before they approached the Russian capital, the troops of prince Władysław exiled the important criminal to Tobolsk escorted by his kholop and bailiffs. Shulgin died in Siberian exile.

The end of the Time of Troubles: new Tatar rebellions. After the situation somehow stabilised in Russia, there emerged a new pressure upon the rights of Muslim Tatars. As a response to this, in 1615 there was a fresh conspiracy among the Tatars which resulted in an armed attack by the serving Tatars from Kazan outskirts. The attack was led by serving Tatar and, possibly, noble born bey Jan-Ali Yenaley Yemametov (Janmametov). The extant data on him is fairly vague, but it is clear that it was an offensive which spurred concerns among the Kazan authorities, and after many years it received the name 'Yenaleevshchina' [the Yenaley movement]. According to the source, 'in 1616, Kazan Tatars, Chuvash and Cheremis, and Votyaks [Udmurt], and Bashkir seem to

have committed treason. And they stayed near Kazan and at the Kazan outskirts' [Additions to Historical Acts, 1857, pp. 261–262]. The rebellion proved fairly strong and shook the bases of Russian power in the Kazan district. The extant fragments of data on this uprising does not mention the rebels' demands, but we may suppose that they were standard—preservation of the privileges of the service class and an end to the policy of Christianisation.

In order to suppress this uprising, the Russian authorities actively involved serving Tatars from other Russian regions. It was no wonder that some Tatar nobles—participants of the Ulozhennaya [Code] Committee in 1767, said that their ancestors faithfully served the Tsar and suppressed the 'Yenaley uprising' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 306].

Although serving Tatars showed themselves as supporters of the central power during the Time of Troubles, they still were not trustworthy, and the hopes that the authorities would preserve their class privileges in exchange for loyalty, appeared to have been groundless.

§2. Serving Tatars in Military and Diplomatic Service of the Russian State

Andrey Belyakov

Serving Tatars in the wars of the 16–17th centuries and their inner organisation. Originally, Serving Tatars appeared in the Muscovite state (further—Tsardom) as a military force which was involved in almost all the wars it led [Belyakov, 2009; Belyakov, 2011, pp. 165–258]. However, almost nothing is known about their earlier inner organisation. The exception is represented by military units of serving Chingisids and Romanov Murzas in the latter half of the 16th century. We know that they were completely dependent on their 'suzerains' and were granted their estates via a special land fund which was created by order of the tsar to provide for certain troops. Such a regiment could begin service under control of their 'suzerain' or an appointed person, and always escorted by Orthodox officers, further on—heads.

A different organisation was noticed in Temnikov. Princes Enikeevs were at the head of the Temnikov Tatars. We know what their status was from the book about the Campaign against Polotsk dated 1563: 'Temnikov people of Prince Yenikey with the fellows and their people' [Kniga, 2004, p. 40]. We therefore see an interesting situation. Prince Yenisey is recognised as the unconditional leader of the Temnikov Tatars. In the meantime, other Murzas have their own military units which would not be direct subjects of Yenikey. The absence of such a formula in respect of the Tatars of other uyezds does not mean that they did not possess similar organisation. At least, the Kadom Tatars were noted to have had combat kholops at the beginning of the 17th century. By order of the Tsar, they were 'set

free' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, inv. 9, No. 1084, col.1, pp. 4, 76]. We may assume that the above-mentioned order was issued due to the tsar's desire to take care of serving Tatars. The constant splitting of estates between all heirs led to Murzas' inability to provide for combat kholops.

We may assume that this order spread around all Russian regions. At the same time (around 1616), all Tatars were taken away from the control of Romanov Murzas. However, within several years, after many obeisances, the former practice was restored. We should not search for some kind of unique regional peculiarities of the military organisation of manorial cavalry. This organisation in one form or another could be observed amongst serving people in Orthodox uyezds, especially at the estates of local nobles. We may also judge about the possible number of such units (from the norm of combat kholops in service). With 164 chet and 13 peasants and 9 landless peasants, it was possible to escort a serving man on horseback with a saadak [Russian horseback archery] and one more man on horseback with a saadak [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, list 9, No. 1084, col.1, sheet 4]. However, an estate of 30 chets [quarters], two peasants and one landless peasant could provide one serving man on horseback with a saadak [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, list 9, No. 1084, col.1, sheet 5]. Here we should note that princes Enikeevs, even in the first half of the 17th century, as a special honour, preserved the right to join the army with their own troop.

We can thus partially restore the inner organisation of Tatar uyezd corporations in the first half of the 17th century judging by the example of Meshchera. Each uyezd corporation, in accordance with the existing rules of duty performance in peacetime, was divided into two approximately equal parts (halves). At the same time, they were divided into two more parts. The first included princes and Murzas who were mostly representatives of Bihan's growing patrimony. While serving Tatars or, as they are named in documents, Cossacks, belong to the second one. The leader of each corporation may be defined according to

the amount of the manorial salary and annual monetary salary. At present, we do not know his definite functions and rights. We can only suppose that in the course of time they were reduced. Apart from that, each corporation had a yasaul. He would always be appointed from the Cossacks. His functions are not known. Based upon our knowledge of the role yasauls played in the Cossacks' camps, where they were the right hand of the ataman, we may assume that they would also fulfill such functions here. Moreover, in the 1640s, each of the two halves had one, less often—two, newly-baptised Tatar [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 210, list 9, No. 184, col.5; Belyakov, 2006; Belyakov, 2006a]. Such a coincidence in five corporations at the same time is significant (Alatyr, Arzamas, Kadom, Kasimov and Temnikov). Therefore, they undoubtedly must have fulfilled some important functions. We can only guess that they must have been general surveillance and communication with the Orthodox command. In addition, the squads seem to have had abyzes (hafizes) who apparently performed the main religious rituals in the course of military campaigns.

Also, certain regions have some local features of the organisation of serving Tatars. Thus, in Temnikov uyezd, there was a category of population known as belopashets who, being land owners, did not pay tributes, but had to stand city guard instead [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 471].

It appears that they must have been contiguous with 'Vyazhmivsky (Vazhensky) Zemtsy' of Kadom uyezd, who clearly possessed Mordvin names [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, file 6466, pp. 148, 159 reverse]. In certain sources, Novgorod peasants-landowners were sometimes called 'Zemtsy' or 'svoezemtsy'. They were small landowners known at the turn of the 15–16th centuries, representing colonisers of the last years of Novgorod independence. They developed uninhabited lands and later obtained them in possession. Their patrimonies were preserved by Moscow civil servants. As for their status, they remained between peasants and low-ranked

knights [Slovar', p. 185; Selin, 2006]. In this case, we may assume that in Eastern Meshchera, Mordvin community peasants ['obshchinniks'] gradually evolved into serving tsar people. However, their name 'Vazhensk' again refers us to the area of Novgorod. There is the river Vaga, which is the biggest tributary of the Northern Dvina river. However, there are other meanings of the word 'Vaga': 'pole', 'shoulder-yoke', 'cross-sill', 'fallow deer', 'she-reindeer'. We may assume that the person who made descriptions of lands recorded some kind of unusual occurrence which he tried to describe in the terms used in the Novgorod area. We can also guess that 'Zemt-sy' represent serving Mordvins. Therefore, the 'belopashets'—before they became serving Tatars—might have originally been Posop Tatars (non-service class or Burtas).

Regarding the way Tatars were used in military service, we possess fragmented information which, nevertheless, allows for certain conclusions. The Tatars were usually evenly distributed amongst regiments. Only in 1577 were they gathered in a more compact way. It would be more correct to say that they constituted more than half of the mustered regiment which was in July sent from Pskov to the Livonian lands [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 2, part 3, p. 482]. There is extant data on how serving Tatars were used: '...and on their behalf, they sent Tatars to spy and to catch people from the opposite camp to interrogate them, and after catching such people from the Lithuanian camp, they would send heads together with Tatars to the gates and to the pursuers...' [Dokumenty', 1998, p. 213]. Involving Tatars as pursuers seemed to happen fairly often [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, p. 199]. It seems that they were regularly involved in punitive operations to frighten the local population, as well as to deprive the opponent of provisions via foraging of neighbouring villages [Piotrovsky, 1882, p. 215]. They would often conduct raids (possibly, upon their own initiative) for the purpose of obtaining war spoils. They would often advance in large detachments, up to 300 knights, including Russian nobles and most often—bailiffs. Nevertheless, they did not show resolve

would always recede in case of any danger [Heidenstein, 1889, p. 222]. Neither were they especially noted for their loyalty to the Moscow Tsar. There is also evidence about Tatars-deserters, who occupied a high position in Russia [Piotrovsky, 1882, p. 126; Heidenstein, 1889, p. 221; Trepavlov, 2003, p. 245]. In certain cases, we could even identify those persons. Thus, R. Heidenstein mentions an inhabitant of Ivan the Terrible's oprichnina yard Kubkeev (Kupkeev) Daniil Murzin [Mordvinova, Stanislavsky, 1977]. Moscow voivodes were aware of their disadvantages mentioned earlier. However, they were appropriate to constantly disturb the opponent and therefore weaken him [Dzyalovsky, 1897, p. 32]. As for serving Tatars' battle capabilities, this no doubt depended on many factors, but gradually declined. The main reason for that was land scarcity. 'The Tatars, whose help he (Ivan IV.—A.B.) often employs because of their special reputation content themselves with a small part of fields and gains which are unlimited to them' [Prints, 1877, p. 31]. We could notice that the decline in combat value of the Tatar cavalry was directly dependent on the length of living in Russia of one corporation of another. On departure, serving Tatars seem to have possessed good horses and weaponry—at least their heads must have. Moreover, in this period, they would receive significant 'dachas' [summer houses] 'for arrival'. However, a shift in their usual habitat and change in household forms which followed, as well as provision of small estates did not allow Tatars, and first of all—private Cossacks, to keep good horses and weaponry. Thus, soon after departure, Romanov Tatars were noticed in the most combatant yertaul regiment (1571), as 'they are stout and skilful in military matters' [Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, p. 242]. Subsequently, the Tatars were not noticed in these territories. Some researchers even state without sound argumentation that the Tatar issue (the necessity to provide the Tatar elite of the subdued khanates with livelihood) became one of the factors which added to the escalation on the Cisbaltic route [Khoroshkevich, 2003, p. 204]. Moreover, the Tatars' participation in all wars of the 16th century

can never be associated with the desire to achieve physical elimination of the male component of the Tatar elite, as some researchers try to represent is [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 27]. It is possible that under conditions of constant aggression from the side of the South and East in the 15th century—the first half of the 16th century, Tatar detachments were mostly suitable for repelling raids from Kazan, the Crimea, as well as the Nogai Tatars, all the more so they used the same tactics regarding all of their adversaries.

Apparently, the Tatar cavalry acted less successfully in the Western direction. The Tatars could not stand open battles with Western European regiments. Construction of the *Zasechnaya cherta* ['the Great Abatis Line'] seriously changed the system of defence of the Southern border and, alongside this, the significance of Serving Tatars. Foreigners also noticed their low combat effectiveness [Heidenstein, 1889, p. 36]. However, sometimes, the 'Tatars' referred to by European authors were actually Russians [Schaum, 1847, p. 15]. On the other hand, there were rumours in Europe about the utter cruelty of the Tatars running to cannibalism [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, pp. 430–445]. These messages could be observed as a war of information spread by adversaries of Rus, as well as a fear of everything unknown. Any war causes violence and cruelty towards civilians, regardless of their nationality and religion. Nor did the Russians demonstrate their best sides, also justifying their actions. However, stories from the Time of Troubles described Tatar inventiveness in tortures they applied to captives [Tyumentsev, 1999, p. 512]. In the meantime, excessive cruelty was not economically beneficial to Serving Tatars. Gains obtained from captives would always constitute a significant part of Meshchera Tatars' revenues. The captured non-Orthodox population was partly left for agriculture, partly sold to the Nogais and young women would often become concubines [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 536–538, Prince, 1877, p. 66].

However, cruelty can not be avoided during wartime. And the Tatars would undoubtedly take part in them. Thus, in 1577, in

the course of storming the city of Asheraden [Aizkraukle] they were given many women and maidens for raping [Heidenstein, 1889, p. 4]. However, this information may also be interpreted as granting the Tatars reward in the form of captives. For instance, we come across multiple evidence that the Kadomsk, Temnikov, Alatyr Tatars and Mordvins had Germans and Lithuanians as their captives [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1, list 1, file 2, book 6466; Alatyr uyezd Cadastre, 2012]. We can also speak about mythologisation of the image of the Tatars in the West, and first of all—attribution of extreme cruelty to them. It is in some way explained by the fact that a Tatar for a Western European man was more alien and less understandable, than a Russian.

In the 17th century, serious changes happened in Tatar service. They were, however, typical for all serving people. We observe that Serving Tatars gradually transferred into regiments of the foreign army [Belyakov, 2009]. Although not completed until the end of the 17th century. They disappeared only at the beginning of the 18th century as a result of measures taken by Peter I, which he directed towards consolidation of the Russian nobility. Tatar small landowners, who constituted the majority, repeated the destiny of Orthodox knights who owned small lands and who later became one of the most privileged categories of state peasants (smallholders). Opulent land owners were faced with the choice: to get baptised and enter into the newly-born nobility, or stay loyal to Islam and become smallholders.

In general, we should recognise that serving Tatars made a noticeable and underestimated contribution to the history of the art of war. Upon further studying the given problem, it is necessary to avoid two extremes: underestimation and devotion of too much significance to it.

Tatars in ambassadorial service. A significant number of prikaz Tatars served in central Prikazes and city Prikaz offices. At present, we know much about the participation of the Turkic component in the activity of the Posolsky Prikaz. In the foreign policy department, they fulfilled the functions of

tolmaches (interpreters), translators and stanichniks (they escorted embassies to the East) [Liseytshev, 2003; Belyakov, 2003; Kunenkov, 2007]. In the meantime, when they were sent as part ambassadorial missions to Muslim states (first of all—to the Crimea and Istanbul), they would often become the eyes and ears of ambassadors who, as a rule, were extremely limited in their movements. They were the key figures at collecting of all the necessary information via multiple informers. At least, that was the picture Ambassadorial books provided us with. If we speak of the sources from which the given categories of servants were recruited, they were more than diverse. Those could be recent immigrants from the East and people whose ancestors had been in the Russian service for many generations. The stachniks (who gradually disappeared in the

first half of the 17th century) were mobilised exclusively from the Meshchera Tatars. These were the roots of many tolmanches and translators. In the meantime, they created whole dynasties [Belyakov, 2001]. As for their status, they were people who served their fatherland. After being baptised, some of them became nobles in accord with the Moscow lists (Imrael (Michail) Semenov Murza Kashaev) and were able to good conditions for the career development of their children.

The destinies of many officers in the foreign policy department deserve separate research, for they were directly involved into many foreign-policy events. Many Ambassadorial books are filled with their names. However, up to the present moment, there has never been a biography of a Muslim servant of the Posolsky Prikaz.

§3. Rebellions in the Latter Half of the 17th Century

Salyam Alishev

National uprisings of the second half of the 17th century occurred against the backdrop of a sharp increase of social and national-religious oppression. In the opinion of V. Buganov, this was connected with the introduction of the Council code of 1649 which finally fixed the enslavement of huge masses of dependent people [Buganov, 1989, p. 193].

An especially severe war led by the Bashkir, Tatar and other non-Russian peoples occurred in 1662–1664 and 1681–1684. The Tatars who had escaped to Bashkortostan took part both in the organisation and the very course of national movements and rebellions. The power of the central authorities was weaker in the periphery, than it was in central uyezds. When analyzing the Bashkortostan rebellion of 1662–1664, N. Ustyugov wrote that the rebels 'rejected Moscow citizenship and found other allies: Kalmyk and Siberian tsareviches—the Kuchumoviches' [Ustyugov, 1947, p. 108]. The uprising led by Sary Mergen began within the Ural Bashkortostan in July 1662 and soon grasped almost the entire area. The insurgents

attacked fortresses, monasteries, villages and took the city of Kungur by storm. Gafur Akbulatov and Ulekoy Krivoy—the leaders of Kazan insurgents—stayed on the Kazan road. In autumn, they were extradited and executed [Materials on the History of the Bashkir ASSR, 1936, pp. 164–165, 184–186].

In spring 1663, the insurgent movement was increased around Menzelinsk and other areas beyond the Kama river. The Tatars of the Kazan road and the Bashkirs continued to fight there until autumn 1664. The Kazan authorities were afraid that the uprising might spread to the right side of the Kama River,—that is, into Kazan uyezd. Therefore, they constantly tried to persuade the insurgents to negotiate. The rebellion abated in autumn 1664. However, it was again ignited in Bashkortostan in 1681 after the pledged concessions were not fulfilled. Christianisation in the Middle Volga Region, man-hunt of the Tatars and other peoples in the Urals were increased.

At the beginning of August 1681, the joint forces of the insurgents started their offensive in Bashkortostan, and in spring 1682, they at-

tacked the fortresses located beyond the Kama river [Akmanov, 1993, p. 111]. Kungur was besieged by the Mordvins, Bashkirs and Tatars. Mullah Sayyid was the main leader of the whole rebellion. It is notable that N. Firsov, when analyzing the Muslims' uprisings of the 17th century, wrote that all the rebellions took place under the strong influence of Tatar mullahs [Firsov, 1869, pp. 213–214, 231–232]. Sayyid sent agitators who called to rebellion the Mishar Tatars Kaybys Uzeev and Ayukay Keliev. In 1683, persistent fighting took place took place in the area of Bilyarsk. After the government sent significant forces to oppose the uprising, it was suppressed in 1684.

The Middle Volga Region became the main hotbed of the peasant war of 1670–1671 led by Stepan Razin. Prior to the appearance of Stepan Razin, multinational militia units of peasants had been organised. They consisted of Russians, Tatars, Chuvash, Mari and Chermisa people. The rebellion spread through the modern territories of Mordovia, Chuvashia and part of Tatarstan [Alishev, 1999, p. 30]. In May 1668, the Tatars and Bashkirs marched against the town of Insar.

Saransk became a hotbed of the uprising. Here, a troop led by Don Cossack Kharitonov united many Russian, Mordvin and Tatar peasants. Part of the troop marched towards Simbirsk [present Ulyanovsk], where Stepan Razin was headed. Another part departed to Temnikov and Kharitonov himself—to Penza. Insar, Narovchat, Kerensk, Nizhny and Verkhny Lomov submitted to him. In the insurgents' hands lay the cities of Alaty, Kurmysh, Kadom, Kozmodemyansk and Tsaryovokokshaik. The rebels now besieged Kokshaysk, Cheboksary and Tsivilsk.

The mass joining of peoples of the Middle Volga Region to the rebellion began after Stepan Razin arrived in Simbirsk [present Ulyanovsk] to prepare for the campaign against Moscow,—that is, after the summer of 1670. On the way to Simbirsk and from Simbirsk itself, Stepan Razin sent Kazan Tatars letters calling them to join the rebellion.

One of Razin's closest supporters after his arrival in Simbirsk became Khasan Karachurin Aybulat ogli—the leader of a large regiment

of Tatar, Russian and Mordvin peasants. Karachurin himself was a serving Tatar from Kadom uyezd. He possessed an estate and serf peasants in the Kerensk and Kadom uyezds. In his testimony, Stepan Razin mentioned that Hasan pleaded to him to march against Kazan promising that Kazan Tatars would not twiddle their thumbs if the insurgents began their offensive.

Razin's letters calling for action were widely spread among the population. There are six extant letters with such a calling. One of them is written in Tatar and its author was Khasan Karachurin [Alishev, 1999, p. 31]. On behalf of Stepan Razin, it was said in the letter: 'Be aware, Kazan busurmanins [Muslims] and leaders-abyzes who keep the mosque, and those adhering to the busurman faith having mercy upon poor orphans and widows,—I, Stepan Timofeyevich, bit chelom [make obeisance] to you, Ikshey munla and Mamay munla and Khanysh murza and Moskov murza, as well as to all abyzes and all sloboda and uyezd busurmanins. And after the obeisance is made, ask whether we are in good health. We truly are in good health, and we wish you the same. Our word is as follows: for God, and for the prophet, and for the ruler, and for the army—you should act altogether; and if you do not do this way, do not complain. God be the witness—nothing harmful will be caused to you, and we take care of you.

And you should know: I, Asan, son of Aybulat,—accompany Stepan Timofeyevich, and you had better believe us in that, I, Asan, call upon you to do that, and if you believe me, nothing harmful will be done to you. And I ask all of you—pray for us to God, and here we make obeisance to you. I attach my seal to this charter' [Sources of Tatarstan, 1994, p. 24].

Karachurin's detachment fought the Tsar army near Simbirsk. He continued the struggle after Razin was defeated in 1670. At the end of November 1670, a 15-thousand army of the insurgents led by don Cossack Romashka and Krachurin came to the Usturen sloboda. The peasants were defeated by the state army, and Karachurin was injured. On 7 December, after gathering a large troop together with Aleksey Savelyev, Karachurin departed to

Alatyr where on 8 December, he entered into a battle with state troops led by Yu. Dolgoruky. The insurgents were crushed, while Savelyev and Karachurin were forced to hide.

The Tatars were also amongst other rebel troops. For example, near the Sura river, 7 km from Tsivilsk, there was an almost 15-thousand detachment consisting of the Tatar, Chuvash, Mari and Mordvin peasants. The troops encircled the town. Only several months later did the state troops manage to liberate the city from the insurgents.

One of the detachments which mostly included Tatar and Chuvash fighters, was led in October 1670 by 'chieftain of the Sviyazhsk Tatars, Tatarian Amakay' who spread manifests-appeals to begin the campaign against Tsivilsk. The troop of the Kargalan Tatars who, together with the Cossacks, conquered

the city of Kerensk, was under command of a Tatar named Chapkun, as well as the sons Daruzay abyz and Babich.

In January 1671, there were 3–4 thousand people in the detachments consisting of Tatars, Chuvash and Mordvin people, located in Tsivilsk uyezd. Their atamans were Izelbey, Milsheyka from the village of Yandri, Tokhtamysh, Aslip Aydulganov, Chemey Chuvakov from the village of Surbeevo; Izelbay from the village of Nurusovo; Chyurabay Chyurakin, etc.

After Razin's defeat and his departure to the Don on 3 October, there continued separate flames of rebellions in the Kazan district. The insurgents grouped together near Sviyazhsk and Tetyushi. Only by spring 1671, did the state army manage to suppress the rebellion.

CHAPTER 4

Islam and the Spiritual Culture of the Volga Region in the 16–17th Centuries

Gulnara Idiyatullina

After the fall of the Kazan khanate in 1552, a new epoch emerged in the life of the Tatar nation. The loss of sovereignty logically led to Islam losing its status of the state religion. Since that time, the Muslims perceived the Middle Volga Region not as 'dar al-Islam', but as 'dar al-Harb'—the territory of war. There were two ways out of the situation: either to wage 'jihad'—a holy liberating war, or move to Islamic countries. Both of them were tried. The resistance of the first years cost much effort and multiple sacrifices and did not bring visible results. Its suppression in fact drained the blood of the nation. Afraid of mass repression, many people moved to the Ural Region, migrated to the Crimea, to the Northern Caucasus and the Ottoman Empire. Over the course of time, when the environment stabilised, some of them returned.

In the meantime, the religious genocide which was elevated to the status of a state policy, became the defining feature which characterised the attitude of the Russian government towards its new subjects. Repeated campaigns of forced Christianisation—increased after adoption of the Council code of 1649—reached the height of cruelty during the reign of Peter I and Elizabeth Petrovna.

Over the period of one hundred fifty years, as a result of the targeted elimination of remnants of the Tatar aristocracy, the society lost not also its main potential of reviving the state, but also the main customer and commissioner of culture and art which could have subsidised them. Its consequences led to the deterioration of aesthetic sense, the disappearance of the incentive to create high artistic works, the degeneration of their quality, the decline of the long-developed Eastern tradition of handwrit-

ing, calligraphy, book miniature, jewelry, a complete abandonment of the armoury art and monumental architecture. It led to the destruction of the triad of literatures, inherent in the Islamic culture—Divan (the Khan's court), tekke (the dervish cloister) and ordinary people. In fact, there happened a mixture of the latter two types. The authentic bearers of power were gone, the necessity for court poetry was lost, as well as official historiography. Thus, eulogistic qasidas, long poems and historical chronicles disappeared.

Since the mass consciousness preserved a traditional, Islamic perception of the state as of a religious-political community, the norms of Islamic law continued to function among the population of the Volga-Ural area. In the meantime, the characteristic features of historical conditions set a stamp upon the specific details of legal consciousness and legal practice of this region.

As we know, in Islam, the indivisibility of the faith and state was expressed in the tight interweaving of law, religious, and moral rules of behaviour. Since the main task of a Muslim state was seen in fulfillment of heavenly will on the earth, there were no clear barriers between breaches of the law and non-performance of the religious norms. Two groups of norms may be distinguished in Islamic law: the rules of behaviour regulating the manner of revering the cult—'ibadat'—and the rules of interrelations between persons—'mu'amalat'. The Quran establishes fairly definite sanctions for violation of a range of 'mu'amalat' proscriptions, such as the death penalty for murder, cutting off an arm for theft, etc. In a typically Muslim state, the implementation of measures of responsibility determined by Sharia for one offence or

another was imposed by special Muslim institutions—the mufti, kadi one and others which were part of the state mechanism. In the Middle Volga Region, due to the circumstances, such practice underwent certain changes. The liquidation of statehood, legal forms of the Muslim rule logically led to destruction of the former system of the social-normative regulation. The legal norms which were not protected by the state gradually lost their legal status and functioned solely as religious prescripts. Nevertheless, these prescriptions continued to hold firm since many of them presupposed two types of sanctions, one was applied in the 'mortal' life, another—in the 'eternal' life. 'Inevitability of the religious punishment in the "eternal" life is a distinctive feature of the warranty of Muslim religious norms' [Syukiyanen, 1986, p. 22].

This peculiarity of the Muslim law—the strict dependence of its norms on religious awareness—in many ways guaranteed its resiliency and stability in the life of the Tatar community even in the conditions of the decline of social-political and regulatory institutions of Islam. In addition to the religious-customary practice, Islamic law continued to be widely applied in regulation of matrimonial relations, issues of inheritance, property, contracts and responsibilities, as well as many other spheres including international relations. External policy-making also depended on whether it was directed towards a Muslim or non-Muslim state.

Due to historical conditions, a special structure of the social hierarchy was established headed by well-born 'ulams (plural from 'alim'—'connoisseur'.—*G.I.*). The temptation to preserve their status by repudiating their faith (few were an exception) became one of the greatest trials for the elite. Those of blue blood who preferred poverty to regency found themselves in the position of 'bast shoe murzas'. The bulk of them continued their family traditions and sought a complete Muslim education. Possessing an undeniable authority in the eyes of the community, they joined the ranks of 'ulam—the persons who had a special religious knowledge.

Because of religious repressions, destruction of mosques and madrasahs—the main centres of enlightenment, it became almost

impossible for the Muslim people of the Volga Region to obtain a classical Islam education within their own patrimony. The only way out of the current situation was to receive education outside of the Russian state, in Islamic countries. It is quite logical that the relations between these regions and contacts with foreign co-religionists in many ways defined the further development of social and theological conceptions of the Volga and Ural Regions. In general, we may outline two streams of penetration of new movements and ideas,—Dagestan and Central Asia (Transoxiana).

Originally, the Muslims of the Volga region were educated in Dagestan. It is likely that this choice was to a great extent defined by the route of local merchants. Their mostly used trading route passed along the Volga, down its stream, through Hajji Tarkhan (modern Astrakhan) from where the people of Kazan penetrated into the Transcaucasus, Iran and Central Asia. Dagestan, which received the honourable name of 'Baḥr al-'Ulūm' ('sea of sciences'), up until the 18th century was tightly connected with the Arabic Eastern Mediterranean Sea region, Yemen and Iran. Moreover, since ancient times, it had been inhabited by colonies of Arabic emigrants who had preserved their native language. It was not surprising then that graduates of madrasahs in which education was conducted in Arabic (in comparison with Transoxiana where students were taught in Farsi) were distinguished by knowing it very well. As researchers note, in the 18–19th centuries, Yemen's scientists admired their knowledge and even pure Arabic speech [Bobrovnikov, 2003, p. 194].

One of Dagestan's famous madrasah was founded by Muhammad Ibn Musa al-Kuduki (1652–1717)—the author of popular works on grammar, dogmatics and multiple entries on the issues of fiqh¹ [Islamic jurisprudence]. Al-Kuduki was an advocate of Islamisation of

¹ It is also known that he travelled a lot, visiting Egypt and South Arabia. In the span of seven years he was taught by Salih al-Yamani in Yemen and absorbed some of his views. Thus, adhering to the Ash'ari system in dogmatics and the al-Shāfi'ī system in fiqh, he did not consider himself to be bound to them, but by Yamani's example, adhered to Ijtihad. See: [Shikh-saidov, 1999, p. 51].

mountain households and legal customs and stood for elimination of the adats which contradicted the Sharia. Madrasah was extremely popular in the Northern Caucasus, the Volga Region and, consequently, served as one of the sources spreading such ideas throughout these regions. We may come across many names Dagestan madrasahs' graduates in biographical collections compiled by Shihabetdin Marjani and Rizauddin Fahreddin. In general, R. Fahreddin assessed the period of tight relations with Dagestan as fairly beneficial. He suggested that such popular books as 'Shurut as-Salat' ('Conditions of prayer'), 'Ta'allum as-Salat' ('Teaching prayer') written by Dagestan authors were brought to students from these lands. Moreover, Kazan refugees who had once found shelter in the Ottoman Empire, Northern Caucasus and Dagestan returned to their motherland bringing books with them when a political calmness was reached. What they brought back was usually the literature of a traditional-moral teaching character: 'Ustuvani', 'Anwar al-'Ashikin', 'Alty barmak', 'Tariqa-i Muhammadiya' ('The Way of Mohammad'). The last book also known under the title of 'Pir-koly vasyate' deserves special attention. These works undoubtedly appeared in the light of the peculiarity of the situation which formed by that time in the world of Islam and was related to the development of Sufism.

The stability of the position of Islam in the life of the Tatar community in the colonial period, as researchers generally admit, was reached not only owing to the traditional organised system of dogmatics and ritual, but to its Sufi interpretation as 'the religion of the heart'. It is noteworthy that the increase of Sufi motives in the Tatar literature of the 17–18th centuries is a fairly logical event reflecting the general tendency of the development of Muslim cultures, characteristic of all Islamic regions—from Ottoman Turkey to Mongolian Hindustan. In the meantime, if we observe it in the context of the historical environment, we cannot help recognising the significance which Sufism played in the destiny of the nation within the frame of tough conditions of colonisation. Sufi poetry, coloured with ethic motives of Gazali, not only encouraged the religious feeling, but

also prompted spiritual self-understanding and self-improving, as well as developing high moral features in human beings. Educating the Muslims upon the examples of early devotees helped them survive the hardest conditions, when any violent resistance to conquerors, which took many lives away, only increased people's sufferings. The real state of affairs did not leave any hope for changing the situation. Sufism taught:

*Bäla ugi kadalsa, ormagay ah,
Kiliç başiga, bozmagay rah.*

*Do not lament, when the arrow
of grief hurts you,
Stay on the straight and narrow
even if a sword touches your head.*

Sufi Allahyar

The works of Sufi poets reflected upon the frailty of mortal life, the worthlessness of wealth, the special 'godliness' of being involved in agriculture, appeals to be content with little, attainment of spiritual blessings, psychologically were extremely accordant with moods of 'bast shoe murzas' and 'noble-born' 'ulams in whose environment they were possibly created and spread. Therefore we can observe this poetry as a 'code of honour' of representatives of the nobility who sacrificed their prosperity for spiritual values and who managed to preserve their inner aristocraticism.

As Sufism developed, clear negative tendencies emerged in it: many of its conditions, mixing with early local customs, created a salutary soil for various superstitions and rituals. It caused vulgarisation of this teaching, as well as simplification of its theory and practice. Accusations towards Tariqas, criticism in respect of moral decay of the heads of the brotherhoods and rituals they practiced which did not accord with the Sharia were often heard in various sides of the Islamic world. The first in the Middle East to have been criticised were bid'a—novelties introduced by the Sufis, which were incompatible with genuine Islam. They were condemned by famous representatives of Hanabilah, Ibn al-Jawzi (died in 1200) and

Ibn-Taymiyyah (died in 1328). In the Ottoman Empire, the expresser of such moods was the stream of Tarika-i Muhammadiyyah founded by Mehmed Birgivi (died in 1573).

The content of Birgivi's famous work 'Tarika-i Muhammadiyyah' resulted in preaching the Islamic ethics which is based upon canons of the Sharia and requirements to follow them. Birgivi devoted a special significance to the condition of believers' hearts and morals of their everyday life. He emphasised the necessity of rigorous following of all directions of the Quran and Sunnah in respect of the faith and cult, and proclaimed the Prophet's behaviour the example of strict imitation. Along with preaching the positive example, he stood against the novelties in religion (bid'a), calling them harmful for society and thus had to be eliminated. The customs which did not directly touch the issues of the faith were to be preserved, in Birgivi's opinion. The main condition is that they had to encourage the preservation and spread of the faith. He referred minarets, madrasahs and books to such 'positive novelties'. The principles of orthodoxy formulated by Birgivi were reflected in literature and development of the religious tradition of the Volga Region. His 'Tarika-i Muhammadiyyah' was long used in Tatar madrasahs as an ethics textbook (ahlak).

Along with the Ottoman influence, similar ideas penetrated into the Volga Region and the Urals from Central Asia. Approximately since the latter half of the 17th century, the orientation towards Bukhara strengthened, while in the 18th century, the Volga Region shakirds already definitely preferred Bukhara madrasahs to those in Dagestan. Apart from political and social-economic factors (strengthening of the Russian expansion in the Caucasus, the state support of trade with Asia, etc.), the choice of Bukhara was in many ways conditioned by the common traditions of the Hanafi law and Maturidi dogmatics. In this respect, Dagestan, which was the area in which the Shafi'i mazhab and the Ash'ari dogmatics spread was less attractive for the Volga-Ural Muslims.

Furthermore, the connections with Transoxiana, inherited from the Bulgar times, was revived owing to the Sufi channels. By all appearances, after recovering from the losses

suffered during the latter half of the 16th century, the Tariqas continued their activity on the Volga-Ural area, and in the 17th century Central Asian sheikhs had their own followers here. Indirect evidence of this can be found, for instance in khikmets of Mavl Kuly (the second half of the 17th century). In one of them he informs that his 'pir' ('mentor'—*G.I.*) is a descendant of Mahdumi A'zam himself (1464–1542).

*Pirimnen Mexzumi Eg'zam babalari
Andin meded teler jihan padişlari.*

*The grandfather of my mentor
is Mahdumi A'zam,
Whose blessing was desired by all rulers
of the world.*

Describing the worthiness of his spiritual mentor, he mentions that he was born in Samarkand and among his murids there were those which came from diverse parts of the world including Kazan and Bulgar. Since we are speaking about the descendant of Mahdumi A'zam—the founder of the tradition of Naqshbandiya Mujaddidiya—a long-dominating stream in Transoxiana [Babadzhanov, 1998, p. 69], we may assume that Mavl Kuli was one of its representatives.

The triad of the Sufi way—Sharia—Tariqa—Ma'rifah—is vividly seen in all its details in Mavl Kuly's khikmets. Fulfillment of the Sharia's canons, improvement of moral features, mortification of 'nafs' (animalistic part of the soul, instincts) the ecstatic feeling of the mystical comprehension—all these stages which the poet experienced, were reflected in his creativity. Many of his verses are permeated with the feeling of sincere repentance and awareness of his imperfection:

*Näfse yuli yörep, buldim xästä,
Nätäk ani uñartayım—daru yukdir;
Kükräkdä tākäbberlek yığaçı üsde—
Näfse menep botagina ayak basdı.*

*Following the way of a nasty soul, I fell ill;
How should I be cured—there is no remedy.
A tree of hubris has grown in my breast,
And my nasty soul has climbed its branches.*

The way of comprehending the Truth requires that the mystic be completely devoted, strain his spiritual abilities and concentrate his will to the extent that the outer world loses any significance; remaining in such a condition, he can reach enlightenment.

*Gaşıyk uldir Xak yulinda giyşik irsä,
Didar teläp can küñeli fida kilsä,
By dönyani küzgä almaz xal'gä kilsä,
Gaşıyklar tik Xak yulina kergüm kilür.*

*A loving person is someone who loves
being on the path of the Truth,
Aspiring to approach the Image (of the
Creator), he sacrifice his soul,
He has reached the condition of disregard
for this world,
Those who love only want to follow the
way of the Truth.*

Mavl Kuli's gnoseological views bear the stamp of the Sufi doctrine which justify three types of revelations and, correspondingly, three opportunities of perceiving the Creator—through the holy law, through creations (the structure of the universe and a human being) and the mystical gnosis. The outer world is full of a hidden sense for the poet; the Universe is an expression of the Creator's wisdom, its comprehension opens the way to understanding the Truth.

*Kür galämni, ni gacap -
Mäg'nä tuluk ber kitap.*

*Have a look at the world—what a miracle,
This is a book full of sense.*

This poet pays special attention to the heart as a source of perception of God: 'Yöräk birde Xak üzeni belmäk öçen' (the Highest gave us a heart so that we could understand Him).

The khikmets also contain such wide-spread motives as preaching virtues and condemnation of sins, honouring parents, praising the labour of an agricultural worker. The poet's pessimism is demonstrated in dark pictures of the end of the world, Doomsday, in the motive for

pilgrimage, a touching description of the pilgrim's bitter destiny. The tendency of a critical attitude towards 'pseudo-Sufis' becomes clear in Mavl Kuli's works. The poet is profoundly outraged by hypocrites who 'wear the clothes of Dervishes and are scented with musk'.

*Başlaryna taj kutärmesh sufi män, tir;
Tännäreni simertkänçä xāram yiyär,
Izlas yuk, galām xalkın aldayu, kür:
Küñle tuymas, bu galämne yotar irde*

*Pronouncing the words 'I am a Sufi' they
laid the crown of holiness upon their heads,
Obese, they feed their flesh with the
forbidden,
And not a glimpse of sincerity is seen in
them,—only deceit of people—have a look:
Their soul is insatiable and prepared to
swallow the whole world!*

In due course, the leading position in Transoxiana passed to another branch of Naqshbandiya—Tariqat Mujaddidiya which took its roots in India in which Naqshbandiya had penetrated during the times of Babur. The founder of the new branch of the Tariqat—Ahmad al-Fārūqī al-Sirhindī (1563–1624) thanks to his activities for the protection of the Sharia, became known in the Islamic world as 'Mujaddid Alif saānī' meaning 'the reviver of the second millennium'. Thus, the independent branch of the Tariqat received the name of 'Naqshbandiya Mujaddidiya'. The Tariqat demanded that its members rigorously comply with the norms of the Sharia, putting it opposite the tradition of the ecstatic Sufism. Sirhindī's dogma was based exclusively upon the Quran and Sunnah, the only example was prophet Mohammad whom the members of the brotherhood had to follow. Therefore, after two hundred years, Naqshbandiya returned to its motherland armed with the idea to fight for purification of the Sharia from an heretical pollution.

The time of its emergence in Bukhara is dated from the end of the 17th century and is associated with the name of sheikh Habiballah al-Buhari (died in 1111/1699–1700) who was consecrated by Muhammad-Ma'sum (died in

1079/1668) the third son of Ahmad Sirhindī [Kügelgen, 2001, pp. 289–290]. In him, people saw a Mujaddid who emerged in the 12th century (in accord with the Hijrah)—the reviver of the religion who came to improve the society in the epoch of a thorough decline of morals, spread of disturbances and violence which were the result of neglect of the Sharia. Sheikh Habiballah was the mentor of famous Sufi Allahyar (died around 1720), the author of multiple mystical treatises.

Originally from Central Asia, Sufi Allahyar lived in Kazan for a while and acquired many followers. His works, especially 'Sabat al-'Ajizin' ('The prop of the feeble'), became widely known in the Volga Region and the Urals, and found their continuation in creativity of poets who lived after him.

The content of 'Sabat al-'Ajizin' falls into the frame of the traditional Sufi didactics: appeals not to be seduced by ghost joys of the mortal world, to remember of the eternal, to multiply virtues and dispose of sins—this is the main topic of the work. In the meantime, Sufi Allahyar's poetry expresses a critical attitude towards ostentatious piety which was

spread among his contemporaries. His verses are coloured with the feeling of righteous indignation, condemnation of hypocrisy, outer demonstration of holiness, when 'the words express tasbih and tahlil (praising of God) and the inner world contains deceit and cheating, when the words tell preaching and edification, and the soul has no fear of God, he looks like a wonderful Sufi, but his soul is as of a dog'. The poet advised those who searched for the righteous path to join genuine devotees. A spiritual advisor was necessary to 'diligent youngsters', for 'an arrow cannot fly without a bow and a troop cannot win an adversary without their commander'.

Throughout the latter half of the 16–17th centuries, despite the political isolation of the Volga Region from the rest of the Islamic world, owing to a gradual restoration of connections with the Caucasus and Central Asia, there was a process of mutual influence of cultures against the backdrop of penetration of diverse ideological streams and schools, while the spiritual-religious life of the region continued its development within the frame of the common Muslim tendency.

Section III

The Tatar People as Part of the Russian Empire in the 18th Century



CHAPTER 1

Demographic Processes in the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia

§1. Population and Main Areas of Settlement of the Tatars in Russia¹

Damir Iskhakov

We have already noted the absence of reliable demographic data, which would enable an estimation of the population of the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region in the latter half of the 16th—the end of the 17th centuries (See: [Iskhakov, 1995; Iskhakov, 2014]). Therefore the methods for demographic reconstruction are necessary to be used to determine the demographics of the Tatar population in the Volga-Ural Region during the studied period. This allows us to obtain only approximate data on population dynamics between the middle of the 16th—the end of the 17th centuries. (See, e.g.: [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 257–260]). There are quite representative statistical sources, dating from the first decades of the 18th century, which have already allowed to evaluate the population of the Tatars by 1719 in the region of interest. It was about 265 thousand people [Iskhakov, 1980, pp. 25–39; Iskhakov, 2014, p. 378].

Initial demographic parameters concerning the Tatar population of the Volga Turkic-Tatar yurts (Kazan yurt, Astrakhan yurt and the Kasimov Khanate) by the middle of the 16th century were as follows: in Kazan Khanate—170–180 thousand people, in the Kasimov Khanate—about 40 thousand people, in the Astrakhan Khanate—about 100 thousand people. [Iskhakov, 2014, pp. 305–314]. The remarkable thing is that the population of the Astrakhan Tatars in the Lower Volga Region has sharply decreased by the end of the 1570–s (up to 7 thousand people), most likely because a large number of people moved to other areas. To further count the number of the Astrakhan Tatars one should judge from the recent demographic figures.

By evaluating demographic parameters of the Tatar population of the Volga-Ural Region during the period from the latter half to the end of the 16th century, we can rely on indirect data based on the information about military resources of the Tatars from Meshchera uyezds. Much information of this kind has been preserved in all kinds of military 'paintings' [Zapisnaya kniga, 2004; Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, t. 2, part 3; Razryady' poxoda, 1914; Dokumenty', 1962] that can be repeatedly revised on the basis of the similar materials dated the first decades of the 17th century [Stanislavsky, 2004; Razrjadnaja kniga 7123; Razrjadnaja kniga 7125]. The analysis of these materials shows that during full mobilisation an army of 2.7 to 2.9 thousand of warriors could be gathered from the Meshchera yurt in the end of the 16th century (See also: [Porfiriev, 1912]) Usually among yasak population one person per at least three households shall be sent for service [Piscovy'e knigi, 1904, pp. 49, 102, 180]. However, among the serving Tatars men from each household shall be sent for service. On average, there were four men who were able-bodied for army,—that is, over 15 years old, per one household. On the whole by the end of the 16th century in Meshchera uyezds the total population, that was able-bodied for army was about 11–12 thousand persons. In this case if we consider, that according to some 18th century sources the Mishar Tatars were one third of the Volga-Ural Tatars [Iskhakov, 2014, p. 100], then by the end of the 16th century in Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds there might have been up to 80 thousand Tatars. Including the Turkic-Tatar population of Kungur and Ufa uyezds—there were no less than 100 thousand people. If we

¹ The section was prepared with the participation of M. Akchurin.

complete this list with the Nogai Tatars who lived not only in the Lower Volga Region, but were migrating to the Southern Cis-Urals Region up to the 1630s and then partially became part of the Kazan and Astrakhan Tatars, the total population of all the Volga-Ural Tatars at the end of the 16th century was about 150–170 thousand people [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 259–260].

Consequently the population dynamics of the Tatars in the Volga-Ural Region from the latter half of 16th until the beginning of the 18th centuries were as follows: at the end of the 16th century, the population was 150–170 thousand people, in the middle of the 17th century the population was from 190 to 200 thousand people, and in the beginning of the 18th century it was 265 thousand people. This demographic reconstruction allows us to conclude that the Tatar population came close to those demographic parameters which it had in the middle of the 16th century, when living in the independent countries, only by the first decades of the 18th century. The same data indicate that in the studied region the Tatars suffered their main demographic losses during the period of the Muscovite conquest and subsequently in the New Time there were relatively acceptable though far from perfect conditions for population growth.

The conquests of the Tatar Khanates and the Siberian yurt lead to significant changes in distribution of the Tatars in the second half of the 16–17th centuries. The Tatars settled mainly in previously uninhabited and unpopulated areas of the Middle Volga Region. However, in the latter half of the 16th century they began to move towards the Ural Region. Before starting to characterise intra-regional movements of the Tatar population, let us touch upon the Tatar territorial location in the middle of the 16th century.

In the middle of the 16th century a quiet large number of Tatars (Meshchera and Kasimov Tatars) concentrated within the Meshchera yurt and the Kasimov Khanate. In contrast to other Turkic-Tatar states of the late Golden Horde, the Kasimov Khanate existed up to beginning of the 1680s, but started transforming just after the Russian conquest of the

Kazan Khanate, the Kasimov Khanate began to lose its state nature and gradually broke up into separate 'Meshchera' uyezds (Kasimov, Shatsk and Temnikov) [Chermensky, 1962; Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 183–188]. In the latter half of the 16th—beginning of the 17th centuries the Turkic-Tatar population (There also have been the representatives of the Nogai Horde except the Tatars themselves) from Meshchera uyezd, who were actively involved by the Muscovite state in military service at the new borders, gradually started moving to the east and to the south-west, leaving the main territory of the initial settlement in the basins of the Oka, Moksha and Tsna rivers. However, to trace this process first it is necessary to give a brief description of the Tatar settlement in a historical Meshchera in the middle of the 16th century.

The Kasimov Tatars, the descendants of the group settled in Meshchera town (Meshchersky gorodok) in the middle of the 15th century and headed by Sultan Kasim, the son of Ulugh Muhammad, in the 16th century continued living in the capital city of Kasimov (Meshchera Gorodok or Gorodets), and also in neighbouring settlements, known as 'durt sala' (Podlipki/Shyryn, Bolotse/Yaubash, Tsaritsyn/Biem sala, Torbayevo/Tatarbai), in other villages (Bastanovo/Bustan, Tolstikovo/Tustik, Akhmatovo/Karlar, Shilna) [Sharifullina, 1991; Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 268; Iskhakov, 1993a; Proceedings of Tambov Academic Archival Commission, 1902, issue 46, pp. 48–50].

In the lower reaches of the Tsna river, in the territory of the future Shatsk uyezd, after the foundation of the town of Shatsk, the 'Tsna Tatars' settled there, partially being representatives of the Kasimov Tatars. It is not by chance that the settlements Bostanovo and Temgenevo, where the Kasimov people lived, are usually referred to the 'Tsna' Tatars [Smirnov, 1904, p. 194; Nikolaevsky, 1915, p. 73, Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1598, p. 176; Zapisnaya kniga, 2004, p. 128; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 199, inv. 1, p. 299, part 8, item 5, p. 2]. In the 16th century in this district there could be other Tatar villages—Amesyevo, Lotkazano [Akty' sluzhily'x, 2002, pp. 247–248; Isheev, Akchurin, 2010, pp. 64–70].

In the territory of the old town of Temnikov and in the town itself in 1536, the Tatars lived long before the foundation of the new town with a similar name [Nartsov, 1902, p. 13]. According to the petition addressed to Aleksey Mikhaylovich from the Tatars, the town of Temnikov was founded 'for the warriors of Kazan, and the uyezd villages, countries and Emskaya sloboda were situated in the field side of the town' [Chekalin, 1890]. This message means that the villages of Temnikov uyezd began to appear on the left bank of the Moksha River after the new town had been built up. The movement to the left bank of the Moksha river is mentioned in the genealogies collected by the monks of the Sarov Monastery. Those were the genealogies of the Tatar murzas, the descendants of Prince Bekhan (Sedekhmetevs, Akchurins, Kudashevs, Isheevs, Dashkins and Cherkashevs): 'Prince Sedekhmet and Prince Mamet together with the children lived in the village named Kavtotizhan. It was 2000 thousand years old and situated in the forest behind the Moksha River. Then it was abandoned because of the invasions. People and their children left the village and migrated to other areas and to steppe' [Akchurin, 2011]. According to the genealogies 'in the steppe' that is on the left bank of the Moksha River, in the 16–17th centuries, the representatives of this dynasty founded the villages Derbyshevo (Princes Sedekhmetevs), Adayevo (Princes Akchurins), Bulayevo (Prince Bulay Kudashev), Dashkino (Prince Dashka Kudyakov), Chekashevo (Chekash Yantudin), Shurbino and also the village of Ityakovo (Ityak was the elder son of Barash Akchurin) on the right bank of the Moksha River [Ibid].

It is known from other sources about the existence of other Tatar settlements in the 16th century (Mitryaly, Tyuveyevo, Sukhovo) not far from the town of Temnikov [Safargaliev, 1964, p. 11; Ahmetzyanov, Akchurin, 2013; Akty' sluzhily'x, 2002, pp. 352–353]. However, it is not absolutely clear how close the group of the Temnikov Tatars is ethnically related to the Kasimov Tatars, although this connection is partially traced according to the sources [Iskhakov, 1993]. One should probably consider them as the descendants of the Tatars, who

lived in this area since the time of the ulus of Moksha [Sabitov, Akchurin, 2013, pp. 73–81]. Although there are Nogai roots too [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 98].

In the middle of the 16th century the group of the Kadom Tatars concentrated in a number of settlements (Bedishevo, St. Mansurovo, Butako, Chetovo, Azeyevo), which was a part of Kadom uyezd together with the further process of 'splitting' Meshchera uyezd into new administrative units [Safargaliev, 1963; Akchurin, Isheev, 2013; Posolskie, 2006, pp. 102, 217].

The issue of the Tatar population in the basin of the River Pyana in the middle of the 16th century, where Arzamas, Alatyr and Kurmysh subsequently appeared, remains unclear. Some researchers write that it has been there earlier [Khalikov, 1978, pp. 130–131; Orlov, Fayzullin, 2011, p. 75]. However, documentary evidence on this area of earlier than the latter half of the 16th century is non-existent, as described by A. Geraklitov [Geraklitov, 1931, p. 10]. Nevertheless, there is information in the stories, legends and genealogies of the Tatars from Nizhny Novgorod Kray, which includes the possibility of existence of the Tatar population here up to the middle of the 16th century. Moreover, in the area of the town of Sakony, probably belonged to Meshchera yurt [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 265–266; ChOIDR (Readings at the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia), 1898, book 2, p. 10; collection RIO, tom 41, pp. 80–81]. It is probable that for a time these people could partially have belonged to Murom uyezd. In 1564, the first message appeared about the Tatars living in the village of Lupilovka of Arzamas uyezd [Readings at the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia at Moscow University, 1850, book 5, pp. 52–54]. Further on, the number of the Arzamas Tatars began rapidly to increase due to their migration from the 'internal' uyezds of Meshchera, first of all—from Kadom uyezd. This will be described later.

The settlement features of the Tatar in the central districts of the Kazan Khanate (the Volga-Kama Region) in the middle and the latter half of the 16th century were discovered by Ye. Chernyshev [Chernyshev, 1971, pp. 272–292]. For the most part we can agree

with the conclusions of the researcher. Yet the settlement reconstruction of the Tatars in the 16th century proposed by Ye. Chernyshev needs certain additions and clarifications. For example, he noted that in the 16th century the Tatars lived in the basin of the River Cheptsa [Ibid., p. 282]. Now it is a fact that in the middle of the 16th century the Tatars (a group of the 'Nocrat Tatars' with their ethnic component, Besermyans) lived in the Cheptsa estuary area, in a large settlement with a fortified hill fort, the town of Nocrat (another name is Karino) [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 31–42].

The data provided by Ye. Chernyshev as proof that the Tatars lived in basin of the river Izh during the period of the Kazan Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 282] were confirmed. It is known from the Cadastre of 1602–1603 of Kazan uyezd, the main source used by Ye. Chernyshev, Prince Bagish Yakushev had a charter 'for the Tersa volost on the Kama River' [Pisovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, p. 39]. As we stated, he received this grant by the charter issued by Ivan IV (See: [State Archive of Kirov oblast, fund 170, inv. 1, item 72, quire 4]). This makes quite possible the existence of the 'volost' mentioned here already in the 16th century. In addition a number of volosts, populated by the Turkic groups of different origin, subordinated to the Nogai Princes who were related to Kazan, lived a short distance to the south of the basin of the Izh River during the same period [Iskhakov, 1985, pp. 37–38, 45–46; Ishboldin, 2005, pp. 144–147].

Since there were no accurate historical data at that time, the issue of the Tatar population in the East Trans-Kama Region and in the South Ural Region as a whole remains undiscovered [Chernyshev, 1971, p. 282]. Meanwhile, there were Turkic people living in the East Trans-Kama Region already in the 16th century. G. Yusupov discovered that certain Turkic groups lived in the basin of the Ik River in the latter half of the 16th century [Yusupov, 1960, pp. 24–25]. These were groups of Nogai origin, also called 'the Bashkirs' in the 16th century [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 47]. To date many sources have been collected which suggest that in the 16th century some other Turkic groups, that were not ethnically homogeneous, settled in

the East Trans-Kama Region [Iskhakov, 1998; Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 520–522; Ishboldin, 2005, pp. 58–76;]. Probably they belonged to the Nogai-Mangut Principality that was a part of the Kazan Khanate (Latest Nogai Daruga).

The settlement features of the Tatars of the Ural Region and the groups, that became their ethnic component, have not been sufficiently studied yet. Preliminary data on this population are as follows: According to the shejere of 'the Bashkir' Tabyñ tribe, there was a residence of 'Churtamak Khan', one of the former 'Kazan Khans' in the basin of the Tanyp River (within the latest Birsk uyezd) [Bashkirskie shedzhere, 1960, p. 164]. This evidently referred to the Prince who ruled over the population of the lower reaches of the Belaya, the Ik and the Ufa rivers. No doubt this territory was a part of the Kazan Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 46; Usmanov, pp. 3, 31, 49–55]. It is no coincidence that in 1505 Kazan Prince Kara-Kilimbet ruled Ufa. Presumably he was a noble Nogai (In 1496 he was mentioned under the name of 'Kanimet' among 'Kazan Princes', who joined Mamuq Khan [Usmanov, 1960, p. 52]. We also found that during the Kazan Khanate period a number of the Turkic and Turkified (mainly Ishtyak-Ugric) groups, who subsequently became part of the Perm Tatars, lived in the Perm Region (In the basins of the Sylva, the Iren and the Tulva rivers). In the middle of the 16th century they were ruled by the Nogai princes who, in turn, were related to the Kazan Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 114–140]. On the whole, on the basis of these materials, it is not possible to state that the Kazan Tatars lived in the Ural Region in the 16th century but it is possible to say that some ethnic components of the Tatars of the Ural Region (the Qipchaq-Nogai and Turkic-Ugric groups) lived there during that period. However, at present the features of their settlement in the 16th century have not been sufficiently explored.

In the later half of the 16–17th centuries the Meshchera Tatars from the central part of Meshchera uyezd started migrating in several directions. Mainly this was due to the so-called 'abatis lines' at the borders of the Muscovite state [Mukhamedova, 1972; Lebedev, 1980]. Although during this period internal migra-

tion within the initial Meshchera uyezds took place as well. For example, in the 17th century in Kasimov uyezd the villages of Sobakino and Birkeyevo were founded [Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 69–71; Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 267]. In fact the Tatars migrated from the historic Meshchera district in two directions: to the south-east and to the east (including the north-east as well).

In the latter half of the 16th—the first third of the 17th centuries, we can observe that the Tatars gradually developed the south part of Temnikov uyezd, earlier 'the wild field', and that was the first direction. In 1563, Prince Devlet Kildey acquired a wasteland in Temnikov uyezd, next to the river Urey, where a wild field was situated at that time. Since 1586, mention has been made 'on the other bank of the Moksha River', of the village of Purdyshkovo with a household of Prince Kulunchak Enikeev. In 1595, the household was situated in the pochinok of Iseyev Gildin. Initially, these settlements related to the Trans-Moksha stan of Meshchera uyezd, and since the 1620s they were connected to the Aksyol stan of Temnikov uyezd.

According to the materials from 'the Guard Books' of Temnikov uyezd dated 1614 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, book 471], there were two Tatar slobodas in Temnikov ostrog: Shirleyskaya (84 households belonged to princes, murzas and the Tatars', 38 households belonged to belopashtsy [tax-exempt peasants], 2 households belonged to zasechny storozha ['guards of the Zasechnaya cherta'] and 2 households belonged to serving people) and Akhmylovskaya (79 households belonged to 'murzas and the Tatars', 5 households belonged to belopashtsy and 4 households belonged to vorotniki ['serving people']). Taking into account these denominations both 'free peasants', who 'performed the city service for the tsar' and serving people were ethnic Tatars. In total 3 Tatar princes:— Prince Bryushey Enikeev, Prince Bulay Kudashev and Prince Ishei Barashev lived in the town of Temnikov. Thus, the total number of the Tatar households in the town was 214. However, the majority of the serving Tatars owned not only town households but land es-

tate, 'landlord's yards' in the villages and settlements of Temnikov uyezd as well. Many Tatars often owned several 'land estates' in different villages. Probably for many people the main place of habitation was the town. For example it is noted that in the village of Enaleevo 'along the bank of the Isa river' there were only landowners living in certain Tatar households, and 'the Tatars themselves lived in the posad in Temnikov' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, p. 301 reverse].

From the petitions [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1167, series 1, unit 2104, pp. 1–3], submitted by the people of the town of Temnikov in 1674, we find that by this time all the Tatars had left the town of Sary Temnikov ('murzas and the Tatars, leaving Temnikov town, the town of yours, the great tsar, took their households to the wild fields'). The town of Temnikov was completely destroyed after the fire in 1667 and after the Cossacks led by Stepan Razin captured it. Dasay murza Prince Bulayev, Smolyan murza Prince Akchurin, Rezep murza Prince Enikeev, Muskay murza Kudashev 'together with their fellows' submitted a petition to build the new town of Temnikov along the other bank of the River Moksha, 'in the field behind the Zasechnaya fortresses on the Derbyshevskaya upland'. Since the area turned out to be 'improper' for building a town, a decision was taken to build a fortress on Isaak upland ('where the households of the Temnikov murzas were situated, which belonged to murzas of Mametya, murza Isakiyev and Begish murza of Prince Enikeev together with the brothers and the fellows'). From these very petitions we also find that 'before all that' the village of Darbyshevo was situated on the Derbyshevskaya upland, and 'the people of that village left it as there was lack of water'.

Some villages not far from Temnikov had been founded in the 16th century; thus, the village of Tyuveyevo was founded by Tyuvey Asberdinov in 1535 [Safargaliev, 1964, p. 11], the village of Sukhovo was founded by Sukhay Kukushev, who participated in distribution of the estates in 1568 [Ahmetzyanov, Akchurin, 2013]. On the right bank of the Moksha river, not far from the town of Temnikov in a

large Tatar village Mitryaly (presently, the village of Mitryaly of Temnikov district, the Republic of Mordoviya), Prince Devletkildey Tinyayev lived there. This can be seen from the entry of 1603: 'there was the village of Mitryaly at the lake on the Staraya Moksha, and there was a household of the landlords, and the Prince together with the Princess Devlet-Kildeyevskaya and their children Baybars and Kulbars lived there. There is no arable land in the village of Mitryaly, the tillage is in a large wild field behind the Moksha river' [Akty' sluzhily'x, 2002, pp. 352–353]. Probably the tillages 'behind the Moksha River' were located on the river Urey. Those tillages were granted to Prince Devletkildey in Temnikov uyezd together with wasteland not far from the river Urey in 1563 [Terekhin, 1898, pp. 658–661]. According to the 'Guard books' of Temnikov uyezd dated 1614, his grandsons owned households in the village of Mitryaly 'granted by the Nogai people' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, pp. 294 reverse–295]. There was probably still a threat of invasion from the Nogai for the local villages, situated on the bank of the Moksha River in the beginning of the 17th century. Another large Tatar village situated next to the town of Temnikov, was the village of Viryasy. According to the legends and genealogies, written by the representatives of the Sedekhmetov dynasty, the children of Prince Sedekhmet lived in the village of Viryasy for some time and then they founded the village of Derbyshevo after the time when Kavtotizhan/Ikemen Azbar was abandoned [Akchurin, 2011]. Derbysh was a grandson of Prince Sedekhmet, as mentioned in 1562/1563 [Akchurin, Abdurakhmanov, 2011].

In the middle of the 16 century, Efayevo village on the Rakshekley/Urakshesley River [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, pp. 267] (presently, Efayevo settlement is located in Krasnoslobodsky district, the Republic of Mordovia). The founder was probably Prince Efay (Prince Efay together with Kutu Tereberdeev, Mamley and Dulat are mentioned in the deed dated 1540, see: [Akchurin, Abdurakhmanov, 2011]), according to the Guard Books dated 1614, murzas Efaevs,

Kutyevs, Mamleevs and Deukovs (grandsons of Dulat, see: [Ibid., 2011]) owned Efayevo village, Deukovy kept the charter of Tsar Ivan IV for this village, dated 1550/1551 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, p. 267]. The village of Staraya Knyazhaya was located along the same River Urakshesley [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, p. 75], which was owned by Prince Enikeev in 1614. Probably, prior to this date the village belonged to another Tatar Prince, the ancestor of the murza.

The names of a large number of settlements, which appeared in the latter half of the 16th—the beginning of the 17th centuries, are derivatives of their founders' names. Thus, Aykeyevo acquired the title from Aykey Urzayev (mentioned in 1610, see: [Gabdullin, 2006, pp. 223–226]), by origin of Muratov dynasty [Akchurin, 2011]; Akashevo is a derivative of Akash Aytuganov, the son of Ageyev (mentioned in 1609, see: [Central State Archive of the Republic of Mordovia, fund 24, inv. 1, item 28]); Sheshedino is a derivative of some descendants of Nenyuk murza, son of Totay (mentioned in 1621, see: [Ibid., item 69, p. 7 reverse]), who owned manors in that village and bore the family name Sheshedino [Ibid., sheet 1]. Probably the founder of the village was a Sheshedya, the ancestor of Nenyuk Totayev; Chekayevo is a derivative of the ancestor of Akhmamet' of murza Bineyev, son of Chekay (mentioned in 1614, see: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, p. 141]); Ideyevo is a derivative of Idey Enikeev (mentioned in 1597, see: [Ibid., p. 121]).

According to the 'Guard books' dated 1614, the Tatar manors were located in the south area of Temnikov uyezd, in the villages along the Yavas, Lyacha and Shustruy rivers (Pichipolonga was mentioned in the charter as of 1591/1592, see: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, p. 92, reverse]. Also Atyuryevo, Vyarvel and Velyazma villages are known). In the eastern area several villages were located far enough along the Irset, Rudna and Isa rivers ('Vyarvel along the river Isa', 'Enalyeva along the river Isa', Sivyazvela) and also along the rivers Inza and even Sura (Shuvatovo, Turdoman).

The 'Guard Books of Temnikov uyezd' dated 1614 show that sometimes the Tatar landowners could found new villages within their private estates. Thus Prince Bulay Kudashev: 'there were tillages and two households in his estate, in the bee-tree land, between the Chukal and Tukdukey rivers, not far from the river Urey' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 1, item 471, pp. 93 reverse–94]. Probably the village of Bulayevo was created at this place (presently the village of Bulayevo of Temnikov district, the Republic of Mordovia).

The construction of the fortresses according to a new Zasechnaya Cherta in 1630–1640 (Nizhniy and Verkhniy Lomov, Kerensk, Saransk, Insar, Shishkeyevskiy, Potishskiy and Inzerskiy ostrogs) necessitated moving the serving Tatars to new places of service and also provided more safe conditions for new settlements.

In the case of the forced detention of artilleryman Danila Dmitriev, dated 1649, [Delo, 1943, pp. 540–545, 552–554] the names of the Tatars, the people of Insar uyezd of the villages Isenskiye Polyanki, Enaleyevy Polyanki, Lashma and Potizhskiy ostrog, were mentioned:

The entry, dated 1668, contained a list of 'Kasimov and Shatsk murzas and the Tatars' made by Ishey murza Chernakayev, the son of Prince Bulushev 'with 40 fellows', who lived in Kerensk uyezd in the village of Sheldais (presently, most likely, Tatarskiy Sheldais, Penza oblast) [Proceedings of Tambov Academic Archival Commission, 1887, issue 15, pp. 46, 48].

A detailed record can be found on the foundation of a new large Tatar village Tatarskiye Yunki along the river Yunka (Yunya). According to the survey of the Tatars from the nearest villages of Shukstrov and Bogdanovka ('Shukstrov tozh') in 1665, an area of waste land was located in the 'dacha' of Begish Prince Enikeev, 'in Begishev area' [Central State Archive of the Republic of Mordovia, fund 24, inv. 1, item 67, p. 369]. Forty Tatars of Temnikov uyezd ('the reiters, recruited and not recruited, not landowners and small landowners' [Ibid. pp. 380–381]) were granted 'yards and pastures for manors'. Among these Tatars the bearer of such family names as Uteshevs, Kudyakovs, Turpu-

shevs (Torpishchevs), Akchurins and others can be found.

In the list of the Atemarskaya desyatnya [documents containing information on service people from one region or another] dated from the latter half of the 17th century, some Tatars were mentioned: 'mainly they were registered in the town of Alatyr' [Desyatni, 1897, column 210] many of them owned manors both in Saransk and Alatyr uyezds [Ibid. column 337, 340 and 373], and in Arzamas uyezd as well [Ibid. column 336]. This shows that a part of the Tatars moved from Arzamas and Alatyr uyezds to Saransk uyezd.

In the 1660–1680s, along the rivers Uza and Kadada, large groups of the Temnikov and Kadom Tatars were granted with manors. Despite their remoteness and absence of settlements there, these territories were developed. The record showed the existence of patrimonial lands estates belonging to Prince Akchura (the first half of the 16th century) located along the river Kadada [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 396, inv. 2, item 3534, p. 255]. In 1546/1547 Temnikov murza Kutuy Tereberdeev bought some patrimonial land estates from the Temnikov Tatar Kostey Umanin, notably, his patrimonial land estates were neighbouring to the lands of the Kazan Tatars [Akchurin, Abdurakhmanov, 2011]. Therefore, initially new estates were assigned in the Tatar patrimonial land estates and the bee-tree lands, 'in the wild virgin lands'. In the 18th century, there were more than a dozen Tatar settlements (Kuncherovo, Bigeyevo, Dyomino and others).

In the first third of the 17th century ten more villages were registered in Temnikov uyezd: Karino, Chekayevo, Urey (1611), Ardashevo (1611), Rusanovo (1614) and others.

Many of them were registered in Temnikov uyezd in 1614. After the construction 'in the field side of the town...behind Temnikov', the embankments and abatis fortresses between 1636–1648 the Tatars moved further to the south. The charter of the Tatars of Temnikov uyezd for tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich reads as follows: '...murzas, the Tatars...we live outside of Temnikov town...in the field side...and [in] we were granted the duties of zasechnyes guards...at the new abatis lines...of Temnikov...

forever (1647) to live in a new town of Insar'. In the Receipt books of Atemar dated 1642 'the serving Atemar Tatars...along the Insar road' were mentioned. In 1679, a dacha of 'the Saransk regimental murzas and the Tatars from the village of Tavla' was mentioned. It was situated 'out from Atemar along the Insar road'. In the 'Atemar Desyatnya' dated 1669–1670 and 1679–1680 a large number of the serving Tatars, murzas and a range of villages were enumerated. In 1671, the Tatar village of Isenskiye Polyany, the serving murzas and the Tatars from the Potishskiy ostrog were mentioned as part of Insar uyezd. Already in 1632, the Temnikov Tatars had been granted a manor located in a wild field, along the river and called 'Shukstrov' (Shustruy). In 1675, the serving Tatars-reiters lived in the village Shukstrov. In 1640, the Tatars of Temnikov uyezd founded the villages of Chirmishevo, Shcherbakovo, Lyambir and Tatarskaya Sverbeyka. In 1663, Penza sloboda was founded. Its creation was related to the foundation of the Tatar villages of Sheltais and Sinorovo. In 1677, in 'the Penza Desyatnya' 15 serving 'regimental Tatars' were enumerated. In 1670–1680s, the Tatars began settling in the territories of the future Saratov guberniya (the earliest charter about the settlement of Pendelka village by the Tatars refers to 1685).

The migration process of the Tatars from Kasimov, Kadom and partially from Shatsk uyezds in the direction of Kerensk, Verkhniy and Nizhniy Lomov took place a short distance to the west of the described district.

The charter between Ivan IV and Sultan Selim of 1570 states that in the latter half of the 16th century the Tatars still lived in Kadom uyezd. The charter reads: '...There are a lot of clerks of the Islamic law and in those towns of Meshchera...Muslim people have mizgits (mosques) and Cochins (cemeteries)'. In the beginning of the 17th century there were up to 20 Tatar villages in Kadom uyezd (Pokrovskoye, Chiush/Tat. Lakoley, Akayevo, Podlesovo, Baishovo, Toneyevo, Kulykovo, Krutets, Ivankovo, Toropovo, Novoye Enikeevo, Vechkenino, Staroye and Novoye Mansyrevo, Shigaleyev, Enikeevo, Muratovo, Mikitino, Tugushevo/Derberdeyev, Azeyevo) [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 106].

After 1649, four more villages were mentioned (Syrkydy, Akberdeyev, Kulakovo and Kushchapino).

After the beginning of the 17th century, in the territory of Shatsk uyezd the village of Studenets was mentioned. After the 1620s, five more Tatar settlements were registered in this uyezd (Aglyamazovo, Beryozovka, Karaulovo, Alakush, Novosyolovo). In the 1640s the same number of the villages was been mentioned (Vypolzovo, Novsyolok, Maly Studenets and others). Sometimes, the directions of the settlements are provided. By the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the serving Tatars had founded new villages due to the expansion of manorial land ownership. Thus we find that in 1608 Chekay murza Kudashev received estates and peasant yards in the village of Rakovo-Koshkovo (presently Rakovo in Sasovsky district of Ryazan oblast) from his mother-in-law Princess Aytugan, widow of Prince Islam Engovatov. After her husband's death she acquired them as 'manorial territories' (zherebiy) [Akty sluzhylykh, 2002, p. 162].

The charter dated 1598 states that the former owners of the monastery village of Knyzhaya (presently, Knyazhevo in Morshansk district of Tambov oblast) were the Tsna Tatars Prince Isen' Ushakov, Tokhtar murza Vasilyev, the son Enayev, Uraz murza Elgadeyev [Tamb. UAK (Tambov Scientific Archives Committee), 1887, issue 13, pp. 21–22; issue 16, p. 17].

Probably the founders of the village of Tensyupino (presently Tensyupino, Sasovo District, Ryazan oblast) was a certain Tatar Tensyupi (probably Din-Sufi), who was the ancestor of Urzay murza Tensyupin, son of Never. After the death of Urzay, the manors passed to his son-in-law Chepkun murza Dasayev, the son of Prince Mamatkazin (the latter half of the 17th century) [Isheev, Akchurin, Abdiev, 2010].

Shatsk Cadastre by Fyodor Chyobotov dated 1622/1623 [Tambov Academic Archival Commission, 1893, issue 37, pp. 73–147] refers to the following villages, where the Tatar landlords (except the Tsna Tatars, Temnikov murza 'Prince Kudashev' and Kasimov murzas Shemerdyanov and Stokasimov): the village of Erneyevskiye Usady (Presently Erneyevo village of Sasovo district of Ryazan oblast).

Probably its founder was a Tatar Erney. His descendants Emikey Erneyev (1622/23), 'Tsna Okhmamet murza Erneyev' (1607) [Akty' Shujskogo, 1914, p. 259]. Koshay murza Erneyev (1613) [Dokumenty, 1994, p. 65]; the village of Beryozovo, the village of Aglomazovo; churchyard Spaskoi Kashkov; the village of Rakovskaya Usada; the village of Yambirina. Prince Bulay Kudashev of Temnikov also owned some land estates in Repishche village [Proceedings of Tambov Academic Archival Commission, 1901, issue 45]. In the latter half of the 17th century the Tatar manors were registered in the following sites of Shatsk uyezd: Bastanovo, Beryozovo, Aglomazovo, Koldamyshevo, Tarkhan (Tarkhanskaya 'Tatarskaya tozh'), Maly Studenets, Bolshoy Studenets, Aleshnya (among the Tatar landowners the Kadom and the Kasimov Tatars were mentioned, for example, murzas Mamatkozins and Kikichevs) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, inv. 173, year 1651, file 32].

In 1697, in the lands owned by Tsnenskiy Tenish murza Fedotov, the son of Prince Dolkozin and of the people who lived in the village of Tarkhan (presently, Tarkhan village of Shatsk district, the Ryazan oblast), Kutlumamet Khudyakov with the 'fellows' (among the landowners the serving Tatars were mentioned: Khudyakovs, Mikhaylovs, Veshnyakovs, Rezanovs, Kulayevs, Batkayevs, Kanganyevs, Milyushevs and others) 101 servings people of the Tatar murza, amongst which we can also find the family names of the Kasimov, Kadom and Temnikov Tatars were granted manors along the River Kershe 'behind the Shatsk vast Tsna forest' [Isheev, 2012]. Many murzas and the Tatars mentioned in this list were considered as the people of Tatarshchino village in 1710 (presently The village of Tatarshchino in Rasskazovo district, Tambov oblast [Ibid.])

In 1629–1630, tsar Michail Fyodorovich expressed the necessity of 'looking at the villages, registered in the town of Nizhiy Lomov instead Krasnaya sloboda: Diveyevo (Tatarskaya Insara also), Lakaley Tatarsky and Isangushsky pochinov'. The description of 'Verkhologomovskaya Desyatnya' as of 1686 states that the Tatar population of the villages of Novosyolok

and Picheyevka 'were thoroughly registered in 1651'. In the latter half of the 17th century, three separate villages of Kerensk uyezd were mentioned. Tenishevs, Mamins, Akchurins and Kudashevs participated in development of the lands discussed above. In the first quarter of the 17th century, there were the Tatars living in Elatma uyezd. There were no less than 6 settlements. Obviously, they were migrants from Kasimov uyezd.

According to the materials dated 1637, there were 610 'serving people' in Kasimov uyezd, 372 people in Kadom uyezd, 132 people in Shatsk uyezd and 95 people in Verkhnelomovsk uyezd. The ratio of the Tatar population of the enumerated uyezds in the first third of the 17th century was in favour of those where a large number of the Tatars lived in the 16th century. However, in the second half of the 17th century, the situation slightly changed. According to the facts of 1678, in Kadom uyezd, the Tatars and murzas had 642 courts, in Kasimov uyezd—354 courts, in Shatsk and Kirensk uyezds—385 and 202 courts accordingly [Iskhakov, 1993; 1995]. In 1683, Tatars also lived in the village, In the ancient settlement of Kasimov uyezd (the dominion of the Tsarevich). In the 17th century, in the last uyezd, there were quite a few Tatar villages. The Tatars also continued to live in Kasimov where in 1627, in its Old trading quarters (Iske yort), which had become a separate sloboda, there were about 100 Tatar courts [Rakhimzyanov, 2009, p. 79]. However, not so many serving Tatars were left there (just 17 people in 24 courts), a lot of courts were populated by yard-keepers, therefore, their masters most likely lived in estates [Ibid., p. 81] It is really so, considering the fact that in the second half of the 17th century, the Tatar population of Kasimov uyezd, which was able-bodied for the army, was about 418–450 persons [Ibid., p. 80]. Closer to the middle of the 17th century, the urban Tatars also formed New sloboda in the city of Kasimov. Eventually, in the Old and New posads [trading quarters], according to the census of 1646, there were 107 people [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, p. 263–264].

A group of Nogais led by the murzas, Yusupov and Kutumov, which had set off in 1564

from the Nogai Horde to the Muscovite state, in about 1565, and in 1569, was settled in Romanov uyezd under the obligation to support a detachment of 225 Tatars-Cossacks. Those Nogai Tatars had kinship bonds with the great people of Kasimov, remained in the district of the city of Romanov in the 17th century [Belyakov, 2011, p. 231, 328, 398]. Then they partially underwent baptism (see the action to the Moscow tsar on behalf of 'the Tatars of the Isupov part' about their forced Christianisation in 1647: [Istoriya, 1937, p. 150]). Most likely, due to religious pressure, the representatives of the closer to the middle of the 17th century partially moved out into the West Trans-Kama region and were assimilated with the other serving Tatars.

The second line of migrations of the Mishar Tatars went to the East and North-East from Meshchera uyezd. So, at least, from 1564 to the beginning of the 17th century, the Tatars populated in the Arzamas uyezd, initially comprising the territories of the Alatyr and Kurmysh uyezds. The Arzamas Tatars are mentioned in the course of campaigns in 1572, 1575, 1578, as members of Russian troops [Orlov, Fayzulin, 2011, pp. 74–75]. There is also information about the migration of the Kadom Tatars in the Arzamas uyezd in 1586 (in the area of the Para village), in 1595 (in the district of the Salgan village). By 1606, there had already been settlements of Pitsa, Kochka-Pozharka [Orlov, Fayzulin, 2011, p. 76–77]. According to the documents of 1629, in that uyezd, there were 216 serving princes and murzas-Tatars, and in 1637–234. By the middle of the 17th century, a number of the Tatar settlements were built here (Kadomka, Krasny Yar, Kluychischi, Nov. Mochalay, Ovechy Vrag, Nov. Para/Aktukovo, Antyarovo, and etc.) [Ibid., p. 77].

Near the city of Alatyr, which was situated in Alatyr uyezd established in 1565, in its Upper Sura side. The Tatars were registered no later than 1583, when 300 'Arzamas and Alatyr Tatars' were registered in the paintings of the Kazan campaign' [Ankhimiuk, 2008]. Then the 'Alatyr Tatars' are mentioned in 1613. We have already spoken about the settlements of the 'Burtases'—Nogaev/Chulpanovo villages separated from the St. Yanyshevo village,

which is also considered as a part of Alatyr uyezd. In general, the mass colonisation of Alatyrsky uyezd territories by the Tatars relates to 1608–1611 [Orlov, Fayzulin, 2011, p. 79]. There, in the first decade of the 17th century, the following settlements arose: Shubino, Para/Kuzminka, Endovischi, Gribanovo, Isakovskoe, Karga, M. Rybushkino, St. Mochalay, Nov. Usad, Poshatovo, B. Rybushkino, Semenovka, Urazovka, Trekh Ozerki, etc. [Ibid., p. 80]. To 1629, in that uyezd, there were 420 serving Tatars who occupied the lands along several abatis lines. The migrations of Tatars came here from Kadom and Temnikov uyezds, as can be seen in the 'Piscovaja kniga' by D. Pushechnikov and A. Kostev of 1624–1626, along Alatyr uyezd where part of the Tatars (the villages—Vorotischa, Ovechy Vrag, Rybushkino, Ivanovovskoe, Semenovskoe, Sobachy Ostrov) are marked as the 'Kadom Tatars', and another part (the villages—Para, Turdoman, Shigevatovo, Belaya Vodytsya/Aksu, Bogdanov) as the 'Temnikov settlers' [Piscovaja kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd, 2012]. Apparently, these settlers arrived here in the first quarter of the 17th century. According to this scribe book, before the Tatars arrived, in that uyezd, Russian landowners had possessed separate villages (Shubin Usad, Ivanovskoe, Yarygino, Semenovskoe, Sobachi Ostrov, Ivash), and other settlements were built 'into the wild' (Ovechi Vrag, Para, Malaya Pitsa). Due to that fact, one may conclude that even the other Tatars from that uyezd, were recent settlers. We should note that in the aforementioned scribe book, the Tatar princes, Mangushevs and Saltagozins (the settlements—Staroye and Novoye Mangushevo, Boleevo), Enaleevs (the Knyaz-Enaleevo village), were mentioned in that area earlier [Piscovaja kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd, 2012; Akshurin, Isheev, 2010]. They migrated here even from the Arzamas uyezd (the settlements—Kuchkaevo/Vorotischa, Zhdanovo, Knyaz-Mameshovo, Altyshevo) [Piscovaja kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd, 2012], where by the 1660s, only 3 Tatar villages were left (Kamkino, Kochki-Pozharki, Piza) [Orlov, Fayzulin, 2011, p. 77].

The beginning of the formation of the Tatar population from the Kurmysh uyezd should be

related to a date no later than 1572 [Geraklitov, 1931, p. 20]. In 1615, in the course of the Russian campaigns against the Polish and Lithuanian intervention, there were 85 serving Tatars and Tarkhans from Kurmysh uyezd in the D. Pozharsky troops [Orlov, Fayzullin, 2011, p. 83]. Even in the 1620–1630s, the Kurmysh Tatars appeared in the documents (e.g., to 1628, there were 145 served Tatars and 22 Tarkhans here) [Ibid.]. They lived in the Ishevo, Maklakovo, Bazlovo, Parsha, Anda, Andreevka villages, which were built in 1613–1623 [Ibid., p. 85]. When in 1648, during the installation of Karsunskaya abatis line, an order was issued to register 'the Kurmysh murzas and Tatars', in order to settle them along that line, there were 435 people. This means that resettlement of the Mishar Tatars continued here. In 1652, in Kurmysh uyezd, on the Sukhoi Korsunov River, the lands were given to 50 'serving horse Tatars' from the Nogaev village, and in the books of rejection from 1670–1679, there is a mention of 25 'Tatars of Stanitsa' from the Sengileyka village. In the accounting report of 1661, the Tatars are mentioned in the Talsk stronghold and in the Karsun fortress [Iskhakov, 1995].

The foundation of the Simbirsk city is linked to the installation of the Karsun 'line', which caused new migrations of the Tatars here from the central Meshchera uyezds, as well as from the neighbouring territories of the Alaty and, especially, Kurmysh uyezds. Even in 1648, according to the 'government department' of Simbirsk city, there was the 'serving Tarkhan', Enubyachka Bakshandin, 'with his friends'; and according to 'Stroelnaya book' of the Simbirsk city of 1653–1654, in Simbirsk uyezd, more than ten Tatar settlements were indicated, and the Tatars settled there in great groups of 50–100 people. The 'Receipt book of the Simbirsk imperative izba' of 1665–1667, mentions the following villages—Tyuki, Sorok Sadak, Bisturlay Vrag, Mochalay, Chekal, Shatrashan, Nov. Chokur, Nov. Chukal, Kakryli, Nov. Chepkas, Bistruli/Oshli, Aytuganovo, etc.; which were populated by the Tatars. In general, about 30 Tatar settlements were mentioned in that source [Zertsalov, 1896, p. 85]. The notification of the foundation of the Nov. Studentsy village in this uyezd refers

to 1662. This village was built by the settlers from Alaty uyezd [Martynov, 1904, p. 65]. In 1672, the Tat. Bezdna village is where the serving Tatars and murzas lived [State Archive of Ulyanovsk oblast, fund 111, inv. 72, item 159. pp. 99–101 reverse, 268–280; item 431, pp. 14–18 reverse] In this area, the Meshchera immigrants met with the Kazan Tatars who also had settled in the territory of Simbirsk uyezd [Iskhakov, 1994, p. 267]. From the territory of Simbirsk and neighbouring uyezds, soon the Tatars-Mishars, under the cover of Trans-Kama Region line, began to move to the West Tans-Kama Region.

The conquest of the Khanate of Astrakhan by the Russian state led to the changes within settling its population consisting essentially of the 'Tatars' and the 'Nogai Tatars'. Since they had strong traditions of a nomadic economy, part of the Astrakhan Tatars in the course of the conquest just moved from the Lower Trans-Volga to the regions like Central Asia. It was no accident that the size of the Turk-Tatar population of the Astrakhan yurt, which was about from 40 to 100 thousand people during the Russian conquest, by the beginning of the 18th century, was about 35–40 thousand people or 12 thousand families, also considering a number of the Nogai groups, and including the families which had already been in the Ciscaucasia [Iskhakov, 1992, pp. 22–23]. In 1579–1581, part of the Astrakhan Tatars (about 7 thousand people), the so-called 'yurt' Tatars, remained not far from Astrakhan, but in a separate settlement—'yurt' [Anglijskie, 1937, p. 266]. In the very fortress of the city of Astrakhan, the Tatars were not permitted to live. The remaining Tatars were dispersed in the 'uluses', or 'known places' which they could enclose only with a wicker fence [Rychkov, 1774, p. 58]. According to A. Olearius, in 1630s, inhabitants did not live constantly in these 'places' because in summer, they 'changed those places', and in winter, they 'went to Astrakhan and separated into different Hordes or companies' [Istoricheskieskie, 1936, pp. 69–70]. Other travellers have similar observations [Kakasch, Terktander, 1896, p. 26]. The main settlement of the yurt Tatars in the 17th century still was the aforementioned 'yurt'. In particular, in 1671, D. But-

ler mentions the 'Tatar settlement jat' near the Astrakhan city' [Istoricheskie, 1936, p. 138], which actually was the sloboda of City of Astrakhan. By the beginning of the 18th century, the situation had not changed—Cornelius de Bruyn writes that the 'Tatar sloboda is separated from all the others and almost completely built of soil and lay...The Tatars live in these buildings in winter, and go into the wild in summer' [Istoricheskie, 1936, p. 169]. In addition to this settlement known as 'Tsarevo' (Tiyak), in the second part of the 17th century and beginning of 18th century, the Astrakhan Tatars had had some other 'auls', in which they already lived constantly (Tri Protoki/Jamine, Solyanka, Tatarskaya Bashmakovka/Kyzan, Yaksatovo/Maylekul, Busdamgul/Kolakovo, Mashaik/Kyzan, Kargalik) [Iskhakov, 1992, p. 15–16]. It is most likely that the Kazan Tatars had already appeared in the city of Astrakhan in the 17th century. In 1702, in the city, there were 260 yasaq payers of the 'Kazan Tatars', a part of whom, by 1719, populated Kazan sloboda within the city of Astrakhan, most of whom were merchants engaged in trade [Iskhakov, 1992, p. 17]. It should be noted that beyond Astrakhan, there was a special Gostinyj dvor [shopping arcade or merchant's yard] where visiting merchants—'teziki', 'Persian merchants', 'the Indians'—lived, and who had been registering from 1579–1581. A. Olearius indicated that 'Persians' and 'Indians' lived there, and also the 'Bukharans' [Istoricheskie, 1936, p. 69]. The inhabitants of two trading slobodas (markets) were formed of those groups (the Bukhar and the Gilyan), and then of Agryzhanovsky (the 'Indian'), the population which gradually mixed with the yurt Tatars and was assimilated by them [Iskhakov, 1992, p. 13].

A significant change in the settling of the Tatars in the second part of the 16–17th centuries happened in the central regions of the Khanate of Kazan—within the territory of Sviyazhsk and vast Kazan uyezds. Firstly, the Tatars (in those uyezds, mainly the Kazan Tatars lived) were forced away 30–40 km from Kazan, and 15–20 km from the large rivers [Tatary, 1967, p. 13]. This was connected with the fact that the lands of the Tatar feudal lords, many of whom were killed in the battles and fled, were

granted to the Russian serving people who resettled the Russian serfs in those areas. It has been established by researchers that during the first 15 years after the fall of Kazan, Russian colonisation had seized 206 settlements and 60 waste grounds which earlier were in the possession of the Tatars [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1986, pp. 103–104]. The size of the Tatar population of Kazan had been abruptly reduced: according to the census of 1565–1568, in the trading quarters of the city, there were just 40 courts of the 'newly-baptised', 'interpreters' and serving Tatars. The general body of the Tatars, who remained in the city (no more than 1 thousand people), were evicted to the Bulak River, where a separate Tatar sloboda was formed [Iskhakov, 1982].

A part of the colonial policy was to attack the rights of the Muslim population: in 1555, in Kazan, an eparchy was founded headed by an archbishop with the aim of baptising all the non-Russian population of the Central Volga region. By different means (economic pressure, threats of a loss of service, etc.), in the second part of the 16–17th centuries, a small group of the Tatars was baptised [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1986, pp. 104, 112–113]. The 'newly-baptised' appeared in the city of Kazan. There was an increase in the construction of monasteries which created great feudal latifundiums in the 17th century in the Kazan Krai, and they occupied the Tatar lands as well. The direct economic oppression of the 17th century extended its scope in the 17th century: in the second part of that century, for example, in the Volga-Kama Region, the amount of the land per head decreased, and the payments and natural obligations significantly increased [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1986, p. 115]. Simultaneously, the colonisation of the region by the Russian re-settlers in the 17th century sharply increased. Thus, by the beginning of the 18th century, in Kazan uyezd, the Russian population began to outstrip the other peoples. In 1719 (according to the first census), per 191 thousand 'representatives of other religions' (men), there were more than 200 thousand Russians in the uyezd

[Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, list 3, item 1148, p. 832]

Apart from the active opposition of the Tatars to the national-colonial oppression (evidence of which is the numerous rebellions during the second part of the 16–17th centuries), there was a passive form of opposition—flight into the wild or regions which were weakly controlled by the Government. The Tatar population had to migrate also due to a lack of lands, and due to governmental colonisation of the new territories (the Trans-Kama regions, some of the Ural regions).

In the Volga Region (in Sviyazhsk uyezd), in the second part of the 16th century, the Tatars occupied mostly the same territories as they did before. However, they slightly moved away from the region adjacent to the Volga river, and from the district of Sviyazhsk city [Spisok 1565–1567]. In the South of the Tetyushi city, by the middle of the 16th century, there were nomad camps. According to the documents of 1574, near Tetyushi, along the Imelka River, there were ancient settlement and pasture which was a 'Nogai camp' [Peretyakovich, 1882, p. 69]. There was practically no agricultural population practically there. However, in the 1590s, the area near the fortress of Tetyushi had been already strengthened by an abatis (the Tetyushi abatis went along the Kilnya River, further to the North of the Tetyushi, resting against the Sviyaga river [Lebedev, 1980, p. 29]). At the beginning of the 17th century, in the area of the Kilna, Tsilna, and Bedenga Rivers, there were 'fishing, hunting for beavers and some other doings' by the Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd, which were considered as the ancestral lands of grandfathers and fathers, who had possessed those lands, at least, since the last quarter of the 16th century. As a result, according to the patrol books of 1619, it is known that the lands in 5–20 versts from Tetyushi were populated by re-settlers from Tsivilsk and Sviyazhsk uyezds, including the Tatars [Peretyakovich, 1882, p. 28]. In the North of Simbirsk uyezd, 8 Tatar villages were founded: B. Tarkhany, Verkh. Tarkhany, Bedenga, and others. Within the territory of this uyezd, two streams of the Tatar migrants met: the re-settlers from the regions where the Tatar-Misharas lived and em-

igrants from Sviyazhsk uyezd where primarily the Kazan Tatars lived.

Under the pressure of the growing Russian colonisation, in the second part of the 16th century, the Tatars moved out from the Trans-Kazan in a variety of directions. Meanwhile, in the depth of the ethnic territories of the Maris, due to the emigrants from the Northern regions of the Trans-Kazan, the group of the Paranginsky Tatars were formed [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 271]. No later than 1583, Bagish murza Yakushev began collecting yasaq in the 'volost of Tersi' in the basin of the Izh river with the centre in the Tersi village [State Archive of Kirov oblast, fund 170, inv. 1, item. 32, p. 24]. The Yaushevs obtained those lands no later than 1562. Other Tatar settlements were linked to this volost (the St. (Akkuzino, Kuchukovo, Nazyarbash, Agryz) which arose in the second part of the 16th—beginning of the 17th centuries with the help of the Nukrat Tatars. Originally the Yaushevs lived, most probably, in the Trans-Kazan [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, pp. 48–49]. The Tatars, who lived in the Nukrat (Karino) village of the Vyatka land (from the 17th century—Khvalynsk uyezd), from the beginning of the 17th century, started resettling in the head-streams of the Cheptsa River, where the Upper-Cheptsa subgroup of the Nukrat Tatars was formed [Mukhamedova, 1978, p. 14]. In 1610–1620, the emigrants from the Nukrat village settled in the Sluzhily Ur village of Kazan uyezd [Burganova, 1985, p. 43]. Even earlier the representatives of that groups appeared in the basin of the Izh river. For instance, the foundation of such settlements as Rysovo, Chishma, B. Varzi, and others, by the Nukrat Tatars who resettled to their relatives, Yaushevs, is linked to 1598 [Mardanov, Khadiev, 2003]. 'The roaming Karin Tatars' are indicated there even in 1642. In 1649, the 'Karin Tatars' had already lived in the Varzi village of Ufa uyezd [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 96, inv. 2, item 42, p. 434]. A part of them settled in the Ust-Salaush and Gulsherma villages [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1350, inv. 56, item 563, p. 2 'B', p. 77; State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 96, inv. 2, item 42, p. 445]. According to D. Ramazanova, the representatives of that group also participated in the formation

of several more villages: Rysovo, Ishmame-tevo, Altybaevo, Baubekovo, Kaban, Mushugi [Ramazanova, 1990, p. 26]. The last two settlements were beyond the Kama river. The Kuchukovo village, which was mentioned in the charter of 1685, and situated near the aforementioned settlements, was also populated by the Nukrat Tatars. Other neighbouring villages could have been founded by them as well [Mukhamedova, 1978, p. 11]. In 1651, in the basin of the Izh river, the Turayevo, Akhteevo, Shinar, Engeldino villages are indicated. It is most likely that they were also populated by Tatars [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1350, inv. 56, item 563, p. 2 'B', p. 77]. When speaking about the early Tatar settlements of the basin of the Izh river, one may note the following villages which had already existed in the 16th century: Deveternya, Kudashevo, Kadralli, Tabarli, Sukman, Yamurzino, Kadybash [Mardanov, Khadiev, 2003]. In 1670–1680, near the Tersi village, there were 6 more Tatar villages [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 271]. As we have already noted, the territory adjoining beyond the Vyatka river to the Kama river (in the region of the Elabuga city), was populated by the Turk-Tatar groups even in the Kazan Khanate period. Part of that population was called also the 'Bashkirs'. So, in 1635, 1642, 1650, the documents refer to the 'Bashkirs' of the Baylyar volost of the Salaush village. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 17th century, the Nukrat Tatars are registered there [Mardanov, Khadiev, 2003, p. 102]. Moreover, in 1650, the Tolbaevo, Kulkanovo, and Dekukovo villages, are indicated as being from the same volost (the last two settlements were beyond the Kama river). No later than the 1630s, the neighbours of the Balkars were the representatives of the 'Bashkir' Yelansky and Yeniseisky (Toguzsky) volosts [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 271].

The West Trans-Kama Region. Historic works contain an opinion about the existence of a permanent Tatar population in the middle of the 16th century in the West Trans-Kama Region [Chernyshev, 1971, p. 280–281; Nasyrov, 2007, p. 32–52]. However, considering the fact that the zone was a part of the area of the seasonal Nogai Horde nomadic existence [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 264], the residence of an

agricultural population in this area during the Kazan Khanate period was quite problematic, one may assume that individual Tatar groups remained there only temporarily while visiting their bee-tree and other 'posts', while others were the guards of tombs [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 264; Nasyrov, 2007, pp. 26–64].

Beginning from the second part of the 16th century, different groups of the re-settlers gradually began developing the West Trans-Kama region. However, these migrations were not so numerous before the building of the Trans-Kama abatis line in 1652–1656. Even in the 1570s, in the area of the mouth of the Cheremshan river, in the basin of the Maina river, the Tatars had bee-tree camps and beavers hunts. In 1589, the newly-baptised prince, Jacob Asanov, handed all those bee-tree grounds in the 'obrok' to the Tatars (the yasaq Chuvash people) of Sviyazhsk uyezd. By the middle of the 17th century, a large number of settlements was formed in that territory (St. Baran/Razyap, Tashberdino/Tashbilge, Nizh. Biktimirovo, St. Balykkul, Yambukhtino, Kayuki, St. Salman, St. Yurtkul, Tat. Takhtala, St. Chelny, St. Almetyevo/Vozhi (Tabor), B. Tigany/Tigin, Azmer, Yukali/Yamansaz, Yukali, Drugie Yukali, Kurkuzi/Kryk-Kul, Kamyshino, Islyaikino, Mrasya, Romashkino, Saralan, Kurnali, Balykchino, Kyzyl, Oshnyak, Matak). At that stage, due to the existence of the Nogai, and then the Kalmyk threats, the Tatars sought to settle closer to the Kama river,—that is, in the North and North-West parts of the West Trans-Kama Region [Nasyrov, 2007]. The Kazan Tatars (from the Sviyazhsk and Kazan districts) and the serving Mishar Tatars (from the right bank of the Volga river) participated in development of that territory. However, since the Trans-Kama abatis line had been erected (it extended from the mouth of the B. Cheremshan river to the mouth of the Ik river) together with the fortresses, Bely Yar, Eryklinsk, Tiinsk, Novosheshminsk, Kichuev, Zainsk, Menzelinsk (see: [Lebedev, 1980, p. 89–92]), although the inhabitants of the West Trans-Kama Region had no ultimate security—the line was repeatedly crossed by the troops of the Nogais, Kalmyks and Bashkirs—new opportunities arose for mass migrations of the Ta-

tars here. In the first instance this was used by the Mishar Tatar from Temnikov, Alatyry and Simbirsk uyezds [Nasyrov, 2007, p. 73]. So, in 1661, in Kazan uyezd, 'on the Nogai road, beyond the Kama River', in the Uren/Yantudino village, the land was given to the 19 'Meshcheryaks', and the Tatars from different villages of Simbirsk, Saransk, and Sviyazhsk uyezds, migrated to them. In 1677, the serving murzas, Urmancheevs, who earlier lived in the area of Alatyry and Cheboksary uyezds, migrated into the basin of the B. Tolkish river, then settled in the Kulbaevo-Mrasa, Kamkino villages. Between 1670–1688, the serving Mishars migrated into the Islyaikino, Kargaly, St. Adam, Cherdakly villages. At the beginning of 1690s, 11 settlements were founded by re-settlers from Temnikov, Simbirsk and Sviyazhsk uyezds: Urenbash, Uraevo, Ertuganovo, and others [Nasyrov, 2007; Iskhakov, 1995]. From the beginning of 1690s, the character of the colonisation of the West Trans-Kama Region began to change:—instead of migrations from other regions, the internal relocation of the population began to predominate [Nasyrov, 2007, p. 89]. Furthermore, after the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649, the serving Tatars gradually began to lose their rights. They became a lower class category of the feudal estate, while only small parts of them could maintain ancestral titles. At the same time, they also much of their land dominions, which became the property of the Russian landowners [Nasyrov, 2007, pp. 91–97]. In those conditions, the serving Mishar Tatars began developing the lands which were situated in the South of the Trans-Kama abatis line: in 1691–1716, the following serving Tatar villages were settled within new territories: Mamykovo, Ternyashovo, Diyashevo, Nov. Demkino, Kiremet, Novaya Kiremet, Eltan, Amzya. By the beginning of the 18th century, that part of the West Trans-Kama region which was populated by the Tatars, was along the Sheshma river, and further to the South—to the head-streams of the Kiyazly river, where the new settlements arose: Kadeevo/Tridtsat Dubov (Utyz Imyani), Pochinok Ishmetevo, Akkuzino (Sr. Tigany). At that time, a number of other settlements were founded mainly by Tatar emigrants, in-

cluding the yasak ones from the existing villages [Nasyrov, 2007, pp. 97–120].

As a result of the active migration of the Tatars into the West Trans-Kama region in the 17th—beginning of the 18th centuries, at the beginning of the 18th century, according to the Ladratsky census of 1715–1716, there already were 70 serving Tatar (mainly Mishar), yasaq and baptised Tatar villages (it was calculated according to: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 1, item 157]. In that area which was already developed entirely by the re-settlers at the beginning of the 18th century, the migratory waves of the Mishar Tatars (they contained the Kasimov Tatars and groups of the Nogais from the Romanov city) and the Kazan Tatars met under conditions which favoured their mutual co-habitation.

The East Trans-Kama Region. One has reason to assume in that area, in the second part of the 16th century, the Turk population (the 'Bashkirs', 'Tatars', 'Nogais'), survived after the Kazan Khanate period and gathered in the lower reaches of the Ik and Belaya rivers. It was the Tatar-Bashkir, sometimes—the 'yasak-Chuvash' population of the Bailarsk, Bulyarsk, Yeney, Yurmy, Girey, Yelansk, Saraly-Minsky, Kirghiz volosts [Iskhakov, 1985; Iskhakov, 1997; Shigapov, 2010; Shigapov, 2013]. Due to a poor understanding of the history of settling that territory in the second part of the 17th century—beginning of the 18th century, it is difficult to make any conclusion about the formation of the Turk-Tatar groups of the East Trans-Kama region in the studied period. However, the available documents provide us with a general idea about the migration of the Tatars from the Volga region into this area from the second part of the 16th century.

Even in 1622, the Vershina Menzeli (Menzelya) village is mentioned in the Syun River basin, which was populated by the yasaq Tatars. They were known as the 'yasak Chuvash people' [Shigapov, 2013, p. 332–337]. They were re-settlers from the Arsk daruga of Kazan uyezd. At that time, the beaver and marten hunting places were in the possession of the 'Chuvash people' of the Sadik (Sardik?) and Ozala from the Arsk daruga villages 'beyond the Kama river...along the Ik river, and along

and Sen (Syun) river', where the 'Chuvash man' from the Kugarchino of the Nogai daruga of Kazan uyezd village was registered [Shigapov, 2013, p. 331]. According to a number of documents, the beaver hunting places of some serving Tarkhans from the last village 'beyond the Kama River, along the Kinel River' existed even in 1613 [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 272; Iskhakov, 2003, p. 67]. It is interesting that these Tarkhans (their second name is Monashevs) in the Kugarchino of the Nogai daruga of Kazan uyezd possessed estates, and had their votchinas in the area of the Kinel River 'with all the inflowing small rivers'. Afterwards the 'Bashkir' Kypchakskaya volost was registered here. It is obvious that we are dealing with the population of Nogai origin. The village of Tynlamas is recorded along the Kazan daruga of the Ufa uyezd, in 1658. The population was referred to as 'yasak bobylys [landless peasants], but in reality they were 'yasak Tatars' of the 'yasak Chuvash people' [Shigapov, 2010, p. 139; Shigapov, 2013, p. 304, 330]. Within the territory of the Kirgiz volost of the Kazan daruga of Ufa uyezd, one of the tarkhans, in 1689–1691, asked to be granted lands along the Samara River (from the 'Kinel szyrto to both banks of the Yushada river'), which has been owned by a 'Chuvash man' from the Achi village of the Arsk daruga of Kazan uyezd until 1615 [Shigapov, 2010, p. 137]. Such a territory, beyond the Kama river which the Kazan Tatars had used as 'hunting places' and 'bee-tree grounds', in 1631, were also to be found in the West of the concerned area, ruled by the 'Chuvashi' of the Parau (Perou) village of the Nogai daruga of Kazan uyezd [Nasyrov, 2007, p. 62]. Thus the aforementioned message deserves credit. According to charters, some of the inhabitants of the Baylyar volost of the Kazan daruga originated no later than 1658, from the 'yasaq Chuvash people' of the Baltachevaya of the Zyurey daruga of Kazan uyezd, who at that time had been in the Turaevo village (1680) [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 272; Shigapov, 2010, p. 143]. In 1670s, the yasaq Tatars of the Mishuggah village of the Bulyar Volost of Ufa uyezd are mentioned. In about 1680, these lands were in the common possession of the Tatar villages of the same volost [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 272]. The

population of the Saraly-Minsky (the centre is the Saraly village) volost, already known in 1581–1595, in 1641, were called the 'Chuvash people', then, in 1658—bobylys ['landless peasants'], and later—the 'yasaq Tatars' and 'Bashkirs'. Obviously, that population originated in the first quarter of the 17th century, and it correlates to the 'yasaq Chuvash people' of the the Sardyk village of the Arsk daruga of Kazan uyezd, who possessed votchinas along the Ik and Syun Rivers. The inhabitants of Shakhny village, which was mentioned in 1677, were connected with them [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 272; Shigapov, 2010, p. 144]. In 1650, in the Gorny Baylar village (the Baylyar volost), the 'Mishars' were recorded [Ramazanova, 1990, p. 24]. In 1673, according to documents, the bobylys ['landless peasants'] of the Tabynsky volost (the Nogai daruga) and the yasaq Tatars (who were to pay yasaq of a landless peasant) became the Bashkir estate. A similar situation occurred with the Tatar of the aforementioned. Turayevo village [Ramazanova, 1984, pp. 41–42]. As one may observe from these examples, in the East Trans-Kama Region, the representatives of the Bashkir estate could be of the same Tatar group or of the Teptyars of the Tatar origin. In 1676, the Kryashensky villages, Bagryazh and Lyaki, are mentioned. The representatives of the last settlement moved from Yukachi village,—that is, from the right bank of the Vyatka River [Mukhametshin, 1977, pp. 22–23]. In the 17th century, the Akbash village (present-day Bavly district of the Republic of Tatarstan) was founded [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, pp. 65, 89–90; Davletbaev, 1986; Shigapov, 2013, p. 34]. However, the re-settlers of the 17th century still sought to settle under the protection of the Trans-Kama line because, as we have already said, a danger of being attacking by nomads still remained.

After the second part of the 16th century, migrations began by the Tatars into the Middle Cis-Urals where the Tatars and their ethnic component—'Ostyaks' ('Ishtyaks') had lived earlier in the basin of the Sylvensky-Irensky country between two rivers, in the regions of the Tulva river, and head-streams of the Ufa and Chusovaya rivers. This population of the Sylvensky-Irensky area between the two rivers

referred to Cherdynsk and Solikamsky uyezds, and then became a part of Kungursk uyezd, and the people, who were a part of Osinsk uyezd from the 16th century, from 1653, became a population of the Osinsk daruga of Ufa uyezd. The Tatars (sometimes Bashkirs) of the head-streams of the Ufa and Chusovaya rivers, from the beginning of the 17th century, had been in Verkhoturysk uyezd. According to the scribe book of 1623–1624, the 'Sylvensky and Irensky Ostyaks and Tatars' lived in 67 yurts and two 'uluses'—in the Karev and Rozhinsky ones. According to the census of 1678–1679, the Tatars (the term 'Ostyaks' is not used anymore) lived in 251 'yurts' (789 people) in Kungursk uyezd. According to the census, 42 Tatar villages were registered in Kungursk uyezd: Baisino, Ust-Turki, St. Karyevo, Shchelkanka, Bolshoy Ashap, and others. The Tatars were registered in a number of the documents in the basin of the Tulva river (in 1618, 1619, 1620), in 1668—in the Barda village, in 1696—in the Sardach village and in the Elpachiha village. In 1611, the 'tanybsky...yasaq Tatars' were registered near the estuary of the Tanyp river. The same population is mentioned in the Tanyp village in 1666, but as the 'Bashkirs'. In the 17th century, the 'Bashkirs', who lived not far from Perm (in the Koyanovo and Kuldaevo villages), were frequently referred to in the documents as the Tatars. The groups, which were ethnically related to the Tatars of Kungursk uyezd, lived at least from the beginning of the 17th century in the head-streams of the Ufa and Chusova rivers. They were the Upays, Tersyaks, Syzgins, and Kushins. At that time, they were known as the 'Ostyaks', 'Bashkirs', and 'Tatars'. In the second part of the 16–17th centuries, in the areas of inhabitation of the Perm Tatars, the migration of the Tatars from the Central Volga Region continued (there were even the migrations from Kasimov uyezd). There were also the emigrants from the territory of Ufa uyezd: from 1691, the migrants from there (the Mishars) founded B. Oka village [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 273].

At the same time, the Tatars began developing the territory of the South Urals,—that is, the main area of Ufa uyezd (has existed since 1586). At the same time, migrations of the Tatar

population here from the Central Volga Region were of two types: a) composed of the governmental colonisation (the served Tatars); b) the peasant colonisation (other categories of the Tatars) [Ramazanova, 1984, p. 51].

The serving Tatars, predominantly of the Mishars, participated in the formation of the Russian city of Ufa, where the Tatars were mentioned as a part of the population of that city in 1591–1592. A number of the documents referred migration of the serving Mishars of the 'Cossack' service to the rebuilt city of Ufa in 1598. According to sources, in the 17th century, a call of the 'Meshcheryaks' to serve 'in the Ufa city with the ethnic noblemen and 'foreigners' was observed several times (in 1659, 1686, 1695). In 1699, in Ufa uyezd, those 'serving Mishars' (or Meshcheryaks) were 748 people (adult men), and they were 'divided into volosts... of the Bashkirs and into the settlements which they occupied after the runaway Nogais' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1960, p. 574] At the end of the 16–17th centuries, the population was gathered in the North-West of Ufa uyezd (in the 17th century, the 16 Mishar villages are mentioned in the sources: Tupevo (1620), Yanagushevo (1667), Tyuryushevo (1680), Sultino (1689), and others.

Certain other facts relate to the gathering of the Mishars at the beginning of the 18th century in the North-West of the South Urals. So, according to the 1720 census of the 'serving Meshcheryaks' of Ufa uyezd, 39 of their 41 villages were in the North-West of Ufa uyezd (34—in the Osinsky daruga and 5—in the Kazan daruga). In general, there were 380 courts of serving Mishars, and 111 more were hidden [Ramazanova, 1984, p. 52]. In 'The Report about the Bashkirs Affairs' of the Kungursky burgomaster, Yukhnev, of 1725–1726, the 'Mishars' were also indicated predominantly 'in the Osinsky daruga' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, inv. 1, item 993]. According to the census book of 1722–1723, the Mishars and serving Tatars were gathered in the Osinsky, Kazan and Siberian darugas [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, item 178]. In the first two darugas, there were 80 villages, and in the last one—39. According to the

documents of 1735–1745, there already were 1.5 thousand courts or 5 thousand able-bodied people, and all of them, 'from old age to the young age, were about 20 thousand people' [Ramazanova, 1984, p. 52]. Thus, by the first decades of the 18th century, in the South Urals, there was already a quite numerous serving Tatar (Mishar) population which formed a special class group of the 'Meshcheryaks' or 'serving Tatars' here.

The other great group of migrants in the South Urals were the Tatars—emigrants from Sviyazhsk and Kazan uyezds. At the beginning, as it was shown above, they developed the territory of the East Trans-Kama region (the lower reaches of the Ik river). Then at the beginning of the 17th century, the Tatars also appeared higher along the Ik river. Thus, in 1627, the 'Kazan Chuvash man', (Tatar) Maksyut Urukov, from the Birsyut village (Zyurey daruga of Kazan uyezd) had a *votchina* 'up the Ik River' [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 274]. In the first quarter of the 17th century, the Ilbahtino village of the Tatars was well-known, the population of which afterwards went down to the Ik river (a new place along Ik). However, living in those regions was still unsafe in the first part of the 17th century: for example, in 1648, in the area, where the Trans-Kama line went to the Ik River, the Kalmyks captured 'the Chuvash people' of Kazan uyezd. At the beginning of the 17th century, the Kazan Tatars entered the North-West part of Ufa uyezd (primarily into the lower reaches of the Belaya and Syun River, and into the basin of the Tanyp River,—that is, within the territories of the Kazan and Osinsky darugas). In 1620, a 'newly-baptised Chuvash man' (Tatar) of the Zyurey daruga of Kazan uyezd received 'a *votchina* of an obrok beyond the Kama River along the Tanyspu River (Tanypu—D.I.) along a one side'. In 1629, a 'Chuvash man' (Tatar) of the Karabaevy Teregul village (Kazan uyezd, the Zyurey daruga) sold 'his *votchina*, bee-tree grounds... hunting places... in Ufa uyezd'. In 1650, within the territories of the Bashkirs of the Duvanaysk volost, several villages of the serving Tatars, Mishars, and yasak peasants, are mentioned [Iskhakov, 1995, p. 274]. By the middle of the 17th century, in the region of the Uransky volost, there were about 40 villages

of the *pripushchenniks*, including the Tatars [Ramazanova, 1985]. A document of 1658 contains information about an inhabitant of the Urmed village of the Kazan daruga, Ishayk Urazlin, who was a 'bobył'. The yasaq Tatars of the Kyrkanly village of the Duvanayskaya volost are mentioned in 1682. The Bashkirs of the Kulyushli village of the Duvanayskaya volost allowed in the Tatars in 1689. In 1679, a *votchinnik* of the Kyr-Ilanskaya volost of the Kazan daruga handed over 'his *votchina* in the Syun head-streams between the Shatlyk and Sharanu Rivers' to the landless peasants (obviously, to the Tatars) of the Karakul and Aishevo villages. In 1691, the Ilmurzino village had been populated by the Tatars, and in 1693, a Tatar from Polsky Kyrgyzu (the Kazan daruga) is mentioned. There are also some other materials about the settling of Ufa uyezd by the Tatars in the 17th century. So, in the 17th century, no less than 51 settlements of the Tatars-Teptyars were founded (it was calculated according to: [Davletbaev, 1986, pp. 85–155]). They were spread in the latest uyezds of Ufa guberniya in the following way: in Birk uyezd—35, in Belebey uyezd—14, in Ufa uyezd—2. Furthermore, 14 of them arose in the first part of the 17th century, and remainder—in the second half. The information above is not exhaustive, of course: it correlates only to the settlements, about which there are preserved written sources. However, even that information quite eloquently describes the mightiness of the re-settling movement of the Tatars in the 17th century in the South Urals.

Migration in the South Urals from the 'inner' provinces seriously disturbed the Government. In 1649, it was prohibited to re-settle in Ufa uyezd from the inner guberniyas by decree (*ukaz*) of Aleksey Mikhaylovich, and settlers were also forbidden from acquiring Bashkir lands and leasing them. Nevertheless, migrations (including the Tatars) in Ufa uyezd continued.

A large class group of the Teptyars and *bobylys* (that group also consisted of the representatives of the other peoples of the Volga Region) was gradually formed out of the migrants-Tatars from Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds in the second part of the 16–17th cen-

turies. As we have seen, the size of the population of the representatives of that group was significant in Ufa uyezd even in 1631–1632. Obviously, due to the continued migration of the Tatars from the Central Volga Region, the size of the population size of the representatives of the Teptyar and bobyl group was to increase in the future. For instance, in 1678, according to the information of the Ufa voivode, V. Khitrov, 649 people were 'found', 'who live... by the markets... and help the Bashkirs to pay yasaq, and do not pay money and marten yasas...'. Furthermore, 623 'non-yasak landless peasants' were found, who 'separated and lived by the markets' [Istoriya, 1937], but at the beginning of the 18th century the actual population size of the Teptyar-bobyl group, registered in the census book of 1717–1724, came to just 3774 courts. Even if it means that a part of the Teptyars and landless peasants or bobyls were not taken into account during that census [Vasilyev, 1958, p. 132], the decrease of the number of the representatives of the concerned group should be explained, in our opinion, by the fact they had actually become a class group of the Bashkirs.

In general, the Tatar re-settlers settled predominantly in the north-west part of Ufa uyezd in the latter half of the 16–17th centuries. According to our calculations, at the beginning of the 18th century, 74% of the Teptyars of the Tatars settled within the territories of the Kazan and Osinsky darugas, that is in the north-west of Ufa uyezd (it was calculated according to: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, item 1644]). Thus, they found themselves in places where the closely-related groups of the 'Bashkirs' lived. Both in the Middle Cis-Urals (in Kungur uyezd), and in the South Ural Region (in the north-west of Ufa uyezd), the newly-arrived Tatars developed close bonds with the ethnic population.

At the end of the 16th century–beginning of the 17th century, the Tatars of the Middle Volga region appeared in the Urals—within the territory of the Mekhon fortress (read more information: [Yusupov, 1979]). They were made

up of serving Tatars from both Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds. According to documents from 1684 and 1693, it is known that they were 'tax-exempt Cossacks of Mekhon sloboda' and indicated that their 'great-grandfathers... and grandfathers... served a horse service'. Clearly they were of the 'serving Meshheryaks' who later received the name of the Ichkinsky Tatars, ' [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 6, inv. 4, item 8799, pp. 1–2; Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 49–50]. Their re-settling in the Trans-Urals, most likely, correlated to the great campaign of the Muscovite state against the Khanate of Sibir in 1585–1586, and could be considered as the beginning of migrations of the Volga-Ural Tatars into West Siberia. It can be seen from documents of 1588, that even the Karinsky, i.e., Nukrat Tatars of the Arsk princes, participated in the conquest of the Khanate of Sibir [Iskhakov, 2010, p. 89], and probably remained here. Although it is possible that the resettling of those serving Tatars 'from Kazan', most likely, was from Kazan uyezd during the formation of the Ust-Miass and Isetsk ostroms in 1650 [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 50].

Generally, from the first quarter of the 17th century a part of the population started migrating into Tyumen uyezd in 1630, and another part—in 1633, from the Verkhoturys uyezd, the 'upper Tersiyaks', 'Upeys' (the population of the Ufa volost), 'Shigirins' (who sometimes were called the 'Bashkirs', but more often—the 'Tatars', because they were the emigrants from the west part of the Middle Cis-Urals from the area of the Kungur Tatars, Gaininsk 'Ostyaks', and who had previously lived up the Chyusovaya River'). They also migrated to the more southerly regions of Ufa uyezd in 1641–1648 [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 21, 23–25, 42; Tomilov, 1981, p. 18–35; Iskhakov, 1990b, p. 17–19]. Those re-settlers, who found themselves in Tyumen uyezd, should be considered as the early migrants in the ethnic area of the Siberian Tatars. At that time, there was also a reverse movement of the Tatar population from West Siberia to the Middle Cis-Urals [Dolgikh, 1960; Tomilov, 1981].

§2. Peoples of the Volga-Ural Region

1. Russian Population of the Middle Volga Region in the 17–18th Centuries

Guzel Stolyarova

The Middle Volga region—a territory of indigenous Finnish-speaking (Mari, Udmurt, Mordvin) and Turkic-speaking (Tatar, Bashkir) ethnic groups—was originally located immediately adjacent to the settlement areas of both the early Slavs and the Russian population, which emerged later. Slavic settlements along the Volga river are dated to both the Bulgarian epoch and the Kazan khanate period; the mass emergence of the Russian population began in the latter half of the 16th century and covered over three centuries. Sources for studying the Russian population of the Middle Volga region in the pre-revolutionary period are scarce and unsystematic. Of particular value are statistical documents that emerged in the latter half of the 16th century, such as *Piscovaja knigas* from the various uyezds and later materials, among which were the 'Register of Kazan namestnichestvo' (1781), the 'Copies of communities of the Russian Empire' by guberniya (from the middle of the 19th century), and several other documents.

The 17th and 18th centuries were a period of active colonisation of the Middle Volga Region by the Russian population. In the middle of the 16th century, after the annexation of the Kazan khanate by the Russian state, the government's primary concern was to consolidate the reunified territories, to which end it granted lands to monasteries, service people, and large landowners. At the end of the 16th century, the southern border of the Russian settlements on the left bank was the Kama river, and on the right bank the boundary ran from the city of Tetyushi to the Sura river. At that time, an abatis was constructed, which stretched from Tetyushi to the Sviyaga river and was 10 km long and 8 km wide. To the east the fortified line reached the Volga. Near the Sviyaga river the Tetyushi abatis merged with the previously built fortified line going to Alatyr and Temnikov. Near the city of Tetyushi, Russian settlements appeared at the end of the 16th cen-

tury: Fyodorovskoye village (where in 1559 a church was built), the village Shelanga, the village Antonovka which took its name from the native of Sviyazhsk Anton Savelyev. In the 16th century, to the south of the latitude of the mouth of the Kama river there were hardly any Russian settlements. The cities of Samara, Ufa, Saratov and a few other small temporary settlements were the exception. In the north and west, Russian settlements were concentrated only around towns and along riverbanks. Thus, in the latter half of the 16th century, the fortified cities of Kokshaysk (1574), Kozmodemyansk (1583), and Tsarevkokshaysk (1584) were founded on Mari Krai, most of which was later incorporated into Kazan guberniya. This required the attraction of the Russian population settling around them. The oldest Russian rural localities founded in the 16th century and included in the archival documents are the villages of Troitsky Posad and Pokrovskoye (present-day Gornomariysky district of the Mari El Republic). S. Mikhaylov noted, 'The Russian tribe began to settle in Kozmodemyansk uyezd from the first half of the 16th century...The first settlers here were streltsy and odnodvortsy [smallholders], who founded their residence where today the city of Kozmodemyansk is located in order to hold mountain and meadow non-Russians in check...And when the streltsy and odnodvortsy [smallholders] established themselves, other Russian peoples began to move here, mostly from Nizhny Novgorod guberniya' [Mikhaylov, 2004, pp. 244–246]. Russian settlements of the middle of the 16th century initiated the formation of a particular social group of peasants of the Middle Volga region—Russian yasak-paying peasants.

Settlement of the Volga region in the 17th century. The 17th century is characterised by steady and more intensive settlement of the Russians in the central and southern regions of the Middle Volga, to the east, and on the Trans-Kama lands. Service noblemen who,

since the middle of the 17th century, had seized vast and well-protected areas of the central part of the Middle Volga, began to play a large role in the colonisation of the Middle Volga Region.

Monasteries were also engaged in colonisation activities. With the permission of the government, interested in the development of the territory, and often without permission, they seized new croplands, grasslands, and forests. In 1606 the Tsar granted lands, forests, meadows, and fishing areas on the Volga and Kurmyshka rivers to the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 2, p. 246–249]. In the years 1614–1620 the Virgin monastery of Kurmysh, on the basis of Tsar's zhalovannaja gramotas, seized vast areas along the Sura river and its tributaries [Smirnov, 1947, p. 215]. During the period from 1626–1687 the Trinity monastery of Alatyr occupied the lands of the Mordvins, the fishing areas, and bee-tree grounds on the Sura River [Ocherki Mordovskoj ASSR, 1955, p. 108]. At the end of the 17th century the Cheboksary Transfiguration monastery owned the lands in Turunovo volost of Cheboksary uyezd. In 1655 the abbot of the Kostroma monastery received lands beyond the Kama river that he 'with his frati had searched for in Kazan uyezd on the Volga across from the city of Simbirsk down along the Volga' [Peretyatkovich, 1882, p. 253]. The fertile lands along the Utkha and Mayna rivers were granted to the 'Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus'. In the trans-Volga forests, in non-Russian settlements, large monasteries were built: Raifskaya Pustyn (1613), Yelabuga monastery (1616), Sedmiozyornaya Pustyn (1625), as well as others. All of them received enormous lands. For instance, in 1678 the Sedmiozyornaya Pustyn [wilderness] owned 230 desyatinas of croplands, 219 deyatinas of meadows and forest lands 18 versts long [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 166].

In the 17th century monasterial colonisation penetrated to the southern regions of the Middle Volga region. Moscow monasteries played a major role, in this regard. In 1606 the government granted the Chudov monastery of Moscow the right to fish 'along the Volga River, below the Samara Bend, in the Samara Lu-

ka, from the Black backwater 45 versts down along the Volga to the mouth of the Yelan-Irgiz' [Nayakshin, 1955, p. 44].

To the 80s of the 17th century relates the founding of the village Arkhangelskoye (Sosnovka, present-day Khvalynsk)—the most ancient rural locality on the Volga within the boundaries of the Saratov Krai [Geraklitov, 1923, p. 267]. The first settlers were peasants transferred from monastic patrimonies around Moscow as well as runaways from Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod uyezds. At the very end of the 17th century, large villages emerged here: Malykovka (the present-day city of Volsk), Tersa, Berezhnyaki, and Voskresenskoe, they were populated by peasants from the vicinities of Moscow and the northern regions of the Middle Volga region. The inhabitants of the village Tersa, for example, settled from Tetyushi uyezd of Kazan guberniya [Ibid., p. 268].

In the 17th century new towns, slobodas, abatis, and guard fortified lines were constructed in the Middle Volga Region. In 1648 the work on constructing the Simbirsk fortification and the city of Simbirsk began. The new defensive line started in Simbirsk and ran southwest, connecting with the Korsun abatis and ending with the Insar ostrog (the present-day city of Insar of the Republic of Mordovia). A total of 8 forts were constructed over a distance of 260 km and fortified in accordance with all the principles of Military Science of that time. To settle the newly constructed defensive line, the tsarist government relocated people both from adjacent and remote regions of Russia. The Russians from Laptev, Arsk, and Kazan relocated here. Some adjacent villages (that is the village of Fyodorovskoye near Tetyushi) were fully transferred to the area of the fortified line for permanent residence. Non-Russian peoples—Tatars, Chuvash and Mordvins settled here. In the area of the Simbirsk fortifications, the following slobodas were constructed: Tetyushskaya, Tenkovskaya, Seldinskaya, Karlinskaya, Urzhumskaya, Arskaya as well as others, indicating the places where inhabitants relocated. In 1656 the construction of the fortified Simbirsk line was completed, and the government took a new step towards advancing further south. In 1666 Sengileevskaya sloboda

was built from which a fortified rampart ran to Simbirsk. Sengiley quickly turned into a major defensive point designed to protect the Volga borders from nomadic raids. In 1683, to the south of Sengiley, at a distance of about 130 km from Simbirsk, on the site of Mordvinian beech grounds, the new fortified city of Syzran was founded. The city was incorporated into a new line of defence, running from the village of Usolye, located at the base of the northern part of the Samara Bend to Pechyorskaya sloboda (at the base of the southern part of the Samara Bend in the Perevolok area), to the city of Syzran and down the Syzranka river in the direction of Penza. In the same year the fortified town of Kashpir emerged near Syzran (the present-day small village in the Syzran district of Samara oblast), inhabited by service people and streltsy (harquebusiers) from the Korsun and Simbirsk abatis, as well as from more northern locations.

In the 17th century, fortified lines were built on the left bank areas of the Middle Volga region. Until the 17th century, the Trans-Kama lands remained an actually unincorporated fringe of Russia. Here the Kalmyks, Nogais, and Bashkirs led a nomadic existence. Their continuous raids into newly emerging settlements constituted a serious impediment to the land development. Non-Russian peoples moved to the Trans-Kama regions to escape the brutal policy of Russification. The Tatars, for example, who were also called Teptyars here, settled large territories in the eastern areas of the Trans-Kama. Throughout the latter half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the Kama river was a border beyond which there were hardly any Russian settlements. However, rich black soils (chernozems) and splendid meadows attracted the most enterprising Russian people to the south.

By the middle of 17th century, the government was interested in the settlements beyond the Kama. Land degradation in those areas that had long been used for agriculture, reduction in crop productivity, and at the same time reduction in opportunities to collect taxes and requisitions from peasants were matters of continual concern to government officials. Grain crop failures were recorded in the Kazan,

Sviyazhsk and Tetyushi uyezds. Hence in the first half of the 17th century peasants began to settle at their own risk 'near the Kama River on the side of Ufa' [Peretyatkovich, 1882, p. 118]. Gradually, the number of Russian settlements beyond the Kama increased, and by the 1640s entire groups of Russian villages emerged. In the middle of the 17th century, in the Trans-Kama lands, Menzelinsky, Sheshminsky, and Akhtachinsky as well as other guard points were constructed. They were populated by service class people, recruited from different regions of Rus' (Ruthenia). Piscovye knigi from the mid-17th century list peasants who settled here: 'Yelabuzhenin,' 'Sarapulets,' 'Laishevets,' 'Urzhumets,' 'Vetluzhanin,' 'Dvinyanin,' 'Yaroslavets', etc. (indicating the former residence of the new settlers).

The proliferation of the Russian population on the Trans-Kama lands necessitated the creation of reliable fortifications. In 1651 the government decided to construct a series of defensive structures in the form of a Trans-Kama fortified line. Construction of the Trans-Kama fortified line began in the summer of 1652. Works were carried out simultaneously on a great distance from the Volga to the Ika rivers and as the work progressed, the fortified line was settled predominantly by Russian service class people. In 1656 the Trans-Kama fortified line was completed. Spanning a distance of 250 km, from Bely Yar on the Volga to Menzelinsk, emerged a continuous fortified line in the form of forest abatis, stakes, and other defensive structures.

The construction of fortified lines in the 17th century, to a certain extent, secured the area and gave an impetus to intensive colonisation, both by landlords and the free. In the 17th century, vast fertile lands were granted to the nobility, children of the aristocracy, and service class people who resettled their serfs here from the central regions of Russia.

According to the census books of 1646, in Kazan uyezd there were 334 patrimonies belonging to Russian service people and 154 patrimonies of newly baptised serving murzas and Tatars [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 166]. They all had a large number of depen-

dent people (serfs, bobylys [landless peasants], kholops). Landowners were not satisfied with the lands granted to them by the government, and unceremoniously seized lands belonging to the local peasant population, declaring them 'vacant' and 'wild fields.' One of the letters addressed to the tsar in the 17th century states: 'They said to the Great Tsar that in both Arzamas and Alatyr uyezds yasak-payers, Tatars, Chuvash, and Mordvins, as well as other newly baptised foreign tributaries of various ranks have seized and forcibly settled many lands, forests, and other sorts of lands... and transferred their peasants to these lands, calling them vacant and wild fields. From this oppression, the adherents of different faiths have gone to various places and now still wander apart.' [Khristoforov, 1884, p. 41]. There is robust evidence of the significant growth in patrimonial ownership in the Middle Volga region in the 17th century. In Kazan uyezd, for example, during the middle of the 17th century patrimonies of service class people more than doubled in number [Ibid.]. In Simbirsk uyezd in 1678, two thirds of all villages were named after the landowner (Aksakovo, Chirikovo, Chufarovo, Yazykovo, and others) [Nikonov, 1960, p. 179, 184].

Hoping on the protection of the fortified lines, landlords seized lands in the Trans-Kama Krai. At the end of the 17th century within the confines of the Trans-Kama line, the number of landowners' estates greatly increased, with the landowners beginning to take lands from the the yasak-paying Tatars, Chuvash, and Mordvins [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 176].

A major role in the settlement of the Middle Volga region in the 17th century was played by runaway peasants, escaping from various internal areas of Russia to seek refuge from the worsening oppression by landowners.

A writer-ethnographer and a great expert on the Volga region P. Melnikov-Pechersky wrote: 'Since the 17th century, new inhabitants began to appear in the impenetrable wilderness of the Trans-Volga region...' Runaway kholops, peasants who were unable to come to terms with the newly emergent serfdom, the inhabitants of slobodas burdened with quitrents and tributes,

tradespeople deprived of crafts, runaway reiters, dragoons, soldiers, and other warriors of hated foreign formation, all these people came in droves to the Volga and founded their rural localities in such areas where previously no one had set foot. At that time a saying arose: 'If you can't pay your debts, then go beyond the Volga.' [Melnikov, 1956, p. 308]. There is ample historical evidence attesting to the settlement of runaway serfs in this area. For example, there is a legend about the founding of Alat Selo (present-day Vysokogorsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) which states that its first settlers were runaway people who founded a small village named after the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages [Spisok, 1885, p. 10]. Peasants who had escaped from their masters in the Vladimir Region founded the village of Podberezye [Korolev, 1887, p. 4]. Ancestors of peasants from the now large village of Syukeyevo (the modern-day Kamsko-Ustyinsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan) lived in the Vladimirsk and Rostov uyezds, from where they escaped and settled first in Sviyazhsk uyezd, but, after they were found, escaped again and settled in their current habitat.

Runaway peasants were harboured by monasteries and landlords interested in the development of their vast territories.

The peasant runaways seriously affected the patrimonial ownership of the central regions of Rus' (Ruthenia). In a letter of 1660, addressed to the tsar, nobles and knights from 'different cities beyond Moscow' wrote that 'our people and peasants ran away to the low cities and Nizhny Novgorod with their comrades, and to Kazan, and to the Kazan outskirts, and to new cities along the line...' [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 3, p. 463]. The government repeatedly took measures to capture runaway peasants and return them to their old place. Special people were sent to the Volga River to capture runaway peasants; severe penalties were imposed on landlords and the clergy, up to the removal of spiritual orders, for harbouring runaway peasants, etc. [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 2, p. 401]. However, all these measures did not yield the desired results: 'runaway peasants were harboured on a large scale' [Ocherki istorii, 1955, p. 176]. The number of

runaway people grew rapidly. The reason for this is that, on one hand, the government was interested in the development and hence solid consolidation of the Middle Volga region as a part of Russia, and, on the other hand, it could not spoil relations with major landowners and the patrimonial nobility of the central areas, who were a support base of the government. Therefore, the newly adopted laws were not always observed, and runaway peasants remained in their new places.

They settled not only on the lands of the Russian landlords, but also on free, not yet occupied territories, often with the *yasak*-paying Tatars, Chuvashes, and Mordvins, establishing close labour relations with them. The number of settlements with a wide mix of ethnic groups greatly increased in the region.

‘Free’ and ‘*oxochie*’ (volunteers) people (state peasants) who, for one reason or another, had been left in their original place of residence with no land, or who had run from severely depleted soils and poor crops also moved to the Volga region. During that period they founded a large number of Russian rural localities in the Middle Volga region. Thus, the emergence of the village Bolshoye Frolovo (the modern-day Buinsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) is attributed to ‘Frolka Ananiev and his comrades’ who in 1679 obtained these lands for future settlement and founded the village out of seven yards. Later on peasants from Nizhny Novgorod and other uyezds began to come here in large numbers [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1863, p. 189]. In the village of Shelanga, Russian peasants from ‘different places’ settled. In the village of Kandala there were ‘*sxodny*’ (newly arrived peasants) from 22 different uyezds: Nizhny Novgorod, Simbirsk, Vladimirsk, Mozhaysk, and others. The same ‘colourful’ composition characterised Gryaznukha, Kremeshki, and many others villages.

There also were numerous exiles in the Middle Volga region. Peasants were exiled from the central regions of Siberia, and the local landlords, in need of manpower, intercepted them, informing the government of their escape or death on the way. So did the Kazan voivode Mamontin who was in charge of the shipment of prisoners to Siberia. He founded the village

of Sukhaya Reka (not far from Kazan) where he settled the detained exiles. In some cases, prisoners were exiled to Kazan and other cities on the Volga river. One of the Acts of the Moscow State relating to 1655 states: ‘It was told...to exile prison people from Kaluga to Kazan, and to exile prison inmates—Yakushek and Matchevskij from the city of Smolensk, Mitya Lapkov and Maksimka Maksimov from Yaroslavl—to Astrakhan’ [Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 2, p. 428]. In the village of Yukhmachi in Spassk uyezd at first resided Tatars and Chuvashes, who were later replaced by Russian exiles. In the village of Chenchurino in Tetyushi uyezd, Russian peasants sentenced to exile settled.

Within the fortified part of the Middle Volga region, non-Russian peasants also settled. Many of them were directly involved in the construction of fortifications, and after the completion of the work, settled close to the areas designated for them, founding new villages. Lands were primarily granted to non-Russian peoples who had converted to Orthodoxy. They were settled together with previously baptised people and Russian peasants. During this period many Tatars, Chuvashes, Mordvins, and other peoples of the northern part of the Middle Volga region who were left without land due to their seizures by landlords, poor crops, or intensified exploitation moved beyond the Volga to the Trans-Kama lands.

So, by the end of the 17th century, the Russians had settled about half of the territory attached to the Russian state in the middle of the 16th century. The main direction of colonisation in this period was north-west, from the central parts of the country, and from the Upper Volga. A significant number of migrants came from the north and north-east. Many villages along the Vyatka river and partly along the Kama were populated by natives of Vyatka and Perm Krai [Peretyatkovich, 1882, p. 113]. But even towards the end of the 17th century, the area located south of the fortified lines was in fact the unpopulated outskirts, a ‘wild field.’

The Middle Volga region in the 18th century In the 18th century, the Russians continued to colonise the Middle Volga region, where the government still allotted vast lands

on the left bank of the Volga river and deep behind the Kama to noblemen for perpetual use.

The local population was vehemently opposed to the expansion of estate land ownership in the Trans-Kama region. Frequent Bashkir rebellions as well as Kalmyk and Kazakh raids on Russian settlements posed serious danger and obstacles to the reclamation of fertile land and use of the Krai's valuable natural resources. Many Russians were taken captive and sold on the Oriental markets. The government took measures to further reinforce the southern borders. A new fortification line was built far south of the initial one in 1702. It began 25 km east of Samara (the fortress of Alexeyevsk), led northeastwards to Krasny'yar and to Sergiyevsk along the river Sok, and onwards to the fortress of Kondurchinsky and the Cheremshan river. Near Shehsminsk behind the village of Kichui, the line merged with the old Trans-Kama one. The new fortifications were 135km long. Service class people were settled along the line. Slobodas were founded to be inhabited by those transferred from areas farther to the north, especially from the old Trans-Kama line.

In 1736, another fortification line leading from Samara southeastwards to Orenburg was established. The following fortresses were built there: Krasnosamarskaya, Borskaya, Olshanskaya, Buzulukskaya, Totskaya, Sorochinskaya, later also Tevkelev Brod or Novosergiyevskaya.

The following slobodas appeared during that period: Bugulminskaya, Pismyanskaya (1745), Buguruslanskaya (1748), etc. For instance, Bugulma sloboda emerged in a place previously occupied by a settlement containing Tatars, Bashkirs, and Teptyars. The new sloboda at the major Kazan—Orenburg Road became the administrative center for the nearby slobodas.

A number of fortresses also appeared in the western areas of the Bashkir-inhabited territory, like Nagaybak on the Ik River (1736), Tabynskaya in the mouth of the Usolka river (1736), etc. Besides, P. Rychkov reports that many previously founded palace settlements were fortified like ostrogs and had log walls [Rychkov, 1762, p. 213].

The development of mining in the Urals and the establishment of a large number of factories contributed to the increase in the number of Russian settlements in Orenburg Krai in the 18th century. These factories hired serfs, mostly brought by the factory owners from Central Russia, and peasants who wanted to avoid conscription and the exhausting work of serfdom. The following data points to the rapid growth of the population: in 1719, Ufa and its suburbs contained 1,198 peasant households, which increased to 4,332 by 1728 [Svirelin, 1869, p. 185]. The east of the Middle Volga region was generally poorly populated, and there were very few Russian settlements. According to the 18th century data presented by P. Rychkov, Bugulma sloboda had a tribute-paying population of 3,720 male persons paying poll tax, of which 1,650 were Russian state peasants, 69 manor peasants, and 2,001 non-Christians [Rychkov, 1762, p. 46].

While building fortification lines and slobodas, which did have some defense-related functions, the government embarked on a large-scale Russian colonisation program in the Trans-Kama Region and on the left bank of the Volga River. The settlers were mainly represented by retired soldiers, sailors, artisans, persons sentenced to exile to Siberia, and service class people protecting the initial Trans-Kama Line, which had lost its defensive value by that time. Retired soldiers were settled without asking for their consent [Firsov, 1869, p. 243]. The local authorities wanted to populate the Krai as soon as possible and took little heed of the origin of new settlers and their previous occupations. The Governor of Astrakhan, a famous historian and a politician of that time, V. Tatishchev accepted all 'free' people without enquiring from where and on whose permission they had come to the Trans-Kama Region [Ibid., p. 238]. A large inflow of migrants began from all across the Russian State to the fertile lands of the Trans-Kama region. Deprived people and peasants drained by feudal exploitation dominated the population of the Volga river.

Old Believers appeared in the southern part of the Middle Volga region in the middle of the 18th century. They would leave their settlements and go to the woods, northwards, beyond

the Volga river. Many settled along the Vetluga and Kerzhenets rivers, emigrated abroad, and moved to the southern areas of the Middle Volga region, which were dangerous for the people. The epic work by Melnikov-Pechersky 'In the Forests' and 'On the Hills' in many volumes presents a vivid depiction of the conservative lifestyle of Old Believers inhabiting the Trans-Volga forests and the hills on the right bank of the river. The following Old Believer settlements were founded along the Irgiz river in the first half of the 18th century: Perekopnaya Luka, Kamennyi Yurt (Kamenka), Tolsty Gai (Tolstovka), Pogorelyi Yurt, etc. A report to the Synod of the Archbishop of Kazan dated 1724 reads: '...Many schismatics from upstream towns and uyezds colonise the land up the Kirgiza (Irgiz) river, fleeing from investigation with their wives and children; it is unsafe to go to those places as they are poorly populated, and the civil authorities do not provide any soldiers to assist the Right Reverend...' In 1763, the Senate appointed dedicated officials to take a census among runaways on the Irgiz river. The Copy of People of All Ranks living on the Irgiz river was eventually created. It contained a total of 1,453 runaways, of whom 900 were male and 553 female.

On December 4, 1762 Catherine II issued a manifest encouraging Russians to return from abroad and permitting all Old Believers to settle freely in dedicated vacant land plots. The manifest mentioned that 'nobody shall abuse them and their children in any way'. They were to settle '...downstream of the town of Samara along the Volga River up to the mouth of the Irgiz River and up the Irgiz River' [Geraklitov, 1923, p. 367]. The Old Believers founded a number of large slobodas in that period. For instance, migrants from Poland and runaway peasants who had lived there before formed Mechetnaya sloboda (now the town of Pugachev.—G.S.) in 1764. The sloboda contained 264 male inhabitants in 1765. Apart from Mechetnaya sloboda, Balakovo, Krivoluchye, and others were founded.

In the late 18th century, the number of Russians began to increase in the eastern part of the Middle Volga region, which was predominantly non-Russian. Many Russian settlements

and villages appeared in Mamadysh, Yelabuga, Birsik, Belebey and Menzelinsk uyezds.

Migrants from Governorates in the Upper Volga region and from the Perm and Vyatka regions dominated the north and north-east parts of the Middle Volga region. Many settlements in Mamadysh uyezd were populated by former inhabitants of Vyatka guberniya [Spisok mest, 1884, p. 116–118]. Migrants from Kostroma guberniya inhabited the village of Kashkara; those from Vladimir guberniya inhabited the village of Nikiforovka; those from Novgorod guberniya inhabited the village of Krasnaya Gorka, etc. [Ibid., p. 117].

Russian peasants from Perm and Vyatka guberniyas formed settlements along the Belaya River in Birsik uyezd: Bordovo, Pervushino, Matveyevo, etc. [Materials of Kazan State University, 1959]. Migrants from those villages later moved farther away from the river to settle in the vast territories between the Belaya and Ik rivers, which were vacant at that time. And so the villages of Kreshchenka, Vasilyevka, Nikolayevka, and others, appeared.

The southern part of the eastern area was largely populated by migrants from the central regions and the Volga region. Russian landlords bought fertile land from the Bashkirs at very low prices to transfer their serfs there. S. Aksakov presents a vivid depiction of commerce in the Ufa namestnichestvo, where large regions could be acquired for paltry sums of money. Serfs arrived in strings of carts to land 'bought' in such a manner: 'having loaded their wives, children, and old men on carts and covered them with wood splits against sun and rain, having stacked the necessary cutlery, having fixed poultry on top of the carts, having tied cows to those carts, the poor migrants set off, crying bitterly' [Aksakov, 1958, p. 30].

Following the suppression of Pugachev's Rebellion, the tsarist government took a number of measures to prevent such uprisings. Rebels were repressed; a law was manifested to the effect that local peoples could not be forced to convert to Christianity; finally, the eastern and southern areas, which presented potentially dangerous centers of rebellion, were colonised. Over 150 newly settled noble families had obtained large manors in the Bashkir-populated

territory [Novikov, 1879, p. 45] and inhabited those with their serfs by the late 18th century. State peasants continued to settle in territories that were still vacant. As before, they mostly came from the Upper Reaches of the Volga river and from Central Russia. The causes of migration remained unchanged—deteriorated soil, poor crops, and cruel treatment by landlords and tsarist officials. They migrated both in large groups of whole villages or in families: '...The peasant from upstream villages,' a researcher of the Krai wrote later, 'comes alone for the first winter, brings his wife and children in the second winter, and takes a vacant lot officially in the third one' [Singilevsky, 1850, p. 20–30].

The southmost areas in the Middle Volga region saw especially intense colonisation in the late 18th century. Very few settlements existed there throughout the 18th century. In 1787, the border line along the Yeruslan, Torgun, and Bolshoy Uzen rivers, previously consisting of small fortifications, was reinforced. Russian settlements began to appear in the deserted southernmost territories of the Middle Volga region. Official statistics estimate that the population growth in Nikolayev and Novouzensk uyezds of Samara guberniya from 1816 to 1834 exceeded 50%, 23% being attributable to migrants [Samarskaya guberniya, 1863, p. XXX]. In the following 20 years (from 1835 to 1855), 20,000 families, that is approximately 100,000 inhabitants, moved to the uyezds [Zhurnal MVD, 1960, p. 49]. Small rural settlements developed into new towns. For instance, in 1835 Mechetnaya sloboda was reorganised as the town of Nikolayevsk (currently the town of Pugachev), and the village of Chertanla was renamed the town of Novouzensk [Saratovskaya, 1952, p. 49]. From 1816 to 1848, migrants founded 205 new settlements in Buzuluk uyezd, 128 in Nikolayevsk uyezd, and 200 in Buguruslan uyezd [Preobrazhensky, 1972, p. 97]. Hardships and disease accompanied migration.

Therefore, the colonisation of the Middle Volga region during the period of feudalism had a number of characteristic features attributable to the socio-economic relations of that time. It was largely carried out by the government and

landlords. At the same time, the increased serf exploitation in the centre of the country caused large numbers of peasants to run away to the margins, to which the Middle Volga region belonged at that time. The free migrants took vacant land plots or joined the non-Russian population in existing settlements. In the first case, newly settled peasants turned back into serfs as landlords occupied the land. In the second case, yasak-paying Russian settlements and villages were formed. It is possible that the Russians assimilated with the local population.

The right bank south of Kazan (the former Simbirsk guberniya and the Volga part of the Saratov guberniya except for the strip along the right bank) was predominantly populated by the Russians from the central regions of Russia (the Moscow, Tambov, Ryazan, and Penza guberniya). The south and southeast of the Middle Volga region was intensely colonised by migrants from Russia's southern governorates and Ukraine.

The Russian population in Trans-Kama territories (south of the Kama river) had an even more complex composition. Apart from mainstream migrants from Moscow, many came or were transferred from the upper reaches of the Volga river and from the north-east (from the Vyatka and Perm governorates). The population in the east of the Middle Volga region took a number of colonisation directions. The territories on the Vyatka river and the left bank of the Belaya river from its mouth to the town of Ufa were largely colonised by the Russians from the north-east, from the Urals [Busygin, 1966, p. 54–75].

Migrants from North Russia, from the upper reaches of the Volga river, brought a number of cultural features to the Middle Volga region, e.g. the 'odnoryadka' (single-row arrangement) and the 'drukhryadka' (double-row arrangement)—peculiar and very stable ways of connecting a residential house to its outbuildings. The single-row arrangement is characterised by a single line (row) of household buildings adjacent to the residential building perpendicular to the street, all sharing the same roof; with the double-row arrangement, outbuildings adjacent to the residential house are parallel to the street, thus forming a second row. Russian

settlements founded along the Trans-Kama Zasechnaya Cherta in the 18th century have preserved the stone buildings of migrants of that period as well as more recent wooden estates, built to replace the old ones, with the single-row arrangement [Stolyarova, 2000]. Various forms of the material and spiritual culture characteristic of the North Great Russians continued to exist for a long time. They included a set of clothes (especially female, with shirts of a peculiar design, indistinct and oblique-gore sarafans, and specific headgear known as the kokoshnik), the Northern and Upper Volga dialects, folk songs and spoken folklore.

Migrants from the southern Governorates of Russia left the legacy of an L-connection between the residential house and the outbuildings, characterised by an open-type court, the part of it opposite to the izba traditionally vacant, wattle-and-daub outbuildings (similar to the Ukrainian mazanka), a costume set (the female costume of ponyovas—sewn and wraparound skirts, and headgear known as the kichka), Southern dialects and forms of folklore.

The contact which the Russian population of the Volga region had with the local peoples played a particularly important role in the formation of their ethnocultural traits. Pre-revolutionary literature emphasised the influence of the Russian culture on that of the 'non-Russians'. More recent studies revealed numerous borrowings by the Russians of cultural aspects originating from the peoples of the Ural Volga region. The borrowings are so important both in terms of their sphere (material life, social standards, spiritual, household and artistic culture, language, appearance, moral values) and scale, that they resulted in the formation of a special Russian ethnic territorial group known as the Volga Great Russians. The Volga Great Russian traits include eclecticism (Russian migration flows from various regions of initial colonisation of different periods merged) and a large number of cultural and linguistic borrowings resulting in long-term contacts with the local peoples of the Volga region. The processes were intense in the Middle Volga region during the 17–18th centuries and continued in the subsequent periods.

2. The Mari Population

Ananij Ivanov

Settlement and Population. In the 16–18th centuries, the vast majority of the Maris continued to live in the Middle Volga territory [Sepeev, 2006, p. 98]. Back in the early 16th century, before the Maris became part of the Russian State, S. Herberstein, introducing Muscovy to the educated European reader, presented the first account of the territory inhabited by the Mari people (referred to as the Cheremises (Czeremissae) in a triangle formed by the towns of Nizhny Novgorod–Vyatka–Kazan within the Khanate of Kazan, the Volga River acting as a natural border between the Hill Maris on the right bank Hill Side and the Meadow Maris inhabiting the vast left bank Meadow Land [Herberstein, 1988, p. 134, 162, 164, 170–178.]. A treatise by a prominent 16th century diplomat Legate A. Possevino refers to the Mari territory, among other regions occupied by the 'Moscow Prince'

by the end of the 16th century, as the Cheremis Land [Possevino, 1983, p. 44]. Russian chronicles dating back to the 15–16th century preserve important information on the Mari population of the borderline and deep-lying territories of the Khanate of Kazan, mostly famous for the mutual military campaigns and confrontations between them ('the Cheremis troops' (1462), 'to fight against the Cheremises', 'will come to the Cheremis land' (1468), 'to the Hill and Meadow Cheremises' (1531), 'the Hill Cheremises' (1546) and the Russians [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, pp. 56, 149–150; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 118–119; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 31, p. 127; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 33, p. 120; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, p. 46, 107; Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 11–14, 16–21].

'The History of Kazan' dating back to the mid-16th century describes the Mari territory in the Middle Volga Region and their ethnic groups as follows: 'there are two kinds of Cheremises in the Kazan Region; they have three languages and a fourth—a barbarian one; the Cheremis on this side of the Volga River in the great mountains and valleys are known as the Hill Cheremises; the other group lives on the opposite side of the Volga River, called the Meadow Cheremises because the land is low and level...the Kokshaga and Vetluga Cheremises also live in the Meadow Country' [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 86]. A participant of the conquest of Kazan of 1552 Prince A. Kurbsky mentioned the 'Hill Cheremises' living along the banks of the Sura River, a right bank tribute of the Volga River [Pamyatniki literatury' Drevnej Rusi, 1986, p. 232; Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 41–43]. The above facts enable us to delineate the Mari territory as of the mid-16th century on the left bank interfluvium of the Vetluga, Bolshaya Kokshaga and Malaya Kokshaga rivers, Vyatka on the left bank and down the Sura river towards the Sviyaga on the right bank of the Volga river. This main Mari territory remained unchanged in the 17–18th century, except for the borderland where the Maris came in contact with the Russians and other neighbouring peoples (the Tatar, Chuvash, Udmurt, and Bashkir people).

However, the main Middle Volga territory of the Mari people slightly reduced in size. The Hill Maris stayed in the interfluvium of the Sura and Bolshoy Sundy'r rivers on the right bank. Some of them who lived outside these territories left their previous place of residence to assimilate with the Russians and the Chuvashes. The main area densely inhabited by the Maris lay traditionally between the Vetluga and Vyatka rivers. There, on the left bank of the Volga river, the Maris partly left the interfluvium of the Unzha and Vetluga rivers and the left bank of the Middle Vyatka region. The Maris remained a minority among Russian migrants south of the Pizhma river and in the Vetluga region. Only small Mari pockets on the right bank of the Middle Vyatka Region and in the Trans-Kazan Region survived assimilation [Ayplatov, 1967, pp. 144–146; Sepeev, 2006,

p. 98; Ivanov, 2007, pp. 14–32.]. Another fact that makes the mid-16th century to the 18th century remarkable is that Mari migration and intense colonisation of their new territory in the Ural Kama region began at that time. This migration peaked in the first quarter of the 18th century, which manifested in a large-scale outflow of the Mari population from the Middle Volga region territory. Migrants, mostly Meadow Maris, had formed the ethnographic group of East Maris by the mid-18th century [Sepeev, 1975, p. 31–37; Sepeev, 2006, pp. 58–106; Ivanov, 1995, pp. 38–42; Ivanov, Sanukov, 2011, pp. 46–50.].

Like other peoples in the Ural Volga Region, the Maris administratively belonged to different uyezds after becoming part of the Russian state. According to K. Kozlova, the Moscow administration took a successful approach to allotting the Mari land among the uyezds, taking into account the historical and cultural traditions of Meadow Mari ethnolinguistic communities, known as land unions, which included representatives of the Kokshaga, Tsarevo, Sanchursk, Yaransk, and Urzhum 'Cheremis' groups, as well as the Hill Maris of Kosmodemyansk uyezd inhabiting the right bank and, partly, the left bank along the Arda, Parat, Rutka and Vetluga Rivers and their tributaries. Within each uyezd, the yasak-paying Mari population was traditionally divided into smaller administrative unions—'sotnyas', 'pyatidesyatnyas', and 'desyatoks'. The vast Kazan uyezd was also divided into relatively large 'darugas', inherited from the Khanate of Kazan,—Alatsk, Galitsk, Arsk, which also contained 'sotnyas' [one hundreds] and 'volosts', to which Mari settlements known as 'ilems' belonged [Kozlova, 1978, pp. 93–125].

According to the administrative division of the first half of the 18th century, the Mari population was dense in Kosmodemyansk, Tsarevokokshaysk, Kokshaysk, Tsaryovosanchursk, and Yaransk uyezds of Sviyazhsk province, as well as the Kazan (Alatskaya and Galitsk darugas) and Urzhum uyezds in the Kazan province of Kazan guberniya. A small number of Mari settlements lay along the Vyatka River and its tributaries, as well as in the Kama River Region along the Arsk and Zyurey

roads in Kazan uyezd. Maris were numerous in the Cis-Ural Region, the majority living in the South Urals within Ufa uyezd, Orenburg guberniya. A much smaller number resided in the Middle Urals—in Kungur uyezd in the Perm province of Kazan guberniya. Verkhoturyskiy uyezd in Tobolsk guberniya contained several Mari peasant households. Shortly before the governorate reform of 1775, the Mari population inhabited 10 uyezds in 3 guberniyas. The majority lived within the large Kazan uyezd covering nearly half of the current Mari El Republic. When the guberniya reform was carried out in the 1779–1781 (some changes were introduced in 1796), the majority of the Mari population became dwellers of Kozmodemyansk uyezd, Kazan guberniya, and Vasil'surskiy uyezd, Nizhny Novgorod guberniya (the Hill Maris), as well as the Tsaryovokokshaiskiy, Kazan, and Cheboksary uyezds, Kazan guberniya, and Urzhum and Yaransk uyezds, Vyatka guberniya (the Meadow Maris). The East Maris lived in a number of uyezds in the Ufa, Orenburg, and Perm guberniyas. The guberniya reform of the last quarter of the 18th century did not help boost Mari solidarity [Ivanov, 1993, pp. 6–28; Ivanov, Sanukov, 2011, pp. 46–48].

Cadastral and census books as well as census records and other sources dated to the mid–16–late 18th century generally show that the Mari population grew, only occasionally interrupted by negative factors (crop failures, famine, disease, wars, etc.). According to 'The History of Kazan', a total of 93,076 people inhabited the main Mari territory as re-

corded in the mid–16th century after Ivan the Terrible's army conquered Kazan. The Mari population declined dramatically during the 'Cheremis Wars' of the latter half of the 16th century [Kazanskaya istoriya, 1954, p. 161; Sepeev, 2006, p. 93].

Though incomplete, data tribute payer censuses held in the Kozmodemyansk, Kokshayskiy, Urzhum, Tsaryovokokshaiskiy, Tsaryovosanchurskiy, Yaransk and Kazan uyezds in 1625, 1637, 1651, and 1681 point to an increasing number of yasak-paying Maris. G. Ayplatov estimated the total Mari population in the 70–80s of the 17th century as approximately 110–120 thousand people [Ayplatov, 1966, p. 8].

The further growth of the Mari population slackened in the first quarter of the 18th century. During Peter the Great's reforms, the back-breaking state treasury tributes and duties, dramatically declined living standards, mass disease, crop failure, and famine led to a general reduction in the total number of Maris. The Meadow and, partly, Hill Mari population dwindled due to mass Mari migration to the Bashkir land eastwards. The percentage of the East Maris in their Ural Kama settlement territory increased respectively.

The Mari population in the main settlement area in the Volga region did not grow until the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. We estimate that from 1723 to 1795 the Mari population increased from 74,000 to 158,000 people of both genders, which is more than twofold, due to the birth rate exceeding the death rate [Ivanov, 1989a, pp. 121–125; Ivanov, Sanukov, 2011, p. 48].

Table 3.1

Mari population in the 18th century (thousands of people of both genders)

Years	Population			
	Total	Including		
		Hill	Meadow	Eastern
1723	74	14	49	11
1746	93	15	61	17
1764	119	21	72	26
1782	137	23.5	81.5	32
1795	158	24	90	44

The Mari region did change ethnically either. The ethnic Mari territory saw an inflow of the Russian population residing in fortress towns, monasteries, and various rural settlements owned by the government or secular or spiritual owners in the latter half of the 16–18th century. Records dating back to the 18th century indicate that Tatars inhabited the territory in Turek, Ilet Kukmory, and Nolya Kukmory volosts, Alatsk road, Kazan uyezd, and Buysk volost, Urzhum uyezd. In the latter half of the 18th century, intense Tatar colonisation of the forested areas in the upper reaches of the Ilet and Irovka Rivers in the Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd, Kazan guberniya began. The migration was generally peaceful [Ivanov, 1989a, pp. 106–125].

Economic Activities. The economy of yasak-paying Maris in the woody Middle Volga Region can be described as subsistence including the traditional production (agriculture, livestock breeding, crafts like weaving, woodwork, pottery, milling, partly jewelry and forging, alcohol distillation) and appropriation (hunting, fishing, forest bee-keeping, foraging). As foraging grew less important, production acquired greater significance. Cultural interaction with the neighbouring peoples became more intense.

The Maris were primarily engaged in arable farming. The size, agricultural quality, and productivity of a family's fields largely determined its wellbeing. Participants of the Academic Expeditions of the early 18th century noted that 'all Cheremises cultivate land. They measure their wealth by the size of their tillable fields and their herds' [Müller, 1791, pp. 14–15; Rychkov, 1770, pp. 93–94; Falk, 1824, pp. 185–186].

In the 16–18th century, many generations of Mari agriculturists with great effort turned vast woody and meadow territories into fields. They continuously increased the size of their 'tillable fields'. However, the land of certain rural communities was misappropriated by monasteries, landlords, officials, factory owners, parish priests, and merchants. The treasury claimed numerous 'vacant' lots as tribute land. Large territories in Mari-inhabited forests were declared protected during the reign of Peter the Great and transferred to the Kazan Admiralty

Office for shipbuilding. It could not but disturb the traditional Mari system of agriculture [Istoriya Mariyskoy ASSR, 1986, pp. 98–99].

Various opinions on the Mari agricultural system are represented in literature. Some researchers emphasised the dominance of slash-and-burn and lea tillage, while others believed three-field cultivation played the major role. We share the point of view of K. Kozlova, who agrees with L. Milov that the Maris of the 17–18th century had a forest-field cultivation system combining 'fallow three-field cultivation with a periodical lea and forest arrangement' [Kozlova, 1978, pp. 161–164; Milov, 1963, p. 285].

Ploughs 'with socks of iron' were the most common. In a Senate Questionnaire dated 1767, the voivode of Tsaryovokokshaisk emphasised the fact that Russian and Mari peasants of the uyezd 'use ploughs, which they call kosulyas, once before sowing rye and spring crops, and use small sokhas without boards after tillage.' The kosulya was increasingly common as a plough, being a modern modification of the breasted sokha. The Maris also used the ancient agavuj plough to till lealand. The pryamukha, that is a sokha without a board of sock horns, was used for newly brushed land [Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1989, p. 13].

Wooden harrows known as the shire were used to harrow tilled land; sorla reaping hooks were used to reap grain. It was then brought to the barnyard (idym) containing drying barns (agun). The grain was then flailed with saponos or spread in a circle for horses to trample it. All members of the peasant family who were fit to work participated in the harvest.

The Maris cultivated mainly rye and oats. Hop growing was becoming increasingly popular. Onions, cabbage, radish, garlic, beetroot, cucumbers, turnips, and carrots were grown in vegetable gardens [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 455, p. 6, 7, 17, 50; Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, p. 260; Ivanov, 1987, pp. 24–27].

Domestic animal breeding was the second most important activity after arable farming. According to academic I. Falk, non-Russian peoples in the Kazan guberniya, including the Maris, kept horses, cows, bulls, goats, and

swine. They also bred poultry—hens, geese, and ducks [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 10, book 545, file 1, pp. 373–374; Falk, 1824, p. 189].

Apart from residential houses, grain barns, and kudo summer kitchens, outbuildings included 'hay houses and cattle barns', sheep cotes, cattle pens, stables, and 'kards' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 5, book 237, file 1, p. 157 reverse; inv. 113, file 1651, part 3, p. 340; fund 407, inv. 1, file 396, p. 1, file 419, p. 1; State Archive of the Mari El Republic, fund 236, inv. 1, file 154, p. 25]. The majority of Mari peasant households had 1 to 2–3 horses. Wealthy household owners, who were few in number, had 4 to 5 horses, with some possessing as many as 20–30. Frequent epizootic outbreaks among animals caused grave damage to the peasant economy [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 113, file 1651, part 3, pp. 326, 328, 342, 344; State Archive of the Mari El Republic, fund 237, inv. 1, file 19, p. 1 reverse; *Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya*, 1992, pp. 258–265].

The household production of fabrics, clothes, wooden and clay tableware and utensils was another important economic activity. In this respect, I. Georgi emphasised the fact that 'women do spinning, weaving, and tailoring, and use home-dyed wool to embroider garments of cloth' in Mari settlements. Some peasant-made cloth appeared on the market; army intendants sometimes bought it 'for the troops' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 396, p. 1; fund 598, inv. 1, file 287, p. 20; State Archive of Kirov oblast, fund 582, inv. 2, file 277, p. 29; Georgi, 1799, p. 27].

Milling and tanning were closely connected with the processing of agricultural and livestock breeding produce. Small water mills known as mutovkas were present on nearly all rivers regardless of their size. 1–2 arrangement wheeled mills, which had a higher capacity, grew more common in Mari communities under Russian influence. Mill owners would charge their peasant customers 'spade flour' or money. Milling became the principal economic activity for some Mari millers [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 410, p. 8].

Peasant households mostly provided themselves with footwear, wooden utensils, tools, and transport. However, the Maris were forbidden from smithing, just like other non-Russian peoples in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions. In the 1630s. Therefore, Russian seasonal smiths of peasant origin or former Kozmodemyansk coachmen usually worked in Mari settlements. The Maris bought some handicraft, like axes, reaping hooks, scythes, iron plough socks, knives, etc., in towns [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 383, p. 1; fund 598, inv. 1, file 270, p. 765; State Archive of the Mari El Republic, fund 52, inv. 3, file 35, p. 16].

To earn the amount needed to pay the poll tax, some of them engaged in felling or worked at merchant and landlord sawmills to produce and process raw wood. Dwellers of certain settlements, especially in the Volga region, became burlaks with increasing frequency.

The fur trade remained important for the Mari economy. Animal trapping was ubiquitous, primarily during the winter. The Maris hunted squirrels, hares, wolves, bears, martens, weasels, lynx, minks, and other animals. According to G. Müller, 'they mostly use pits to catch large animals and nets for smaller ones.' Besides, 'the Cheremis people are good archers'. Some Mari hunters also had guns. They usually sold fur to local buyer-ups. The latter re-sold it to merchants from other towns, who brought Mari fur to the Sevskaya and Makaryev Fairs as well as to other towns and abroad [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 598, inv. 1, file 236, p. 1; fund 407, inv. 1, file 396, p. 1; fund 829, inv. 1, file 1887, p. 2, file 1889, pp. 2–3, file 646, pp. 39–51; Müller, 1791, pp. 24–25; Falk, 1824, p. 185; Pallas, 1773, p. 33; Georgi, 1799, p. 27].

Fishing was of great help. Nets, drags, 'morda' traps, hooks, and other fishing devices were used. A fee was charged to the treasury for temporary fishing. A community or a single family usually paid an annual fee of several kopecks to 2–3 rubles [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 737, pp. 42–43; fund 1355, inv. 1, file 407, pp. 10, 26, 56 reverse, file 435, pp. 5, 16, 19, 22 reverse; fund 598, inv. II, file 326, p. 111].

The oldest Mari occupation, wild bee-keeping, was gradually transformed into bee-farming in the latter half of the 18th century. Mari wild bee-keeping land was traditionally heritable partimomial property. Each owner used his symbols and tamgas to mark his bee-keeping trees. Bee-tree land could lie as far as 50–100 versts from the settlements. The Maris later tended to keep their bee-trees closer to their place of residence. Bee-farming hives were mostly made of thick logs, oak stubs, elm, pine, white willow, and alder wood. The honey and wax produced was sold to buyers-up and merchants, who took the produce to the Makaryev and Irbit Fairs, to Perm, Astrakhan, and other places. Honey was partly used to brew a special beverage called pyure, which was required for all traditional rites and feasts, just as it was for home-made beer [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 423, p. 1, file 495, p. 1; fund 598, inv. 1, file 24, inv. 1, file 169, p. 1, file 287, p. 23; fund 794, inv. 1, file 2, p. 43; Müller, 1791, pp. 24, 62; Falk, 1824, p. 185; Georgi, 1799, p. 27; Rychkov, 1767, p. 463; *Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya*, 1992, pp. 185–187, 318–319].

Thus, the Maris were engaged in diverse economic activities. Each peasant household had to deal with commodity-money relations to some extent. Even a very poor Mari peasant had to sell commodities, that is some of the necessary crops, commercial hops, and animal breeding produce, to pay the poll tax in time. Non-agricultural activities were an important source of money in the subsistence economy of peasants.

Social Status. In terms of social status, the Maris who paid the yasak land tax ('yasak Cheremises', 'yasak people') in the latter half of the 16th and 17th century remained personally free, which is attributable to both the dramatic nature of the Russian subordination of non-Russian peoples in the Volga region and the specific national fiscal policy that had been implemented by the tsarist government. They belonged to the category of state peasants and thus were subject to direct exploitation by the government. However, the yasak village policy was becoming increasingly oriented toward serfdom. The feudal law established in the

1649 Sobornoye Ulozheniye provided for yasak-payers' obligations. They could not leave the community territory freely and had to obtain the uyezd voivode's permission to leave their settlements. Runaway peasants were searched for, and, if caught, were punished cruelly and forced to return to their previous place of residence.

The Maris were, above all, obliged to pay state tax and land rent (yasak) to their town voivodes, who enjoyed full power (administrative, executive, judiciary, police, fiscal, etc.) over them. Therefore, the Maris were forwarding a constantly increasing yasak to the treasury, rendered both in money and in grain. They also had to pay treasury tribute for rights to land used for wild bee-tree lands and beaver hunting, fishing beds and flour mills, rentable arable land and hayfields, for the right to conduct Mari weddings ('kunichnye'), and for the import, purchase, and sale of commodities. Especially difficult were the large, indirect fees for salt. Besides, yasak collectors often took money, crops, fur and honey in amounts far in excess of that specified by the tsar. In order to ensure a stable flow of yasak to the treasury, voivodes would keep ostrog amanats, that is hostages from among wealthy yasak-paying Maris in the town. They would not release them until the yasak peasants had paid the required amount and fulfilled their various duties [Dimitriev, 1974, p. 290–369; Dimitriev, 1992, p. 62–71; Sobornoye Ulozheniye, 1987, pp. 78–79].

Yasak-paying Maris also had to do the hard 'town business' for the voivodes—cut and haul logs in carts and sledges for fortifications and town walls. At the same time, they had to perform necessary maintenance and construction of roads and bridges. It was burdensome to have to frequently provide transfer for state-owned cargo, prikaz workers, and clerks. Felling trees and driving logs to towns down the Volga, months of work at state-owned saltpetre and potash factories tens and hundreds of versts away from their residences were all tiresome. On the tsar's order, yasak-paying Maris had to participate, along with Russian, Chuvash, Tatar, Mordovian, and Udmurt peasants, in the construction of the Simbirsk (1647–1654) and Trans-Kama (1652–1658) fortification lines to

protect the territory against nomadic attacks. The Maris had to guard fortification lines. Every sixth household had to send an adult man. Military service was also hard. One man was recruited from every third household during wartime. Each warrior, mounted or dismounted, had to have his own spear, bow, arrows, and axes. Special duties had to be collected in order to supply them [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 3, No. 1579; Istoriya Mariyskoy ASSR, 1986, pp. 80–82].

The Maris' social status in the following 18th century was largely determined by their belonging to the category of state peasants. They were not personally dependent on landowners, monasteries, and the palace administration or their serfs. From the late 17th to the first quarter of the 18th century, in order to own communal land and employ community members, the Maris had to pay *yasak* and fulfill duties to the purpose of the government. The rate of *yasak* as a rent tax surged during Peter the Great's reforms [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 3, No. 1579]. Numerous types of estate, extraordinary, and non-estate monetary, and crop duties were introduced later.

Between 1722 and 1723, the *yasak* Maris in various uyezds of Kazan guberniya had to pay an amount ranging from 6 rubles 30 kopecks to 14 rubles, 4–5 quarters of rye, oats, and flour per *yasak*. Peasants had to pay canal and rope charges, send labourers for hard work in Azov, Petersburg, and fortresses under construction. The community had to bear all expenses [Istoriya Mariyskoy ASSR, 1986, pp. 103–104]. Recruiting was added to the numerous taxes and duties. Recruiting began among Mari peasant communities in the first quarter of the 18th century. The road duty to carry cargo and officials and maintain roads, bridges, crossings, etc. remained heavy [Ivanov, 1990, pp. 54–55]. This increased burden was among the causes of the Mari village being reduced to total poverty. Many settlements and villages were deserted and fields unsown. Hundreds and thousands of Mari peasants, some alone, some with their families, and even whole communities, abandoned their dwellings to move to the region of the Kama river and the Cis-Ural region.

Under the tsar's decree of 1724, the *yasak*-paying Maris as well as the *yasak*-paying and service class people of the Volga region were included in the category of state peasants. A poll tax was imposed on each male person recorded regardless of his age and fitness to work [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 7, No. 4533; Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 257–258; Druzhinin, 1946, pp. 48–50; Istoriya Mariyskoy ASSR, 1986, p. 102].

The situation of Mari peasants as well as other non-Russians in the Middle Volga Region was dramatically affected by general forced Christianisation, aimed at enhancing social and political support of tsarism in the ethnically-based state village. Taking into account the changed specific historical situation from the late 17th century to the first quarter of the 18th century, the autocratic state took great efforts to introduce Orthodox Christianity to the non-Russian environment of peasants practising their ancestral faiths.

The tsar's decree dated September 11, 1740 declared a policy and a clear program of action for the mass Christianisation of non-Russian peasants. This was entrusted to a large number of preachers, priests, officials, and military officers of the Novokreshchenskaya kontora [the Office for the Newly-baptised]. Christianisation, largely compulsory and marked by the establishment of new parishes in newly Christianised settlements from the 1740s to the 1760s, resulted in a dramatic increase of social and ethnic oppression of the Maris [Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya, 1992, pp. 226–233; Popov, 1987, pp. 59–63].

Another reason why mass Christianisation from 1740 to 1764 affected Mari peasants is that non-Christians and previously baptised 'old Christians' were obliged to cover the poll tax and other duties of the newly baptised for a period of three years. Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd was representative of the consequences. Being eager to use the three years' benefit, 'all the Cheremises to the smallest infant were baptised' in 1742. However, the 'old new Christians' of the Podgorodnaya volost, who had already been baptised in the early 18th century, had to pay for them. Quite naturally, the ava-

lanche of charges and duties reduced them to 'total poverty'. A vast majority were imprisoned for default of payment. In 1750, the Kazan guberniya Chancellery reported large-scale flight to the woods caused by 'great want and great hardship'. Peasants who remained 'non-believers' suffered 'utter ruination' caused by multiple increases in tax [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 717, pp. 1–8; *Istoriya Mariyskogo kraya*, 1992, pp. 221–222].

The threat of peasant ruination was a central factor in realising mass Christianisation, which had been purely formal for most of the Maris as they continued to practise their traditional Pagan faith and ideology.

Mass Christianisation resulted in church construction among Mari peasant settlements and the arrival of Russian priests. The newly baptised Maris were responsible for all aspects of church construction and for maintenance of the parish clergy. Over 30 churches were built in Mari-populated uyezds at that time [Krest'yanskaya voina, 1989, p. 46–48, 81–83; *Istoriya Marijskogo kraya*, 1992, pp. 233–234; Popov, 1987, pp. 64–67; Ivanov, 1990, pp. 61–63].

Community and Family. Small and weak Mari peasant households had to cooperate in order to overcome unavoidable natural and man-made hardships and to manage their independent life. The peasant settlement community was a universal instrument for yasak-paying Maris. Sources dating from the 16th to the 18th century refer to it as 'volost', 'village volost', 'volost sotnya', 'self-administration', and 'village'. It could consist of several households within one village or several settlements (the original patrimonial settlement with new villages) containing dozens of peasant households within a certain territory.

While the feudal state had superior ownership in land, each peasant community owned land of its own and protected it against any claims by monasteries, landowners, the palace administration, and the treasury itself (claiming it as 'abandoned land' or the property of 'diseased owners'). In the 17th century, the land of Mari communities in the Vetluga River region spread to include the Makaryev-Unzhen and Barnabas Monasteries as well as the Mon-

astery of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, the Suzdal diocese and the Yunga Monastery of the Holy Savior in Kozmodemyansk uyezd; the Tsepochkino Monastery of the Holy Savior and Vyatka St. Trifon Monastery in Urzhum uyezd; the Holy Myrrhbearers Monastery in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd; the Monasteries of Raifa and Semiozyorka in Kazan uyezd; the Novodevichy Convent and the Monastery of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Yaransk uyezd; and the Mus' Monastery in Tsarevosnchursk uyezd. Community members participated in regular land censuses as well as in the establishment of community's borders, when dedicated marks ('grany') were used to show the limits of communal land. Authentic extracts from cadastral surveys and census records kept by village elders were very important land documents confirming that the Maris had legally owned their native communal land. In case of land or other disputes with the neighbouring community, the voivode administration, or any other institution, the entire community acted as one to protect its interests.

The peasant community was traditionally key to regulating all aspects of the yasak Maris' economic and spiritual life, such as native prayers and traditional education. All adult male householders had to attend the community gathering to address all 'wordly' issues. That of allotting arable land and hayfields to yasak-paying people was of paramount importance. Sowing and hay fields were generally allotted to each householder after casting lots. In the middle of the 17th century, there was an average of between 4.5 to 9 desyatins of ploughed land (in three fields) and more, and 70–80 hay stacks for each yasak household. Maris sometimes transferred their land by succession, or the community gathering could decide to distribute it to family members. All community members shared grazing land, watering places, lakes, rivers, forests, marshes, and, occasionally, hayfields. Owners of beeches in community-owned forests used their family 'tamgas', that is symbols of individual property of a certain peasant household, to mark them. [Ayplatov, 1974, pp. 95–111].

Agriculturally, the Mari village community was an agrarian union of neighbours and clans-

men owning communal land, using allotted arable plots and other appertuances. When poll tax replaced the yasak in 1724, the community began to allot land per male head according to census data. Every male person reaching an age of 9 to 10 received a land allotment. Each householder received strips of land in each field, which was quite applicable to a three-field rotation system. Soil quality and how distant the fields were from the settlement were also considered. Land was allotted by casting lots. Households occasionally used land beyond their lots and leased arable and hayfields for an obrok (tribute) rent. Household lots and hemp fields remained each peasant family's hereditary property [Ivanov, 1995, p. 131].

Apart from performing land-related and economic functions, the yasak Mari community acted as an integral fiscal unit. Bound together through joint responsibility, community members were obliged to pay the required amount of money to the tsar's treasury on time, fulfil various duties, and pay tributes. Tributes and duties were generally allocated among householders by yasaks (on a per (male) capita basis after 1724) at community gatherings with regard to the capability of each peasant household.

The Mari yasak community was also a peasant class body for self-administration. 'Worldly' (communal) officials were elected at community gatherings, that is sotniks, village heads, pyatidesyatniks, and desyatniks. Being subordinated to the community, they had to be approved by the voivode authorities. Representing the lowest level of the voivode administration, sotniks and village heads were obliged to report the tsar's and voivodes' decrees to their community, collect yasak payments in a timely manner, provide warriors, try minor cases within the community, assist the voivode in capturing runaways, etc. Characteristically, the sotnik position in the Mari community was represented by tarkhans in the former half of the 17th century and mainly by wealthy and well-reputed peasants from within the community in the latter half of the 17th century and the 18th century.

The peasant community was generally an efficient instrument to enhance Mari solidari-

ty and regulate the key aspects of Mari village life in an autonomous manner [Ivanov, 2000a, pp. 269–270; Ivanov, 2000b, pp. 101–104].

The Mari society of the 18th century was dominated by small families consisting of spouses with or without young and unmarried children. Landrat books and census records suggest that each small family household contained an adult and one or two non-full-time workers. Small Mari families mostly included 1–2 generations of lineal descendants and consisted of 2 to 7 people [Ivanov, 1995, p. 133].

Culture. Diverse as they were, manifestations of the Maris material and spiritual culture had traits that deserve more than passing mention. Suffering a total dependence on nature as well as a lack of social and national rights, the Maris tended to turn to their familiar traditional deities in their everyday domestic, communal, and ethnic life. The traditional folk religion kept its dominant role and continued to sanctify all the crucial elements in Mari life. During family, communal, and larger 'internecine' prayers and offerings to their gods, Mari pagans would ask 'Kogo Yumo' and other deities to give them happiness, health, good crops, fertility, intelligence, and wealth as well as to protect them from 'all kinds of evil, 'from wicked people, from bad disease, from foolish people, from ill-willed judges, and from the quarrelsome', to help them 'pay tributes' on time and preserve their social status of personal freedom. Therefore, the Pagan Mari faith was important to enhancing both communal solidarity and individual self-esteem from the 16th to the 18th century [Olearius, 1986, pp. 426–429; Müller, 1791, pp. 53–62; Ivanov, Sepeev, 1994, p. 91].

The peasant Mari culture was remarkably stable. Mari peasant families and communities handed down skills in agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting from generation to generation as well as handicrafts, such as making tools, utensils, dishware, clothing, footwear, cooking and housebuilding. Mari oral folk literature (legends, tales, fairy tales) and folk art (songs, dances, jewelry) were characterised from the start by a creative individuality. However, cultivating skills were crucial to subsistence. In 1767, the Maris declared that they had to take every measure to 'increase

grain farming' as 'the most important of human necessities' and the key way 'of compensating for governmental tributes', 'now and forever' [Ivanov, 1993, pp. 65–95].

The development of a writing system and literacy became a milestone in the Mari cultural evolution. The Maris had long-established writing systems including pictography, various hieroglyphic and numerical symbols. The Maris would use a knife to carve their tamga symbols of clan origin on wooden bars and tags, a spade to mark the ground, and an axe to 'label' personally owned trees and logs. Mari documents also bore tamgas. The Maris used their tamgas to mark property as belonging to this or that family; they symbolised households and families but could also denote a number [Ivanov, Sanukov, 2011, pp. 70–71].

The Mari writing system based on Russian type appeared in 1775. The Russian Academy of Sciences published 'Essays on the Grammar of the Cheremis Language' in Petersburg. The book was compiled by V. Puczek-Grigorovich with the help of Mari students in Kazan. Apart from grammar rules, it contained a Russian-Mari dictionary of approximately 1,000 words [Sochineniya, 1775, pp. 44–131].

Some dictionaries dating back to the 18th century contained up to 11,000 words representative of various aspects of the Mari everyday life and culture, thus showing how rich the Mari language based on Russian symbols was. The first three poetic works in the Mari language's Hill and Plain dialects were quatrains that appeared in 1767, 1782, and 1795. They were written by Mari students of the Kazan School for New Christians and Seminary as an

example of popular religious poetry [Ivanov, 1975, pp. 18–20; Ivanov, Sanukov, 2011, p. 71].

In the 18th century, the first appreciable measures were taken to foster the development of Mari literacy and religious education. Several Mari students attended the Kazan Bishop's House during the period of Peter the Great's reforms. During the 1720s and 1730s, Mari students along with other non-Russians attended New Christian schools in Kazan and Sviyazhsk [Makarov, 2000, p. 174].

New Christian schools were to be established in Tsaryovokokshaisk (later renamed Yoshkar-Ola) and a number of other uyezds centres in Kazan guberniya under the royal decree of 1740. It was not before 1749, after several years, that the wooden building of the Tsaryovokokshaisk Newly-baptised School was finished, classes began in 1750. 50 boys from Mari families were accepted. In 1755 the Tsaryovokokshaisk School along with its students and teachers was conveyed to Kazan, where existed until 1800 [Istoriya Mariyskoy ASSR, 1986, p. 158].

These schools provided very basic skills. The languages of instruction were Old Church Slavonic and Russian. Hunger, corporal punishment, and disease were typical aspect of student life. Many children ran away from such schools. Among the Mari in the 18th century a total of up to 150 parish church readers, 5–10 teachers, and 20–30 volost scribes were trained in the New Christian schools. Several Mountain side Mari boys studied at the Seminary of Nizhny Novgorod in the late 18th century [Kharlampovich, 1905, pp. 5–6; Nikolsky, 1920, p. 38; Almeteva, 2006, pp. 22–25].

3. The Chuvash Population

Vitalij Ivanov

Following the Russian annexation of the Taw yağı (Hill Land i.e. hilly right bank of Volga),—that is Chuvash Krai, in the middle of the 16th century, Chuvash-inhabited territory expanded to some extent. At first, it was southern migration that became possible. However, the south of modern-day Chuvashia as well

as the territories of the southwest regions and the Trans-Kama part of Tatarstan, Ulyanovsk, Samara, Penza, and Saratov oblast remained a 'wild country', uninhabited by any sedentary population until as late as the mid-17th century.

The Kazan Palace Prikaz was established in Moscow to administer the land of Kazan and

other newly annexed territories in the Volga Region. In the latter half of the 16th to the 17th century, that authority had full control over the territory of modern Chuvashia.

After the conquest of Kazan, the east of the Mountain Side became part of Sviyazhsk uyezd, while its northwest belonged to Cheboksary uyezd. The Mordovian and Russian population of the Middle Sura River Region was included in Alatyr uyezd.

In the latter half of the 16th century, the tsarist government established new administrative and military support centres in the Mountain Land, initially exclusively Russian. These were the fortress towns of Kurmysh (1372), Cheboksary (1555), Alatyr (1555), Kokshaysk (1574), Kozmodemyansk (1583), Tsivilsk (1589), and Yadrin (1590) as centres of the cognominal uyezds in the Chuvash Krai: Cheboksary, Tsivilsk, Yadrin, Kozmodemyansk, Kurmysh, Sviyazhsk, Kokshaysk, Alatyr uyezds. Sviyazhsk uyezd covered nearly one third of Chuvashia. The Chuvashes in the southeastern areas of the region belonged to Simbirsk uyezd, while those on the left bank of the Middle Volga Region were included in Kazan uyezd. According to Kazan uyezd census dating back to the latter half of the 16th century to the early 17th century, about 200 Chuvash settlements were present on the left bank, while the territory of present-day Chuvashia contained approximately 300 parent settlements [Dimitriev, 2004, p. 88].

The lower administration used local representatives within a system well-established since the time of the Khanate of Kazan. Until the middle of the 17th century, volost sotniks appointed representatives of Chuvash feudal classes. Starostas (village heads) were elected from among yasak-paying peasants to head Chuvash villages or groups of settlements. Sotniks and starostas were subordinated to the uyezd administration.

The Russian government embarked on an intense colonisation of the newly annexed region to be carried out by landowners and monasteries. In both the Meadow side and the Hill Land of the Volga, land formerly belonging to the khan and the defeated Kazan Tatar feudal lords was conveyed to the Archbishop of Kazan, Kazan and Sviyazhsk monasteries,

voivodes, noblemen, and boyars' children as votchina (patrimony) and manor in the 1650s and 1660s. Having lost their lands to landlords, monasteries, and towns, entire villages of Chuvash peasants moved to 'new land', that is, to the 'wild field'.

Assimilation on the 'wild field' led to a significant expansion of the basic Chuvash ethnic area. The peaceful conditions of Russia favored Chuvash economic development and demographic growth. All Chuvashes lived within the Middle Volga Region from the 16th to the 17th century. Speaking of the 18th century, V. Kabuzan used the phrase 'almost all' [Kabuzan, 1990, pp. 115, 245]. Besides this, they had begun to inhabit the South Urals in the 1720s and the southern territories of the Middle Volga Region in the 1760s. However, their population there was small in the 18th century.

No Tatar feudal noblemen remained in Chuvashia after the downfall of Kazan. One of them, Prince Temei Tenyakov, resident of the village of Pyukasy (now Bolshoye Knyaz-Tenyakovo) in Cheboksary uyezd, was mentioned in the latter half of the 16th century. Over one hundred sotniks and tarkhans were present in Cheboksary and Tsivilsk uyezds. Along with the princes, they served the Russian tsar.

Ivan IV rewarded Chuvash noblemen with tarkhan titles and privileges for rendering service to him during the struggle over Kazan and afterwards. As it was in the khanate, princes and sotniks controlled volosts, only now they were subordinated to Russian voivodes. Tarkhans performed military service in the Russian army. Princes, sotniks, and tarkhans reserved the ownership of their patrimonial land and community peasants dependent on them. A social stratum of new Christians and service class Chuvash people had formed. They resided in towns along fortified lines known as zasechnaya chertas (fortification lines).

Records dating from the first half of the 17th century refer to service class of Chuvashes in Kozmodemyansk, Tsivilsk, Cheboksary, and Yadrin uyezds as service class tarkhans. As of 1637, the reported amount of service class Chuvash tarkhans and service class of Chuvashes in Kozmodemyansk uyezd was 10; in Kokshaysk uyezd—6; in Kurmysh uyezd—30; in Svi-

yazhsk uyezd—50; in Tsivilsk uyezd—55; in Cheboksary uyezd—48; in Yadrin uyezd—17. [Dimitriev, 2005, p. 54].

Unlike Russian peasants, those of Chuvash origin were not under immediate dependence on Russian landlords and monasteries, they had not been turned into privately owned serfs. A majority of the Chuvashes remained 'black people',—that are tribute payers. Apart from the yasak and numerous obrok taxes, yasak-paying Chuvashes had duties to build and reconstruct town fortresses, fortification lines, roads, bridges, etc. During the wartime, each Chuvash yasak,—that are six peasant households, had to provide one warrior at wartime.

According to approximate estimate, the population within the borders of modern Chuvashia in the 1630s amounted to 175,000 people, and in the 1680s—200,000 people, of which the Chuvashes accounted for 80–81%, Russians—16–17%, Tatars for 1.5 to 2%, and Mordovins for 1% [Istoriya Chuvashskoy ASSR, 1983, pp. 73, 85].

The Chuvash feudal system of sotniks, tarkhans, service class newly baptised Christians, and service class Chuvashes still existed in the 17th century. There were about 300 sotniks and tarkhans of Chuvash origin. They owned small manors (10 to 120 desyatinas). Their quantity gradually decreased with time.

Yasak peasants represented a majority of the Chuvash population. They united in village communities, which were linked rather by kinship than proximity, since a single community included both parent and descendant populations. Community members owned individual farms. Most of their croplands and hayfields were divided among individual households. It was common to transfer land lots traditionally by inheritance. Forests, pastures, and fishing areas (rivers and lakes) were in communal use.

Most of yasak-paying Chuvashes were people of 'average' wealth. However, there was an insignificant amount of destitute, poor peasants incapable of sustaining their burden. Chuvash peasants had to pay a monetary or crop yasak to the government for land use. Yasak was not only a type of tribute but also a tribute-paying unit. It was determined by the size of plot of

land. An average yasak in Chuvash uyezds contained 15 desyatinas of arable land and 10 desyatinas of hayfields. A peasant household could pay a whole yasak, three fourths, a half, or a quarter of yasak.

The Chuvashes had to pay a tax (obrok) to the Treasury for their yield in wild bee-keeping, fishing, bear hunting, milling, for taxable arable and hay land, collections for 'non-Christian weddings', horse taxes (for selling and buying horses), customs duties (for importing and selling commodities), serf duties (to execute purchase, bondage, and other documents), as well as other fees.

The duties of yasak-paying Chuvashes were numerous and burdensome. In 1647–1654, each 5 Chuvash peasant households had to provide a labourer 'delovets' to build fortification lines, fortresses, and fortified towns along the Simbirsk Fortification Line. From 1652 to 1658, the Chuvashes along with Tatar, Mordvin, Mari, Udmurt, and Russian people were engaged in the construction of the Trans-Kama Line. During the first year of construction, every third household had to provide one person. This rate was later reduced to one person in six households. Chuvash peasants also served on fortification lines, in particular, that of Tetyushi. In the 1640s, each 10 households had to provide one person to work on the fortification line.

The Chuvashes also had to serve in the military. Throughout the 17th century, they were obliged to provide one warrior in three full yasak households.

It is characteristic of the feudal system of the 17th century Chuvash village that yasak-paying persons were serfs belonging to the state and assigned to land owned by the state. A yasak Chuvash could not leave or abandon his land for a long time without informing the administration. Deprived of rights, the Chuvashes were not accepted in administrative bodies at the level of uyezds or higher.

Territorial reforms caused changes to the area of dense Chuvash population, not to mention the periphery, from time to time. Thus, in the 16–17th century, the territory of the present-day Chuvashia was subordinated to the Kazan Palace Prikaz. It was included in

Kazan guberniya under Peter the Great's guberniya reform in 1708. A part of it was later transferred to Nizhny Novgorod Governorate (guberniya), which was separated from that of Kazan in 1714.

In 1719, governorates were subdivided into provinces of several uyezds. Chuvashia covered the entire Cheboksary and Tsivilsk uyezds, part of Sviyazhsk, Kozmodemyansk, and Kokshaysk uyezds, Sviyazhsk province, several settlements in Kazan and a part of Simbirsk uyezd, Kazan guberniya, all of Yadrin and part of Kurmysh and Alatyr uyezds, Alatyr province of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya. Uyezds were still divided into volosts or stans. This administrative division lasted until the Middle Volga regional reform of 1780–1781. However, by that time some part of the Chuvash ethnic group was also present in the territory of Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, and Saratov guberniya.

According to the data of the 1st census (1719–1723), the Chuvashes, amounting to a total of 217,900 people, were among Russia's largest ethnic groups. In general, the share of the Chuvashes in the total population of the Middle Volga Region in the first quarter of the 18th century reached 13.8%, the Tatars accounting for 13.3%, Maris—3%, and the Mordvins—4.9%.

The total population of Chuvashia, including all social groups, was approximately 243,000 people by the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, 275,000 people in the third quarter, and 289,000 people by 1795 [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 47].

Geographically, the small confluence of the rivers Sura and Sviyaga presented an area densely populated by Chuvashes with the Maris in the north, Russians in the west, Tatars in the east and southwest, Russians and some Mordvins in the south. Russian and Mordvinian settlements were dense in the southwestern part of Chuvashia, those of the Tatars, in its southeast. Russian settlements were also present in the central part, in suburbs, and along the rivers.

Chuvash peasants were still mainly engaged in agriculture. In plentiful years, both winter and spring crops in the northern half of Chuvash Krai yielded three, four, and occa-

sionally five times as much as was sown; in the southeastern area, rye crops had four or five-fold yields, while oats, spelt, and barley sixfold, wheat threefold, buckwheat, millet, peas, and hemp seven or eightfold.

In their vegetable gardens, the Chuvashes grew cabbage, turnips, cucumbers, garlic, onions, radish and other garden produce. Gardens only appeared among them from middle of the 18th century. Hops cultivation developed at that time. Livestock breeding was important to the Chuvash economy. Beekeeping was becoming more common.

It should be emphasised that Chuvash landless households were comparatively few (*yasa-kless*,—that are *bobyl* or landless households accounted for about 1% of the total in the first quarter of the 18th century).

The Chuvashes were engaged in all peasant trades: wheel and sledge making, cooperage, tawing, saddlery, tanning, felting, tailoring, furriery, pottery, carpentry, and the like. It should be noted that the tsarist government prohibited the Chuvashes and other people in the Volga Regions from black and silversmithing from the early 17th century to prevent them from producing weapons to be used in popular movements. The prohibition was not relieved until the 19th century. In the latter half of the 17th century, tanning, alcohol distillery, tallow rendering and other enterprises owned by Russian merchants appeared in Chuvashia.

As for commerce, there were fewer merchants among Chuvash peasants as compared to Russian or Tatar ones. It is curious that the region's export was 9 to 10 times as large as its import in terms of value. Grain was the primary export commodity. Chuvashia exported about one million poods of rye flour along with hops, hemp, pelts, honey, wax, and grain liquor annually.

The government imposed a number of taxes on Chuvash peasants for state-owned grazing and hay land, wild bee-tree lands and hops, beaver hunting, mills, fishing, and weddings. In the 18th century, the Chuvashes were additionally charged for peasant baths (15 kopecks per year), non-Christian *kiremets*, domestic beehives, branded horse collars; a tax of three rubles was imposed on grooms.

Under extensive use, the lack of land became notable in Chuvash settlements from the middle of the 18th century. It was one of the main reasons why peasants migrated from Chuvashia to the country's eastern and southern territories, which took place on a large scale in the 1740s.

Being exclusively peasant farmers, the Chuvashes found the so called 'labour duty',—that is recruitment for construction, fishing, and transport work, especially burdensome. In the late 17th to early 18th century, Chuvashes were engaged in the construction of fortifications and shipbuilding in the south (in Azov, Voronezh, and Taganrog), then in construction in Petersburg, on Kotlin Island, the Olonets shipyard, and in canal building, among other projects. [Istoriya Chuvashskoy ASSR, 1983, p. 109]. Apart from all-Russian recruitment, the Chuvashes had to provide workers for local activities, such as timbering, work for the Admiralty of Kazan, factories in Simbirsk, the construction of local fortresses and fortification lines, and the like. A certain number people was to be provided by a certain number of households, and the household was then required to maintain the worker during the period of duty.

Official exploitation and abuse as well as forced Orthodox Christianisation provoked resistance. The Chuvashes participated in all major popular movements in the Middle Volga Region from the 16th century to first half of the 19th century. Their engagement in one of the largest peasant rebellions in Russian history, the Peasant War led by Yemelyan Pugachev, was especially extensive.

The government was interested in extracting as much profit from non-Russians as possible. However, the authorities banned Chuvash people from administration, were opposed to the idea of using or learning the Chuvash language, and by no means fostered the development of the ethnic culture. Officials and the elite had no respect for the Chuvash ways of life, custom, and traditions [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 489].

The forced Christianisation of the Chuvashes by the tsarist government, which was aimed at a general Russification, was a special chapter of the Chuvash history in the 18th century.

However, the initial policy from the 16th to the 17th century had no success. On the other hand, the Tatar assimilation of the Chuvashes remained intense. The fact was that Islam in tsarist Russia was opposed to the state religion, that is, Orthodoxy. Therefore, Chuvashes living in a Tatar environment began to view Islam as an instrument of social resistance. However, conversion to Islam could not but cause eventual Tatarisation since muslim missionaries, unlike Orthodox clergymen, demanded that new converts who accepted Islam reject their ethnic origins. Thus, Chuvashes 'went Tatar' (tutara tukhne). That is, by converting to Islam they automatically became ethnic Tatars.

In the 18th century, the Moscow government issued a series of decrees to improve the situation for Chuvash converts to Orthodoxy and limit the rights of those who practicing traditional faiths. A non-Christian local feudal lord could not own Christian peasants. In case of his death, his property was to be transferred to the treasury or to a Christian family member. 'Under such conditions,' N. Nikol'skii noted, 'wealthy' landowners of Chuvash origin had to convert to Orthodoxy in order to safeguard their ownership of their land, thus gradually assimilating with the Russian native population. Other influential Chuvash people established close contacts with Tatar princes to resist the government's limiting measures jointly. Mention of Chuvash murzas in Nizhny Novgorod Krai as of 1647 had ceased to exist by the early 18th century. They had became Tatars and Muslims' [Nikolsky, 1919, p. 17]. Thus, the opposition between Islam and Orthodoxy in the Middle Volga Regions caused Chuvash murzas and small-scale princes (the section of Chuvash traditional believers which was the most advanced in terms of social and cultural development and thus presented the basis of the ethnic gene pool) to assimilate either with Russians or with Tatars through conversion to Islam.

Chuvash conversion to Orthodoxy naturally favored enlightenment. The Chuvash language was used in schools for newly baptised non-Russians in Chuvash settlements, though the primary aim of it was to ensure efficient Christianisation and Russification.

Back in 1724, Peter I in his instruction on baptised non-Christians demanded that 'land-owners and men of law should be encouraged to study in the spirit of Orthodoxy...and all necessary books should be translated into their language' [Ivanov, Nikolaev, 2000, p. 60]. About 380 Chuvash boys attended New Christian schools from 1740 to 1773. Student enrollment was enforced. In spite of a rather long study period of 9 years, students only received an elementary education. Russian and Old Church Slavonic were the languages of instruction. Corporal punishment was in use at the schools. Students struggled a half-starved existence, were in poor health, and some of them perished. Graduates were appointed to minor orders in different parishes. Those who had excellent results could enter the Seminary.

From 1789 to 1791, small ethnic schools were established in a number of towns in Chuvashia, namely Cheboksary, Yadrin, and Kozmodemyansk, but Chuvash children scarcely had access to them. At the beginning of the 19th century, no rural schools existed within Chuvash Krai. Chuvash peasants were reluctant to send their children to school. One of the key reasons was that instruction was given in Russian, which the Chuvashes poorly understood. The tsarist government did not permit the people of the Volga Region to have instruction in their native language. The percentage of literate Chuvashes was not more than 4 to 5 out of 1,000 in the early 19th century [Ivanov, Nikolaev, 2000, p. 60].

In 1769, the Petersburg Publishing House of the Russian Academy of Sciences published a book titled 'Essays on the Grammar of the Chuvash Language'. The book was compiled by V.Puczek-Grigorovich with the help of Chuvash students from the Kazan Seminary.

The famous Russian architect Peter Yegorov (1728(31)–1789) is traditionally believed to be one of the first Chuvash figures of culture, the enlightenment, and science in that period. Yegorov was outstanding among his prominent Russian contemporaries of the 18th century. He designed and built the iron fence of the Summer Garden in the Northern Capital, which is believed to be an unparalleled masterpiece in

architecture and decorative art. He was a co-architect and the chief building director of one of the most beautiful buildings, the Marble Palace, participated in the construction of the Winter Palace and Smolny Convent, and designed a number of residential houses and churches.

In summary, it should be noted that the researcher V. Dimitriev believed that by the end of the period in question, the 18th century, Chuvashia had taken its place in the general Russian historical process as a region integrated into the country's economy and market system, one that supplied crops, honey, wood, leather, processed grains, etc. It also played a major role in the large-scale anti-feudal movements of the 18th century (see: [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 489]).

Despite feudal and colonialist ethnic oppression, all spheres of production and social life, though at a slow pace, were witnesses of progress. This was the result of both the society's inner resources and external influence, which is to say that of the general social and economic situation in Russia. As in Central Russia, commodity production and exchange developed rapidly in Chuvashia; merchant-owned factories were established, primarily to process agricultural produce; a number of patrimonial industrial undertakings was founded; the number of peasants engaged in commerce and industry grew.

In terms of the course of Chuvash history, the period of the 17th to 18th centuries was marked by further development of the people's productive skills in agriculture and crafts. Chuvash peasants gradually became involved in market relations, thus ceasing to lead a secluded life. Chuvash peasants became increasingly dependent on the feudal state, on the class of Russian feudal lords. In general, the oppression of middle and low ranking peasants by members of the patriarchal feudal stratum grew worse. At the same time, the Chuvash peasantry became increasingly self-conscious and resistant to its oppressors. Authentic Chuvash culture developed in spite of the ethnic burden. Some Chuvashes became literate. The first steps towards studying Chuvash economy, language, and culture were undertaken [Ibid.].

CHAPTER 2

Governmental Policy in the Volga Ural Region and Siberia in the First Half of the 18th Century

§1. Transition from Voivode to Governorate Based Administration

Igor Ermolaev

Voivode Administration at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. By the end of the 17th century, the disadvantages of the voivode administration system had become especially stark. They appear the most blatant if we compare the voivode system in general with the previous one, based on local governors (namestniks), and the subsequent governorate system of local Russian administration. All experts see a continuity in the transition from voivode to local appointed governor and from governor to voivode administration. The voivode position was, in a manner of speaking, the transition phase between an administration relying on local control, which was virtually unmanageable, and one relying on governorates that was bureaucratically correct and strictly designed, representing the idea of an absolute autocratic government. That is why the voivode system of administration could not but be controversial, preserving much of the previous system but already invested with the one to come.

As the centralised state developed further and the basis was created for absolute monarchy, the local administration system relying on voivodes' power and its principles could no longer fit into the society's social and political structure. The peasant war led by Stepan Razin proved the tsarist government to be incapable of a timely mobilisation of punitive governmental forces within the existing structure of its central and local bodies. Thus it was unable to efficiently deal with the public discontent that decision makers believed indicated major flaws in the governing of the country. This was explained by the fact that all local governments were under the single near immediate control of a central office (and sometimes several of

them). The voivode, on the other hand, while enjoying extensive, often almost unlimited power, had to report each single event to the central office (prikaz) in Moscow.

Besides, many other governmental officials limited the voivode's power, often acting simultaneously with it in the same uyezd but not always subordinated to it (detectives, scribes, extraordinary tax collectors, etc.). Voivodes controlled large contingents of governmental troops (mainly Streltsy detachments called prikazes). However, they were by no means connected to the regimental voivode acting within the same territory. The regimental voivode was not obliged to agree on its actions with the town voivode. Orders, often issued by different prikaz offices, specified the responsibilities of the regimental and town voivodes. All this brought about confusion and a lack of connection between two local representatives of the central government.

The voivode administration also lacked coordination in its administrative and financial activities. Economic issues were not also frequently resolved by Voivode authorities in an efficient and timely manner. The most important among these issues for the voivodes was the collection of tributes (direct taxes) as the primary source of state income, supervision over customs and tavern fees, the arrangement of other indirect taxes, 'managing the fulfillment of numerous zemsky duties by the tribute-paying population, the accommodation of, and sometimes even allotment of land plots to, service class people in the uyezd, the provision of monetary and 'bread' (non-monetary) remuneration for the service class, and other issues. The administration also had to perform a num-

ber of minor economically-related functions, e.g. to control the operation of various types of 'dvors' (markets, fisheries, etc.), arrange the repairs of town fortifications, etc. That is, such issues were many and demanding. Voivodes often lacked the time, industry, or even skill to address them. Besides, it was often the case for voivodes' resources and funding to be too poor to solve such problems. In spite of a series of governmental measures, the amount of uncollected tax was increasing year by year; for instance, some peasant households still had debts dating back to the 70s, when the governorate was formed. [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 164].

To complete the picture, we should examine another vivid example of how fruitless the government's attempt at rectifying the local economy could be. Until 1670, prikaz clerks (noblemen and boyars' children, also podyachys) were appointed to collect yasak in volosts within Kazan uyezd. However, the outbreak of popular discontent during Stepan Razin's Peasant War caused the government to officially acknowledge the fact that yasak collectors 'imposed large duties in excess of yasak, abused them [yasak-payers], and collected extra money from them'; thus, 'a large amount of yasak money and crops remained uncollected' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 3, No. 1579, p. 294]. Kazan voivode A. Golitsyn entrusted the collection of yasak to elected yasak payers in 1671/72, following Stepan Razin's rebellion. However, after Golitsyn local authorities re-introduced the collection of yasak by service class people. Finding Golitsyn's innovation promising, the Kazan Palace Prikaz encouraged local governments to repeat the experiment in order to prevent new outbreaks of popular discontent, but it was to no avail. Orders dated 1677 and 1686 mention that 'collectors assessed taxes and losses of yasak people in the previous years' [Dimitriev, 1974, pp. 321, 375]. A 1697 order came back to Golitsyn neglected innovation and demanded that 'no collectors, noblemen, boyars' children, foreigners, or any service people shall be sent to Kazan uyezd to collect any kind of yasak' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 3, No. 1579,

p. 294]. Yet, the voivodes would not obey the central authorities. Therefore, the main disadvantage of the voivode administration system was a lack of proper centralisation under the royal administration.

The disadvantages of the voivode administration system (frequent abuse of power, slow decision-making, arbitrary resolutions and actions, etc.) motivated the central authorities to attempt to somehow transform the local administration system in the last decades of the 17th century. In particular, changes were introduced to certain provisions of the Sobornoye Ulozheniye establishing the key principles of social and political relations in Russia in the middle of the 17th century. For instance, under the Sobornoye Ulozheniye, 'brigandage, murder, and theft' (collectively referred to as criminal cases which then could also include open manifestation of discontent) were referred to town heads and tselovalniks. These were then subordinated to the Prikaz for Brigandage. However, exceptions were made for certain towns (e. g. nearly all the Low-lying Towns).

In order to unify the administrative system, possibly reduce abuses of power by voivodes, and check surging popular discontent, the 'New Edict Articles' of 1669, issued as an addendum to the 'Sobornoye Ulozheniye', were an attempt to limit voivodes' power over their uyezds to a certain extent. They were excluded from criminal proceedings, which were now fully given over to detectives and town heads entrusted with criminal cases who were noblemen and boyars' children by birth. Besides, town heads for criminal cases and detectives subordinated to the Prikaz for Brigandage became independent of the voivode administration and were reckoned in terms of the structure of the central hierarchy.

Yet this did not result in an improvement. On the contrary, the Peasant War which broke out soon and the hardships of the tsarist government's struggle against the rebellion motivated another extreme measure—the government tried to concentrate power over the uyezds of the Middle Volga Region within the central Kazan Palace Prikaz. The tsar issued a decree in 1672 to restore the previously aban-

doned provision that 'service and common people of below-lying towns, Russians and murzas, Tatars, Mordvins, and all kinds of yasak people shall refer their claims... exclusively to the Kazan Palace Prikaz; their cases must not be tried by any other courts' [Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 1, No. 526, p. 907].

Attempts were made to increase the centralisation and concentration of power in the subsequent years. In 1677, a decree was issued to that effect that the practice of rotating voivodes from town to town was abandoned, and voivodes and prikaz clerks could not be removed without a special (personal) order [Ibid., vol. 2, No. 704, p. 143]. After two years, in 1679, an amendment was introduced to the New Edict Articles of 1669 to concentrate the whole of the uyezd's power in the hands of the voivode and to make him the only representative of the central power at the uyezd level [Ibid., vol. 2, No. 779, pp. 219–220]. The 1679 decree abolished many prikaz official positions, including detectives, town heads for criminal cases, clerks for transport duty, siege, artillery, fortifications, and granary heads, 'appointed collectors' (i.e. those appointed by and sent from Moscow or subordinated to Moscow in some way without involving the voivode). The decree read as follows, 'The voivodes alone shall be responsible for urban construction, fortification lines, criminal trials, transport duty collections, and the collection of monetary and crop taxes lest town and uyezd people bear any excess burden' [Ibid., p. 219].

However, the new decree of 1683 allowed sending detectives to certain towns to find runaways, peasants, and bobylys [landless people], with the permission of the Tsar and on landlords' request [Ibid., vol. 2, No. 997, p. 502]. And in 1684, the positions of town head for criminal cases was restored and the voivodes again lost control over criminal trials: 'every town must have a town head for criminal cases responsible as previously for brigandage, murder, and theft, for which voivodes shall not be responsible' [Ibid., No. 1062, p. 576].

At the same time, the voivodes gradually won back control over most judiciary affairs. This is especially true when it comes to the

voivodes of the Kazan Krai. For instance, the decree of 1697 enabled Kazan voivodes not only to try criminals, but also to execute sentences, including capital punishment. The voivodes of some other major centres like Astrakhan enjoyed the same rights. As the voivode obtained an increasing amount of power in the late 17th century, the position of town head for criminal cases was abandoned in 1702, and voivodes were now fully responsible for criminal proceedings.

Leap-frogging voivodes' powers and those of other officials over one of the most burning issues of the time—brigandry—is characteristic of Russia's governmental structure in the late 17th century. A. Gradovsky summarised the situation as follows: 'The government resorted to every measure—town heads for criminal cases without detectives, detectives with town heads for criminal cases, detectives alone without town heads for criminal cases; as brigandage flourished, the Prikaz for Brigandage gradually lost its resources'. Having studied orders issued to town heads for criminal cases, Gradovsky had to admit that they 'resemble instructions to be applied to a society under martial law, under siege' [Gradovsky, 1899, pp. 440, 441].

As local authorities obtained more power, attempts were made to coordinate activities among numerous central authorities and establish a subordination among them. 'The evolution of the prikaz system,' reads the academic edition of 'Essays on the History of the USSR', 'manifested itself in the 17th century, firstly, through bureaucratisation of central institutions and, secondly, through the centralisation of the apparatus' [Ocherki istorii, 1954, p. 291]. For instance, in 1677 it was established that the Razrjad as a key central prikaz was to send orders to other prikazes and not notes (to demonstrate its superiority). However, some prikazes (included the Kazan Palace Prikaz) were not inferior to the Razrjadnyj Prikaz in terms of administrative hierarchy due to their structure and the high status of their heads (boyars). Therefore, the feudal narrow-mindedness of the 17th century yielded another provisional solution. The government failed again to clearly coordinate the significance and mutual subordination of prikazes, though the general trend towards

centralisation and bureaucratisation was obvious. The Kazan Palace Prikaz was able to preserve its special place in the state hierarchy, which was very high.

In 1680, an attempt was made to reorganise the military administration and entrust it entirely to specialised institutions, primarily the Razrjadnyj Prikaz. Consequently, the Kazan Razryad of the Kazan Palace Prikaz (a dedicated prikaz department for the regimental service of service class people within 'low-lying' towns) was dissolved on November 12, 1680, and all issues related to service class people of the old regimental service were referred to the Razrjadnyj Prikaz, in which a dedicated Kazan Seat was established. Exceptions again were numerous. For instance, warriors belonging to regiments of the 'new order', who used to be subordinate to the Kazan Palace Prikaz, were now in the jurisdiction of the merged Prikazes for Mounted and Foreigner Affairs; Streltsy detachments, which were subordinated to the Streltsy Prikaz across Russia, remained in the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz on the pretext of their doing 'lower Astrakhan service'. The Kazan Palace Prikaz also continued to have control over the part of the service class that resided within the Lower Volga Region [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 2, No. 844, pp. 283–285].

Thus, the attempt to concentrate military administration within the Razrjadnyj Prikaz in 1680 in fact increased administrative discord. The formal division of the powers of the Kazan Palace Prikaz, which was integral in terms of its inner structure, proved inefficient, and the powers of the Kazan Razryad within the Kazan Palace Prikaz were soon restored in June 1681 [Porfiriev, 1912a, p. 551].

These examples clearly indicate the failure of both the central authorities and the local bodies on the Middle Volga Region to perform their functions and duties at the turn of the 18th century, which required firm reorganisation measures to be taken urgently. The government was looking for a solution and experimenting in various spheres to no avail. The voivode local administration system as one controlled by the central governmental bodies was approach-

ing a crisis. Reforms in both aspects were increasingly pressing on the agenda. They came to fruition in the early 18th century in the form of administrative transformations introduced by Peter the Great's government.

Formation of the guberniyas. Kazanska-ya guberniya (Kazan guberniya.) From the very beginning Peter the Great's government reforms affected local administration. During the first half of the 90s, the state issued several edicts on increasing a voivodes' term of office, which made their service more stable and office-holders more qualified. At first, according to the edict of 1692, the voivodes were assigned for an indefinite period of time. Then, the edict of 1695 introduced a general rule for the voivodes assigned to the Siberian cities. They were to fulfill their duties from four to six years and longer [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 3, No. 1511, pp. 203–204].

In 1692, the Yaroslavl voivode was assigned to partly administer the cities of Rostov and Pereslavl-Zalessky [Ibid., No. 1442, p. 130]. Thus, one voivode had control over several cities, whereas, previously, each city, regardless of its size, location or political importance, had had its own independent voivode, often (except for the suburbs) with no difference in rank to the voivodes of neighbouring cities in that area. The series of edicts issued in 1697 drew the attention of some voivodes (in Kazan, Terek, Tobolsk) to the importance of cooperation with their 'colleagues' on the administrative issues and to their equal responsibilities to the central authority [Ibid., No. 1579; pp. 300–301; No. 1585, pp. 307–322; No. 1594, pp. 335–375; No. 1595, pp. 375–402].

In January 1699, Peter the Great implemented the reform of the municipal government. It was the first nationwide reform of his government that caused significant changes in the state apparatus due to formation of a new institution, the Chamber of Burgomasters, as the self-regulatory body of the urban (posad) population (in Moscow it was soon renamed as City Hall). In other cities these bodies were commonly called the zemsky izbas. This reform enabled the posad population to choose

the entire board of the Burgomaster Chamber (the *zemsky izba*) as well as the Burgomaster. As a result they eliminated the position of voivode. The main responsibilities of these newly formed bodies were internal governance, court proceedings and tax collection. One of the reasons for introducing this reform was 'numerous' cases of 'harrassment, raids and bribe-taking' by voivodes and other representatives of the local government against *posad* and *uyezd* residents [Ibid., No. 1675, pp. 600–601].

The following series of edicts confirmed the limited power of voivodes over the *posad* people and *uyezd* peasants. For instance, the royal decree dated December 8, 1699 sent to the voivode in Vyatka, said: 'The voivode of the Vyatka *posad* people and *uyezd* peasants must stop the abuse and stay clear of all government affairs' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 3, No. 1731, p. 678]. In 1700, the voivodes were made financially dependent on *zemsky izbas* and their heads (Burgomasters). Being the central financial institution, City Hall required '*zemsky izba* books' from the heads of all the cities, starting from 1696/97, in order to find out 'where and in which cities they collected taxes and how much money and other incomes went to the voivodes' [Ibid., vol. 4, No. 1742, p. 5]. The customs authorities, that collected duties, were previously governed by the voivode *prikaz izbas*, whereas from then on the duties collection (for instance, in rural areas) was passed on to the elected burgomasters, who served the *zemsky izba*, and thus, was taken out of the voivodes' hands.

The government continued taking actions aimed at limiting the voivodes' authority. Just a year later after the governance of the *posad* population had been assigned to the *zemsky izbas*, there was issued a new stringent edict according to which the voivodes that interfered in the work of burgomasters (*zemsky heads*) would be penalised (summoned to court). On February 16, 1700, the state issued an edict on the exact penalty for the voivodes from the cities of Putyvl and Orel, as 'they should not have met up with the local and foreign people of various ranks, but they, the voivodes, did so and took bribes and beat them', which was qualified as 'interference in the finances of the

Grand Ruler and into the state affairs'. The execution of the edict was announced to the entire country: 'the voivodes who have crossed the law in other cities and have met the tradespeople...are to be arrested and sent to Moscow and tried in the City Hall' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 1760, pp. 12–13].

In order to consolidate the financial administration and to create a strict system of subordination of cities and *yezds* to the centre of the country (that is to form an intermediate link of administration between *yezds* and central authorities), in October 1699, the government made an attempt to organise 'provinces' on the basis of the trade relations. This should not to be confused with provinces as an administrative territorial divisions that would be introduced by Peter the Great in 1719. These provinces (they could probably be referred to as fiscal or financial units) were composed of several cities and, with the burgomaster of the head city in charge, were supposed to unite the economically linked cities, when it comes to the customs and liquor duties and 'all other affairs'. Only the burgomaster of the head city had the right to contact Moscow directly. These provinces can hardly be considered as the origin of the idea of the *guberniyas*. This effort was probably an attempt to consolidate the rights and the political impact of the merchant class in the state, on one hand, and to increase the amounts of indirect taxes collected by the state, on the other.

Thus, the reform of 1699 and the following edicts limited the authority of voivodes in one of the most important aspects, that is, the financial. Only in Siberia the voivode system of governance was left untouched. The edict, dated October 27, 1699, declared the exemption of the Siberian cities from the introduction of burgomasters and maintaining of duties collection in the hands of the heads and tax-collectors who were subject to their voivodes. This was of no surprise as the Siberian cities were located too far from the central administration, which made control over new bodies of the unproven system complicated.

At the same time, the new 'reforms' introduced by the administration of Peter were clearly aimed at the following rising of the nobility

as a ruling class. In 1702, it was suggested that a sort of council attached to voivodes should be organised, composed of landlords and hereditary uyezd landowners. The members of these councils, that were supposed to make all the decisions along with the voivode ('by the general vote'), were elected by the nobility. Three or four members were elected in big cities and two in towns. At the same time, the edict abolished the town heads for criminal cases and detectives, which was mentioned above, and passed on all criminal proceedings to the voivodes.

In 1705, there was a new edict on introducing a collaborative institute of 'fellow voivodes' from the nobles of the same city [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 4, No. 2018, p. 284]. Thus, if previously voivodes and their 'fellows' had not been generally supposed to have any contacts with the locals, now, on the contrary, the local nobility were even more involved in governance. This was the principle which would reach its full development in the governorate system. Although it must be said that this attempt to create an estate voivode board on affairs of the nobles proved to be unsuccessful. In 1706, all affairs regarding serfdom, such as registration of documents of indenture (as private legal acts), were taken from the control of the voivodes and passed on to the city halls. Thus, the position of voivode as the head of the administrative, fiscal, and judicial authorities in the uyezd was gradually abolished along with the apparatus of voivodeship itself.

Therefore, the transition of local government structure from the voivode system to the governorate cannot be considered as a single event. It was a process of gradual restriction and limitation of the voivodes' authority and a search for the means of creating new bodies of local administration.

This process started in the first half of the 1690s with attempts to adapt and consolidate the voivode authorities and to make them more efficient in creating a strong regional authority that was fully supported by the nobles and merchants. These were the upper classes of the posad trading and manufacturing population, the principle social forces on which the government based its policy. This period first start-

ed with particular local events which, however, immediately demonstrated their inefficiency and gave no hope for solving the issues set by the government. Which is why soon enough (in 1699) the government came up with the idea of creating new local authorities. However, they obviously did not conceive the real prospects of the future transformation of the local government system.

This period features the formation of City Halls and Burgomaster (zemsky) izbas in the cities, the removal of the voivodes' power over the all-important financial system, consolidation of the voivode administration through local noble representatives and the attempts to transform it into the noble corporate authority. However, all these measures failed to yield significant results. The co-existence of two different estates elective bodies under the specific conditions of the early 18th century could favour neither the local, nor the central, authorities. That is why it was at this time that the government made their first attempts at finding new forms of local administration, that resulted in the introduction of guberniyas and a high-ranking bureaucratic system of local authorities.

The term 'governor' was first introduced in 1703. This was the title conferred to Alexander Menshikov in the royal edict of the Tsar, dated July 19, 1703 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 4, No. 1937, p. 223]. Menshikov was assigned to govern Petersburg and the nearby uyezds of Poshekhonye, Beloshor and Kargopol. Soon enough he was in charge of the entire territory of the Baltic states that had been taken over from Sweden—Ingria and Estland—and from 1704, his title was changed to 'General Governor' [Ibid., No. 1954, pp. 230–231]. The year 1700 brought a new term, 'Ingermanland guberniya [governorate]' [Ibid., No. 2097, p. 344]. The assignment of Menshikov as governor and the formation of the Ingermanland guberniya initially did not make any impact on the existing structure of the local authorities. For instance, instead of the voivode prikaz izba, Menshikov had his own prikaz izba. However, shortly afterwards, new government bodies began to appear: in 1704, the 'prikaz izba' of the General-Governor

Menshikov was replaced with an 'Ingrian secretariat' [Ibid., No. 1954, p. 230].

Thus the title of governor that Menshikov received in 1703, marked the introduction of a new administrative position that served as a link between the uyezd administrator (voivode) and the central authority. Each region, assigned to a governor, included several uyezds the cities of which were controlled by chief commandants and commandants, who in their turn were subject to the governor. P. Mrochek-Drozdovsky wrote, 'The governors became the only representatives of the regions which they, however, ran collectively as did the voivodes of the 17th century: the edicts and charters, that were sent to the governors from the central authorities, featured a common phrase: "to the Governor and his comrades" [Mrochek-Drozdovsky, 1876, p. 34].

Another interesting fact is that the first introduction of the governor position was a one-time phenomenon, probably caused by the need of an administration for a region newly conquered by the Russian tsar (the Baltic states). This means that initially this position dealt with military issues in the governed land. It resembles the first introduction of the position of voivode as the military and civil chieftain of the newly annexed by Russia territory of the former Khanate of Kazan.

Once Menshikov was assigned as the governor, the voivodes of all the cities included in his authorities were naturally put under his control. But the position of voivode was not abolished, as it still existed and gradually evolved into one of the bureaucratic steps of the governorate system. One of the examples of such evolution (before the official introduction of the guberniyas in Russia in 1708) involves Yakov Rimsky-Korsakov, who at the time of the introduction of the governor position (1703), was the voivode of the city of Koporye, but he soon enough received an order denoting his full submission to the Governor Menshikov, while he still remained the city voivode.

The term 'voivode' was gradually replaced with 'commandant'. For instance, since March 1706, the Koporye voivode Yakov Rimsky-Korsakov became the 'Koporye commandant'. The Tsar (not personally, as previously, but through

Governor Menshikov) announced his 'assignment' to the city of Koporye as a commandant 'as before' and entrusted him to 'be in charge' of Yamburgsk Uyezd and manage his department 'according to the Code, the New Edict provisions and using the voivode injunctions' [Collective Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 2097, pp. 343–344], as it was said in the voivode injunctions of the 17th century. But after a few months, the injunctions to the Koporye commandant Rimsky-Korsakov started to come from the Ingermanland Governor Menshikov at his discretion.

The statements of I. Golikov in 'Exploits of Peter the Great' point to the fact that some governors (besides Menshikov) were assigned prior to the official introduction of guberniyas. According to Golikov, in 1705 it concerned the Kazan governor, B. Golitsyn [Golikov, 1837, p. 143], who was in charge of both Kazan and Astrakhan. This unification of two biggest cities of the Kazan Palace Prikaz might be considered as a prototype of Kazan guberniya. The terms 'governor' and 'voivode' in the Kazan (the Middle Volga) region were used in parallel for some time and later on as well (just like in the middle of the 16th century, when the first Kazan voivodes were often referred to as vicegerents). Hence, the governor of Kazan Pyotr Apraksin was referred to with either one of those titles. In September 1710, Apraksin was titled the 'Governor of Kazan and Astrakhan', in January 1711, as the 'fellow boyar and Kazan voivode', in April 1713, as the Kazan governor, and, in July 1713, again as the 'fellow boyar and voivode' [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 206].

The position of governor and the governorate structure was officially introduced in Russia in 1708. 'The governors, as noted by N. Eroshkin, had the ultimate authorities: each one of them had not only administrative, enforcement, financial and juridical functions, but also was the commander of all the troops based on the guberniya's territory. The governor managed the guberniya with the help of the secretariat, composed of dyaks (clerks) and podyachy (minor officials) (the latter soon were named secretaries)' [Eroshkin, 1968, p. 96].

According to the nominal edict, announced by the Blizhny Secretariat, dated December 18,

1708, Russia was divided into eight guberniyas: Moscow, Ingermanland (in 1710 renamed to Petersburg), Kiev, Smolensk, Arkhangelgorod, Kazan, Azov and Siberia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–I, vol. 4, No. 2218, pp. 436–438]. Each guberniya included a certain number of cities (uyezds), specified in the edict. According to the list of cities, included in Kazan guberniya, it covered the entire territory that in the 17th century was under the jurisdiction of the Kazan Palace Prikaz. The Kazan guberniya initially included 37 cities and 35 suburbs. Here is the list of cities in the order they are given in the edict on formation of the guberniya: Kazan, Yaik, Terek, Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Dmitrovskaya, Saratov, Ufa, Samara, Simbirsk, Tsaryovosanchursk, Kokshaysk, Sviyazhsk, Tsarevokokshaysk, Alaty, Tsivilsk, Cheboksary, Kashpir, Yadrin, Kozmodemyansk, Yaransk, Vasil (Vasilsursk), Kurmysh, Temnikov, Nizhny Novgorod, Arzamas, Kadom, Yelatma, Kasimov, Gorokhovets, Murom, Mokshansk, Urzhum, Balakhna, Vyazniki, Yuryevets-Povolskoi, Penza. The following cities had suburbs: Kazan, Astrakhan, Simbirsk, Ufa, Penza.

The territory of Kazan guberniya did not remain unchanged. The challenge of managing such a vast region, considering the number of the local peculiarities in some parts of it, forced the administration to separate the Nizhny Novgorod and Astrakhan guberniyas already at the second stage of the local administrative

reforms ('second regional reform'), which was done in 1719.

The Kazan Palace Prikaz continued to exist for some time after the formation of Kazan guberniya. For the last time it was mentioned in 1709. There are extant 'Account books of the Kazan Prikaz' of that period, as well as 'otpusks' from the Kazan Palace Prikaz to the Kazan voivode Apraksin. The Razrjad sent the Kazan Palace Prikaz's orders concerning the development of the guberniya and 'pamyats' (memos) suggesting it would send information on money, grain and other levies, that voivodes had to supply for the organisation of the guberniya records management. But the Kazan Palace Prikaz existed just as a formality, while it passed its modest cases (its archives burnt down in 1701) to the secretariat of Kazan guberniya.

And thus one may conclude that the guberniya system of administration was not just developed out of nothing. There was a quite established system of local government for the time (and most of its elements were included into the new system while occasionally they were given new names). The main and ultimate fault of the voivode government was its conservativeness, inconsistency and incompatibility of its separate authorities. This became a severe obstacle for the country's development from monarchy in the 17th century 'with its Boyar дума' to the noble monarchy of the 18th century. The reforms of Peter the Great began a new period in the history of Russia.

§2. Russian Legislation Regarding the Tatars in the 18th Century

Aydar Nogmanov

1. Tatars in the legislation of Peter the Great. The first quarter of the 18th century was a special period in the history of Russia, as it was a time of confirmation and consolidation of absolutism, the transformation of the Russian state into the Russian Empire and of enormous changes in the socio-economic and socio-political life of the country. The reforms were greatly influenced by law that was both the product and initiator of the process of mod-

ernisation in the Russian society that was triggered by Peter the Great. At the same time it reflected the changes in the different categories of the population. Analysis of the legislative materials has shown a high level of involvement of the Tatars in the events of that period. The reforms had affected the social structure of the Tatar community, its spiritual life, legal status and household culture.

Peter the Great's lawmaking activity, like his reign (1682–1725), splits into two periods: 1) 1682–1699; 2) 1700–1725. The first period fell on the years of the Tsar's childhood and adolescence, when he rarely interfered in the state's affairs and legislative decisions were first made by his sister Sophia Alekseyevna and then by his attendants (L. Naryshkin, B. Golitsyn, P. Lopukhin, T. Streshnev and others). The decrees of that period bear the imprint of the 17th century both chronologically and in their spirit, which is why it makes sense to regard them in the context of the legislative policy of that period.

The traces of Peter's reforms in 1700–1725 can be seen in many aspects of the Tatar population's life; however, not all of the reforms were systematic and complete. Analysis of the sources distinguishes three main directions of legislative policy of that period: 1) attacking Muslims' system of values; 2) providing privileges to the Tatar nobility; 3) securing exceptional position of the yasak people.

Judging by the legislative documents, the religious policy of the state towards the Tatars at the turn of the 18th century was quite tolerant. The decrees of 1682 on returning the lands that had been taken away from Tatar servicemen for refusing to convert to Orthodoxy did not lose their legal force [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 2, No. 923, p. 403; No. 944, p. 456]. There are some reasons to assume that the decree 'On the Christianisation of non-Christians only at their own will without any obligation', dated 5 April 1685, was valid not only in Siberia but in other regions of the country as well [Ibid., No. 1117, p. 662; No. 1163, p. 738]. However, as the young Tsar Peter Alekseyevich was getting into the art of ruling the state, his domestic policy progressively featured more anti-Muslim tendencies. During his visit to the failing patriarch Adrian on 4 October 1700, Peter had spoken about the importance of education in Russia and the goals and ways of organising schools to combat ignorance. In his speech, he mentioned the Tatars, the Mordvins, and the Cheremis, whom the Tsar called 'zlovertsy' ['evil faith', 'heterodox'] [Voskresensky, 1945, p. 33]: a term

that clearly shows the Tsar's attitude towards other religions.

It was not long before the Muslims felt the real consequences of such an attitude. From 1704 to 1711, in the vast territory from the Volga to the Tobol, from the middle course of the Yaik to Kazan, the Vyatka and Kungur, the Bashkirs, along with the Tatars, the Mishars, the Mari, the Mordvins, and the Udmurts, started a rebellion. The rebellion was caused by the decree announced by incomers (tax collectors.—*A.N.*) A. Zhikharev and M. Dokhov at the meeting of the Bashkir houses in August 1704. The decree introduced new taxes on mosques, mullahs and everyone coming to the Muslim prayer house. It required mosques to be built after the fashion of Christian churches, and cemeteries to be located near the mosques; it allowed mullahs to record marriages and deaths only in the presence of a Russian priest, etc. [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936, pp. 110–111]. The Muslims took it all as a first step towards the coming full-scale forced Christianisation. It was no coincidence that the rebellion was led by spiritual leaders (Ismagil Mullah, Murza Abyz, Abbas Mullah), whereas, apart from the state institutions, insurgents attacked Orthodox churches, that they considered as the control points for forced Christianisation [Gabdullin, 2006, p. 63]. In 1721, ten years after the repression of the rebellion, during a Senate court case on malfeasance in the Russian administration, A. Zhikharev stated that the decree of 1704 was issued by the Tsar, composed of 72 provisions, and he, along with M. Dokhov, acted on the instructions of A. D. Menshikov [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936, p. 110].

The scale of the rebellion impelled Peter to cancel his initial plans and turn to other issues, which did not prevent cases of misuse of power in religious policy. The Tobolsk voivodes and clerical figures were particularly guilty of that. In the early 18th century, they made yet another attempt to move the Tatar servicemen and 'zakhrebetny' (dependants.—*A.N.*), as well as the Siberian Bukhara citizens who were living among Russians in the suburbs, in the lower part

of Tobolsk, to the Monastery of the Sign, located on a hill in the upper part of the city. Their goal was probably to pressure the Muslims to accept Christianity. Tatars' complaints about the actions of the local government led to the issue of an edict on 11 October 1703, that ordered to let them stay in their previous places of residence. At the same time, Muslims were ordered to build their mosques at a distance from the 'churches of God', and also they were not allowed 'to shout during divine singing nor cause any trouble or offence to the Russian people' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 4, No. 1946, pp. 226–227]. By another decree, dated 2 February 1705, Peter gave orders to abolish 'ceremonial, honey and other...minor taxes', imposed by the Tobolsk secretariat on 'the Tatar servicemen, as well as dependent and yasak-paying people...their Tatar mosques and weddings and on abyzs' [Ibid., No. 2025, p. 286]. Thus, the supreme authority demonstrated its unwillingness to aggravate its relationships with the Tatar population in terms of the complex conditions in foreign and domestic affairs.

By the 1720s, the supreme authority had noticeably brought its religious policy into force. After signing the treaty of Andrianople with Turkey in 1713, Peter I proceeded to fulfill his idea of bringing his subjects to religious uniformity. It must be said that the tsar himself was not overly religious. Moreover, he reduced the Orthodox Church to the position of one of the departments of the civil administration [Pipes, 1993, p. 315]. However, it was Peter who took specific legislative measures to consolidate Orthodoxy and its monopolistic position in the spiritual life of the country. Guided by western examples, he aspired to turn Russia into an absolutist, regulated, and socially segmented state. Such attitude left no space for the rights and traditions of the non-Russian population that had previously been accepted. Besides the means of social grading, the state started a systematic and religious integration of non-Christians and Muslims in the different regions of the country.

The first to feel the activation of the religious policy were the Tatar landlords. 3 No-

vember 1713 marked the issue of the royal decree 'On Christianisation of the Muhammadans who have Orthodox Peasants in their Manors and Votchinas in Kazan and Azov guberniyas' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 5, No. 2734, pp. 66–67], that gave them half a year to embrace Christianity. Otherwise, their lands and inheritance were to be seized 'in favour of the Tsar', along with the peasants and house-serfs. Less than a month later, on 27 November, the Tsar issued another decree: 'announce to Basurmen (Muslims) that if they all do not be baptised, their villages shall be taken away, and do not give them too much time' [Ibid., No. 2741, p. 71].

The official reason for these decrees was that during the first decade of the 18th century, the Muslim landlords had still owned Orthodox serfs, although the state had tried to put an end to this practice more than once during the previous century. From this perspective, the decrees of 1713 recall the situation on the turn of the 1680s when the Tatar feudal lords were losing their lands due to their religious beliefs (see [Nogmanov, 2005, pp. 52–55]. Considering that the three decades dividing these two confiscation campaigns brought no legislative acts concerning the Tatar landownership, the repetitiveness and similarity of attempts to tread on the Tatar nobility's land rights are uncanny. The connection between these two campaigns was already described by N. Firsov [Firsov, 1869, p. 5], whereas A. Kappeler noticed the similarity between the decrees of 1713 and 1681 and mentioned that Peter the Great used it 'to finish the advance prepared by his father and started by his step-brother' [Kappeler, 1982, pp. 249–250].

By making such legislative decisions, the supreme authority was addressing several problems at once:

- 1) promoting the exclusive position of Orthodoxy;
- 2) assisting the consolidation of the ruling class of the state, advancing Russification of its ethnic groups;
- 3) sapping the financial position of the serving Tatars, which simplified their further social stratification.

The factor that untied the state's hands was that the Tatar feudal class had lost its military position. By virtue of the Petrine reforms, Russia obtained a strong regular army, able to successfully withstand any enemy, as it proved itself by the victory over Sweden. Hence the government proceeded to transfer different categories of service class people (Tatars included.—*A.N.*) into the inferior classes, primarily the peasantry. As mentioned by A. Kappeler, since the issue of the 3 November 1713 edict, the Tatar elite, which still did not convert to Christianity, was 'given an ultimatum to either culturally blend with the Russian social structure completely or acknowledge the loss of their economic foundation' [Kappeler, 1982, p. 249].

Judging by Peter's character, we may state that the decrees of 1713 were put into practice decisively. The misuse of power, caused by inaccurate formulation of specific provisions, called for clarification. 12 July 1715 marks the issue of the royal decree 'On Distrainment and Seizure of Orthodox Peasants from the Mohammedan Landlords to the Treasury for Denying Christianity' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 5, No. 2920, p. 163]. Following its issuance, the general seizure of property from Tatars was discontinued. The edict specified that the distrainment involved only Russian peasants, who were to be seized by the state along with their tillage and all of what the peasants owned'. Whereas it was ordered that murzas and Tatars were allowed 'to live in their houses, and their lands, property and mills that they possessed, apart from peasant land, would not be seized' [Ibid.].

According to M. Klochkov, the total number of peasant households, seized as a result of the decrees above, came to 560 units, including 3,795 males and females from seven cities of Kazan and Azov guberniyas [Klochkov, 1911, pp. 312–313]. Unfortunately, there is no other information that would show the scale of the confiscations. Yet, there is no doubt that this campaign had truly struck a blow on the Tatar feudal upper class. S. Tashkin believed that, on the one hand, the decrees of 1713 and 1715 almost legitimised the forced Christianisation of non-Russians, and, on the other, ruined them and brought discord to their community [Tash-

kin, 1922, p. 9]. According to N. A. Firsov, the non-Russian servicemen split into two groups: the young and old. The former remained faithful to their ancestors; the latter decided to get baptised in order to keep their manors and *votchinas* [Firsov, 1869].

The lands seized from the Tatar feudal lords after 1713 were gathered into a special land fund where they remained for some time. After the death of Peter I, the Empress Catherine Alekseyevna issued a decree on 30 September 1726, according to which the baptised Tatars were allowed to take the lands of their fathers and grandfathers if they 'were still free and not registered in royal holdings' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 7, No. 4962, p. 699]. Instead of the lands given to new owners, they were assigned 'the same proportion as those from other seized and unclaimed lands' [Ibid.]. In 1729, the Supreme Privy Council sanctioned free dispensation of the lands from the fund [Ibid., vol. 8, No. 5511, p. 254]; however, the decree of the Empress Anna Ioannovna, dated 6 March 1730, reestablished the previous order [Ibid.]. The special fund of the confiscated Tatar lands remained, and only baptised heirs of the former owners up to the third degree of relation could claim them.

Regardless of all the similarities between the campaigns of 1670–1680s and 1713–1715, their outcome was incommensurable. Unlike Sophia Alekseyevna, who abolished the decrees of the Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich and returned the lands of serving Murzas and Tatars that had been seized for their refusal to get baptised [Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 923, p. 403; No. 944, p. 456], Peter I was actually more consistent in his religious policy. His legislative decisions practically eliminated the Tatar feudal landownership. The Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire does not contain any edicts on the regulation of the relations between the Muslim landlords and their Orthodox peasants after 1715. The legal basis of the personal interdependence between them was practically destroyed by the legislation. The instructions given to 'mezhevshhiks' (land surveyors) in 1754 and 'border guberniya secretariats' in 1766 merely hypothetically

implied the possibility of detecting cases of ownership of Russian peasants by unbaptised murzas and Tatars during the land division [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 14, No. 10237, p. 135; vol. 17, No. 12669, p. 772].

Although the decrees of 1713–1715 firstly affected the Tatar feudal upper class, it was obvious that the monarchy would take measures to Christianise the wider ranks of the Tatar population. This is served by mentioning that while the process of conversion to Orthodoxy in the European part of Russia was carried out selectively, in the further regions it had a much wider scale. Evidence to this is given in the edict, dated 6 December 1714, 'On Extermination of the Idols and Idol Houses of Voguls, Ostyaks, Tatars, and Yakuts and the Christianisation of these Peoples', which gave the Siberian Metropolitan Fyodor freedom in his missionary work in the territories from the Upper Tura to Yakutsk [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 2863, p. 133]. A year later, on 27 November 1715, Peter I signed a decree that can be considered as the starting point of the massive Christianisation of the peoples of the Volga River Region [Ibid., No. 2957, pp. 183–184].

For some reason, these plans were never brought to fruition. Apparently, this was owing to the fact that in 1718 the service class people of the non-Russian origin were assigned to the admiralty (navy) duty, and starting from 1719, the Volga River region was levied with a poll tax. Otherwise the massive Christianisation of these ethnicities might have turned into serious social upheaval. On 31 July 1719, the Senate announced to the Tatars and other 'non-Christians' of Ufa and Kungur uyezds that they would not be forcefully Christianised, 'unless some of them were willing to be baptised into the Orthodox faith' [Ibid., No. 3410, pp. 726–727]. By that, the government declared the renunciation of forced methods of conducting religious policy, relying on voluntary conversion to Orthodoxy.

In 1719, the political theorist I. T. Pososhkov, who was the ideologist of this as well as many other ventures of Peter, suggested that a

ten year exemption from taxes for those who had been baptised would motivate people to accept the Orthodox faith [Pososhkov, 1893, pp. 321, 325]. In the beginning of 1720, the Kazan Metropolitan Tikhon also brought up the issue of tax privileges for the newly-baptised. In his submission to Peter I, he asked him to grant them with exemption 'from tributes and work...to the discretion of His Majesty, so that by Your, the Tsar's, mercy others among the wicked would be willing to embrace the Greek Law of God and become worthy' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department–1, Vol. 1, No. 191, p. 210].

The suggestion was supported by the supreme authority and registered as a Senate edict, dated 1 September 1720 'On Exemption of the Newly-baptised from All Taxes and Tributes for Three Years' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 6, No. 3637, pp. 234–235]. Expecting that the number of those willing to get baptised would increase after the announcement of 'the Monarch's mercies', the Senate ordered an annual allocation of 1,000 rubles to the Kazan Metropolitan 'for construction of churches and implements and for providing the newly-baptised with baptism' [Ibid.]. The very same day, the Siberian Governor, Prince A. M. Cherkassky, was sent a Senate edict on construction of Orthodox churches in the lands of non-Russian peoples and on reward for 'foreigners' who would 'accept Christianity' [Ibid., No. 3636, p. 234]. In order to increase the effect, the decrees of 1720 were repeated with the decrees dated 23 August 1721 and 17 July 1722 [Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 5737, pp. 447–448]. Besides legal motions towards the non-Russian population in general, there were documents addressing specific people. For instance, the Senate decree, dated 11 July 1722, 'On Privileges for the Cheremis Upon Receiving Baptism' exempted the baptised Mari of Yaransk uyezd from all taxes for three years [Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 4048, p. 736]. Notably, the aforementioned decrees on privileges for the newly-baptised essentially contradicted Peter the Great's general course of unifying rights and duties of the tax-paying population of the country.

Other than exemptions from tributes and taxes, the tsarist government used other methods of attracting Muslims and practitioners of traditional faiths to join the Orthodox Church. For instance, a decree to the Astrakhan governor A. P. Volynsky, issued in July 1720, dictated the ascription of newly-baptised Tatars and other non-Christians 'in Astrakhan to people of rank, except for soldiers, at your discretion' [Ibid., vol. 6, No. 3622, p. 226]. On 2 November 1722, Peter I ordered the Kazan governor A. Saltykov not to recruit 'newly-baptised Besermians' [Ibid., No. 4123, p. 792]. According to the decree of the Senate, dated 25 June 1723, non-Christians found guilty of hiding peasants during the first assessment would be released from punishment if they were willing to get baptised [Ibid., Vol. 7, No. 4254, p. 85].

Thus, under Peter I, the state, which had previously taken care for the dissemination of Christianity only among the feudal upper classes of non-Russian peoples, now for the first time contemplated the general Christianisation of the Muslim and non-Christian population in general and took the first steps towards its execution. The main obstacle that could prevent them from putting these plans into action was the fear of strikes and uprisings of the masses, who were already opposed to the Peter's reforms.

The reformations of the first quarter of the 18th century affected the entire Tatar community; however, they struck the feudal class the hardest. The Petrine era completely extinguished the service class as it split them into two categories: the majority of servicemen 'by patrimony' turned into nobility (*shlyakhetsvo*); the rest of them and the servicemen 'by service' were included in the class of state peasants, artificially established by Peter.

These changes happened for a whole number of reasons, namely, alterations in the nature of military service and the system of rewarding it. Up to the end of the 17th century, the service retained its common cycle: officials occasionally inspected their armed servants, then returned to their estates and lived there peacefully until manors next inspection. But starting from the Petrine era that was characterised by constant war, the service in all its

ranks became permanent and the system of its payment changed. Service in the regular army now involved material payment. The manors, no longer being a form of payment for service, had for all practical purposes become an alienable asset. They were being increasingly conflated with another form of landownership—patrimonial, that is, inherited. In 1714, the estates and patrimonies were irrevocably declared to be a single form of real estate in the possession of a noble landowner [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 5, No. 2789, pp. 91–94].

Serving *murzas* and Tatars, who were members of the estate troops, as well as other representatives of the service class, were affected by the Petrine reforms. However, unlike the Russian service class people 'by commission', they were unable to enroll in the regular army. The decrees of May 24, 1700 and April 24, 1702 on the enrollment of volunteers in the Preobrazhensky regiment ordered not to enlist Tatars as well as a number of other categories (Kalmyks, Poles, Cherkas, and others) [Ibid., vol. 4, No. 1912, pp. 196–197] as soldiers. At the starting point of the Northern War, the detachments of Tatar cavalry did take part in the military actions, namely in the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and the Siege of Riga in 1710 [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 306]. However, while the regular troops were getting recruited, the need for them as a military force was declining.

In the context of that period, losing service meant losing all its privileges, first and foremost, the exemption from taxes. In the first decade of the 18th century, the years when the serving Tatars were removed from the active army, each one of them from 15 to 60 years old was levied with a one ruble tax instead of service. After 1710, Serving Tatars of Kazan guberniya paid annually 5 rubles each to support workers in the construction of Saint Petersburg. In 1712, due to a severe lack of treasury funds, this levy was increased to 10 rubles per person [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 2467, p. 779]. This meant that Serving Tatars were turned into *tyagly* (tax-payers), the lowest category of the population.

The process of social differentiation of the Tatar feudal elite was hastened by the mentioned decrees of 1713 on the seizure of the Orthodox peasants from the Tatar landlords. The Tatar landowners who refused to get baptised, in an attempt to get at least some profit from the confiscated lands, sold them to their Russian neighbours at a knockdown price. It is known that many service princes and murzas of Temnikov, Kadom and Shatsk uyezds passed some parts of their votchinas and manors on to the Sarov Monastery that was closely monitoring the implementation of the Petrine decrees by the local authorities [Smirnova, 1979, p. 78]. Despite the official ban on monasteries buying private property, the indentures for the Tatar manors were officially filled out in the serfdom offices of Temnikov and Arzamas and then registered in the Manorial Prikaz. Tatars continued selling their lands even after the confiscation campaign died away. The reason for it was that having lost their workers according to the decree of 1713, the Tatar landlords, who had no skills or interest in doing peasants' work, just wanted to get rid of the remaining property.

The fact that the Tatar feudal nobility lost their lands served as an additional factor for bringing their representatives into the labouring classes. By the decree of Peter I, dated May 2, 1715, one person in four households, supplied with money and provisions, was to be sent to Saint Petersburg. As a result, 1255 unbaptised service murzas and the Tatar servicemen from the Kazan guberniya were sent to the capital, where they were mostly used in the construction of Petergof [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 177; Doklady i prigovory, 1892, p. 776]. Similar orders were given later on as well, wherein the quantity of the assigned workers was determined personally by prince Alexander Menshikov [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 11, p. 340]. According to Tatars themselves, they worked in Petergof 'instead of serving...three months a year' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 177].

In 1718, this labour levy was replaced by another, which completely redetermined the

function of the Serving Tatars. The royal decree of 31 January, obliged them to fell and transport timber to the places where they would be rafted for use in the Russian Admiralty (Navy) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3149, pp. 533–534]. The unique character of this service, known in literature as admiralty service (also known as navy, laschmann [Nogmanov, 1997, pp. 152–157]), resided in the fact that for almost the entire period (1718–1860) manpower was provided from the non-Russian service class people (initially from Tatars, Mordvins, Chuvash, and, from 1750s, mostly Tatars).

There is a special chapter in this volume dedicated to the history of this labour levy and the contribution of the Tatar population. It is important to mention that the decree of 1718 was a significant step in the process of introducing service murzas and the Serving Tatars into the system of the state tyaglo (levies). Although they were under the command of the Admiralty and considered the shipbuilding as a type of military service, it was essentially an extremely hard labour service. The indiscriminate engagement of the Serving Tatars in this service clearly exemplified their changing social status. The state struck the Serving murzas and Tatars from the privileged 'noble' class, and put them in the category of 'tyagletsy' (tax-payers). Thereby, they had become practically equal with the yasak Tatars, who had always been 'tyagly' (tax-payers). This transformation was regularised during the reform of the poll taxation system of 1719 to 1728. The impact that this reform had on the socio-economic life of the Tatar community was so tremendous that the aspects of its ramifications on the certain elements of the Tatar population need more detailed examination.

The origin of the reform comes from the nominal decree of January 22, 1719. 'On Conducting a General Census of the Tribute-Paying Population...' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3287, pp. 618–620]. The decree implied that instead of scores of different minor taxes and services, existing in Russia, there would be a fixed direct tax, that would go towards the

army needs. This poll tax was collected from every male listed in the census record. The record included: '...however many, of a volost, village or settlement that has peasants, bobylys, people outside the households and freedmen (those who had their own tillage) by their names, every man from the oldest to the newborn baby, and their age...'. According to the decree, the records were made in every volost or village with a 'banner' (*tamga*.—*A.N.*) of Tatars and other non-Russian peoples of the Volga River region by their headmen and elected people. The census did not involve the Astrakhan and Ufa Tatars, Bashkirs and the Siberian *yasak* 'foreigners', as they were to have a special decree.

Serving *murzas* and Tatars were not mentioned in the decree of 22 January 1719, which might be due to the previous designation to the Admiralty. By the decree of January 31, 1718, people that took part in the shipbuilding were a subject to the special internal census that provided information about their numbers. Besides, during the first stage of the state logging history, Peter I tried to spare the *laschmanns* from excessive taxes and levies. As a result, the decrees concerning the introduction of the poll taxation system had not been affecting the Serving Tatars for several years [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 6, No. 3782, pp. 388–390; No. 3901, pp. 503–510]. The first step towards conducting a census of the 'non-Christians... assigned to ship log hauling' and 'impose the poll tax on them as others' was taken with the Senate decree of July 31, 1722 [Ibid., No. 4065, p. 754].

However, further implementation of the decree went on hold, probably, due to the Petrine campaign in Persia in 1722–1723. During the preparation period, the Kazan shipyards built around 200 transport ships, the timber-harvesting for which fell on the shoulders of the people designated to the Admiralty. Moreover, in 1724, 5,000 people of the Serving Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvash were sent to the Caucasus to build Russian fortresses in the conquered regions of Persia [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 184–185]. Considering the circumstances, the Senate decree of March 17, and the nom-

inal decree of April 16, 1724, ordained to not enlist the Serving Tatars in 'the regiments and poll taxation' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 6, No. 4485, p. 269; No. 4495, p. 279]. They are also omitted in the 'Plakat', dated June 26, 1724, a crucial legislative act, specifying the key points of the poll tax reform (social categories it affected, poll tax assessment, order of the relations of landlords and peasants with the army ranks, payment to those who worked out their poll money in factories, canal constructions and other state labour services, etc.) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 7, No. 4533, pp. 310–318].

Thus, during the reign of Peter I the Serving Tatars were not legalised as the poll tax payers. It occurred after his death, but seems to have no connection with a specific date or legislative act. For instance, the Tatar *murzas* of the *Staraya* [Old] and *Novaya* [New] *slobodas* of the city of Kazan in their mandate to the *Ulozhennaya Komissiia* in 1767–1768 reported that 'by 1726, by the royal decrees, there was no state tributes and poll tax money collected from us' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 307]. According to other mandates, Tatars designated to the Admiralty and working in the logging were free of poll taxes until 1729 [Ibid., p. 334]. Such divergences were caused by the contradictions of the legislative acts of the Petrine and post-Petrine eras, ambiguities of their formulations, specifics of the official documents disclosure and other factors. The main legal acts of the poll tax reform, such as the decree of January 22, 1719 or the 'Plakat' of June 26, 1724, used the term 'Tatars' without adding 'servicemen' or '*yasak*'. The decrees on the exemption of 'non-Christian servicemen' from poll tributes and 'enrollment in regiments' (designation to the certain army troops, that were maintained with the poll tax money.—*A.N.*) were not disclosed to the wide audience and probably were distributed in limited number of copies. When dealing with issues designated to the Admiralty, the regional clerks mostly followed the decrees they had at their disposal. All of this combined caused confusion and created serious problems both for officers and the Serving Tatars.

The document that helps to figure it out to some extent is the Record of the Supreme Privy Council meeting on February 24, 1729 [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 184–185], the executive part of which was registered as a Senate decree of March 12 of the same year [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 8, No. 5379, pp. 131–132]. According to this document, until 1729 non-Christian servicemen worked in shipyards for free instead of military service. The exception were 'non-Christian servicemen' from the Verkhny Lomov, Kadom, Kasimov, Kerensk and Temnikov uyezds of the Voronezh guberniya. Due to the location of their residence being too far from the shipyards, the decree of January 31, 1718, imposed a special money levy: 2 rubles and 30 kopecks for people from the ages of 15 to 60, 50 kopecks for people older than 60 and 25 kopecks for those younger than 15 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3149, pp. 533–534; Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 175]. According to the decree of June 25, 1725, Catherine I determined the annual state expenditure for maintenance of the Admiralty to be 1,400,000 rubles. This sum was collected from different sources, including 59,444 rubles 40 kopecks from the murzas and Tatars of Kazan, Astrakhan, Nizhny Novgorod and Azov guberniyas at the rate of 1 ruble 20 kopecks from every male [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 182–183]. This levy was almost as much as the poll tributes, however, its collection came to a standstill by the tardiness of the tax rolls being delivered to the Kazan Admiralty Office. According to the decree of August 5, 1727, Peter II ordered collection of the levy from the murzas and Tatars working in timber-harvesting and shipyards according to their working days, at the rate set in the 'Plakat' [Ibid., p. 183]. This legislative act is absent from Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, which is why there is no strong evidence that it was the one that imposed poll tax on the Admiralty designated. It might have been the mentioned decree of June 25, 1725, the text of which was also omitted

from the Complete Code of Laws. However, regardless of the time of its implementation on the Serving Tatars, the decree of August 5, 1727, introduced a very important innovation. From now on, they worked the poll tributes off in the logging sites in accordance with the rates, determined by the 'Plakat' of 1724. The days, that they worked after having worked off the poll tax, were paid according to the same rates.

By the same Record of the Supreme Privy Council meeting on February 24, 1729, in the period 1725–1728, at the order of the Kazan vice-governor and the chief of the Kazan Admiralty Office, N. Kudryavtsev, the serving Tatars, that could not work in the logging sites due to their age were charged with poll tax anyway. The reasoning was that 'they did not differ from the household and yasak (peasants.—*A.N.*), even though they were overaged and underaged to work in timber-harvesting and rafting' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 186]. This decision was most likely made by the personal initiative of N. Kudryavtsev, as he had practically unlimited authority. In 1720s, he was in charge of the process of logging as well as other spheres of life of the 'non-Christian servicemen', including court system and tax collection.

All of the above prove the fact that the issue of imposing the poll tax on Serving murzas and Tatars was not regularised up until 1729; and at the times it was collected, it occurred occasionally and covered only a part of the Serving Tatars. The reasons for this are an array of subjective factors, including the attitude of Peter I towards the labour of the designated, the high level of independence of the Kazan Admiralty Office authorities in making decisions, as well as the ambiguity of the competence of the various departments. In 1720s, the Chamber of State Accounts was formally in charge of state tax collection, however, the *laschmanns* were exclusively controlled by the Admiralty Board, which protected its fiscal interests as well. The lobbying capabilities of this department were clearly showcased by the decree of the Senate, dated March 12, 1729, that resolved the problem of taxation of the Serving Tatars. Paragraph 1 of the decree acknowl-

edged the non-Christians of the Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod guberniyas and the Simbirsk province as poll tax payers, however, it ordained that they could work in lieu of payment in the 'sites of timber-harvesting for ships or any other purposes' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 8, No. 5379, p. 131]. This order remained up until the abolishment of the admiralty levy service.

The designation of 1718 to the Admiralty determined not only the fact that the Serving Tatars were levied with the poll tax later than the rest of the non-Russian population of the Volga River region, but also other specifics of their legal position. Being legally considered as state peasants, they had been set apart from other groups of that class for the 18th century. This unique nature particularly appeared in the remnants of their former serviceman status: some of the Serving Tatars still owned serfs; Tatars in Staraya and Novaya slobodas of Kazan had special trading privileges; the detachments of the Serving Tatars took part in the suppression of the Bashkir rebellions of 1735–1740 and 1755–1756 and some other military campaigns.

The reign of Peter I has also brought significant changes to the status of the yasak Tatars. From 1700 to 1710s, they fully felt the burden of taxes and levies the state used for military purposes as much as did the other yasak people of the Volga River region. This period featured a twofold to threefold increase in taxes, imposed on the yasak population. However, these measures did not really increase the state's income, but merely served to ruin the tax-paying citizens. Which is why the Petrine state decided to simplify and regulate the system of taxes and levies, making it more effective.

Unlike the Serving Tatars, the process of including the yasak Tatars into the poll taxation system did not provoke any legal challenges. It did not result in the change of their social status and, in fact, meant that their state duties would be reevaluated and unified. The decree of January 22, 1719, marked the start of compiling census records and 'settling files' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3287, pp. 618–620]. The census was burdensome and received a negative reaction

from the non-Russian people. For instance, in 1723, the foreman Famendin, while checking the records of the yasak volosts of Kazan uyezd, mostly populated by non-Russians, counted 1995 hidden souls that lived along with 1019 recorded people [Klyuchevsky, 1990, p. 199]. Besides hiding, another traditional way of evading taxes was to escape to the state outskirts. This was widespread in the Volga River region even before the introduction of the poll tributes [Doklady i prigovory, 1892, p. 189], but the number of cases significantly increased after the 1720s, particularly, in the Cis-Urals regions. There was quite a number of state decrees aimed at suppressing this phenomenon and returning fugitives from the Ufa province back to Kazan guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 6, No. 3566, pp. 180–181, No. 3697, p. 279, No. 3958, p. 648; vol. 7, No. 4733, pp. 503–504; vol. 8, No. 5438, p. 214, No. 5719, p. 399; vol. 9, No. 6890, pp. 741–745, No. 7016, p. 888 et al.].

The yasak Tatars (though, without the attribute 'yasak') are mentioned in every decree of the first half of the 1720s, that regulated the process of poll taxation [Ibid., vol. 6, No. 3783, pp. 388–390, No. 3901, p. 503–510; vol. 7, No. 4332, p. 137, No. 4343, pp. 146–147, No. 4390, p. 186, No. 4533, pp. 316–317, No. 4536, pp. 327–329]. The 'Plakat' of June 26, 1724, refers to them as 'state peasants' for the first time, along with the non-Russian peoples of the Volga River region, smallholders of the south, Chernososhny (black, landowning) peasants of the Russian North, tillage peasants of Siberia and other categories of tax-payers. The reason for uniting these different groups into one class was the fact that they did not belong to anyone, which meant they were not bonded by serfdom. For this reason the state decided to unify this ragged population of free people and turn them into one controlled social category. From the state's point of view, this process was not only of the financial or fiscal importance, but also an important social measure. Its ultimate goal was to strip the free people of their legal rights and opportunities. Formation by Peter I of a new social class of state peasants, binded with taxes, limited in their territorial and social development, turned these categories into essentially

the serfs of the state. By the 1730s, the Serving Tatars fell into this category as well, however, their designation to the Admiralty, as it was mentioned earlier, made their relationship with the state quite distinct.

The main duty of the state peasants was to pay the poll tributes. The amount of the poll levy was specified by the nominal decree of January 11, 1722, and initially came to 80 kopecks per recorded person [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 6, No. 3873, p. 477]. The decree of October 23, 1723, increased it to 120 kopecks, 80 kopecks of which was the actual poll tax and additional 40 kopecks were charged as a rent 'in lieu of the payment that householders paid the palace, they the synod for synodical rituals, land renters paid their landlords...' [Ibid., No. 4332, pp. 133–137]. As the number of people, recorded by the census, surpassed the preliminary calculations, by the decree of May 19, 1724, the Senate reduced the poll tax from 80 to 74 kopecks [Ibid., vol. 7, No. 4503, pp. 282–283]. Soon after the death of Peter the Great, Catherine Alekseyevna showcased her 'monarchical mercy' by issuing a decree of February 8, 1725, that reduced the tax to 70 kopecks, but the rent remained the same [Ibid., vol. 7, No. 4650, pp. 413–414]. The poll tribute remained at 1 ruble 10 kopecks until the issuance of the Senate decree of October 12, 1760, that raised it to 1 ruble 70 kopecks [Ibid., vol. 15, No. 11120, p. 530].

In addition to the introduction of the poll tax, the reign of Peter I imposed military recruitment on the Tatars. This happened quite late, in 1722, though, Russia had been enlisting recruits since 1699. To some extent, this delay might be explained by the contribution of the Serving Tatars in the military campaigns at the first stage of the Great Northern War. By the order of the Kazan governor Pyotr [Peter] Apraksin, since 1709, they had started paying money '...fifty per yasak' instead of providing recruits [Doklady i prigovory, 1892, p. 187]. It went on until the issuance of the decree of Peter I, dated January 19, 1722, that stated 'to recruit the Mordvins and Cheremis, same as the Russians; but recruit underage Tatars, specifically

10–12-year-olds, into garrisons, one third of them to serve the generals and the staff, and some of them to recruit as sailors' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 6, No. 3884]. In the historical literature this document is considered as the starting point of the regular recruitments of the non-Russian peoples of the Volga River Region [Firsov, 1869, p. 23; Semevsky, 1901, pp. 581–582; Alishev, 1973, p. 45; Iskhaky, 1991, p. 27; Ivanov, 1995, p. 164]. It was also applied to the yasak Tatars. They are regularly mentioned in the legislative sources of the 1720s and the first half of the 1730s as the suppliers of recruits. Besides the acts, announcing the start of the regular recruitment, there were orders on additional recruitment as a penalty for hiding serfs [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 7, No. 4335, pp. 139–141]; as well as decrees, common for the reign of the Empress Anna Ioannovna, that, rather than recruiting 'non-Christians' to the garrison troops of the Kazan, Astrakhan and Voronezh guberniyas, as in Petrine times, they should be assigned to 'garrison by the Ostsee (the Baltic states.—A.N.) troops' [Ibid., vol. 9, No. 6721, No. 6913].

When it comes to the Serving Tatars, things were different. During the reign of Peter I, they were recruited twice. In 1722, they recruited 133 underage males at one recruit per 83.5 households, who were sent to Moscow to the War Department. Next year, they recruited 113 people from 'non-Christian servicemen of age' at the ration of one recruit per 95.5 households. They were assigned to build transport ships and do other jobs for the Kazan Admiralty, and also for training as soldiers, joiners, sawyers, cutters, painters and turners. [Collection of The Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 187–188].

The recruitment of the Serving Tatars was regularised only in the latter half of the 1730s, as the decree of September 19, 1737, was the first to include them into the list of recruited categories of population. [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 10, No. 7378]. Despite its categorical nature, the decree of 1737 was not implemented in due time because of the sluggishness of the local authorities and

opposition of the Tatar community. As a result, on June 25, 1739, the Senate gave the order to 'immediately collect recruits and horses from the Admiralty designated murzas and Tatars by the order of 1737' [Ibid., No. 7841]. Thus recruitment duty was imposed on the Serving Tatars just some 15 years after the yasak Tatars, which once again has to do with their designation to the Admiralty. It is remarkable that the recruited serving Tatars were first and foremost used in the Russian Navy in which they participated for a long time along with the residents of the Archangelgorod guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 10, No. 7583, pp. 498–499].

The decree of January 19, 1722, that set the origin of the recruitment of the Tatar population, features a line '...take underaged Tatars...from the age of 10 to 12' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 6, No. 3884]. The explanation of this order, that completely contradicts the preceding legislative practice, lies in the decree of Peter I, dated 4 August 1724. It is similar in context with the decree of 1722, however, there is a distinction in a crucial terminological detail. The last provisions of the decree stated: '...6. Recruit Cheremis, Mordvins and others, except for Busurman, just as Russians... 7. Recruit Besermyans that are underaged, specifically under fifteen' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 11, p. 554]. The use of a religious designation 'Busurman' instead of the ethnonym 'Tatars', as in the decree of 1722, shows the impact of religion on the situation. The young age of the Tatar recruits made it much easier to Christianise and Russify them. Their assignment as officer servants and sailors also contributed, as in the first case, they were deprived of everyday communication with co-religionists, even though the military bases were located near the residences of Muslims. Furthermore, in the case of sailors, Tatar boys were completely torn away from their homeland, as the Volga River region was far away from the main bases of the Russian Navy.

While describing the position of the Tatar population during the reign of the Tsar-Reformer, the famous Russian historian N. Firsov in the 1860s pointed out that, to him, 'the reign

of Peter the Great, in comparison to the following period, was... a time of privilege' [Firsov, 1869, p. 29]. These words definitely have some truth to them. The reign of Peter's heirs brought the Tatar nation a lot of distress, as it endured a period of actual religious genocide in the 1740s and 50s. But at the same time it should not be forgotten that the origins of many negative changes in the lives of Tatars were in the Petrine reforms aimed at social, economic and religious unification. They stripped the yasak people of the Volga River Region of their special status and legally equalised them to the Russian state peasants. The Serving Tatars were deprived of their privileges, and their social status was degraded to the tax-paying category, except for those who accepted Orthodoxy. One of the main priorities of the state's domestic policy of the first half of the 18th century was its subjects' religious uniformity. During the reign of Peter I, the actual Christianisation mostly involved members of the Tatar feudal elite. In addition, the formation and legitimisation of the system of privileges and benefits for baptised Tatars created conditions for massive Christianisation of the non-Russian population.

2. Escalation of anti-Islamic tendencies in the legislation of the second quarter of the 18th century. The legislation of the second quarter of the 18th century generally promoted the ideas, introduced by Peter I. Regardless of who was the ruler, protecting the interests of Orthodoxy as the predominant state religion was always given top priority. 'Nakaz (Order) to governors and voivodes...', dated September 12, 1728 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 8, No. 5333, pp. 94–112], that was of special importance for the regional and local government, included a specific provision that provided the death penalty for conversion to Islam [Ibid., p. 100]. By addressing the Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 and adopting from it the legal penalty, the authors of this legislative document surpassed the original. While the Ulozheniye prohibited religious propaganda aimed towards Russians alone, [Ibid., vol. 1, No. 1, p. 156], the 'Nakaz' expanded the prohibition towards the entire population of the Volga River and Cis-Ural regions which practiced traditional faiths. By that, the royal

government consolidated the monopoly of the Russian Orthodox Church in regard to the spiritual life of the non-Russian peoples of the area. Later on, similar provisions were included in the *nakazs* (orders) of the governors from the remote territories (for instance, the 'Nakaz' (Order) to the Kiev governor, dated January 17, 1737, includes a provision 'On circumcisers into Mohammedanism' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 9, No. 7161, p. 26]). The presence of Islam was allowed, as in the 17th century, only in those spheres of life where it was unavoidable, a position demonstrated by the royal decree of August 7, 1728: 'On oath of allegiance of the yasak Tatars to Kazan uyezd, according to their religious rituals' [Ibid., vol. 8, No. 5321, p. 72].

The state was still determined to increase the number of Orthodox subjects by Christianising Muslims and practitioners of folk religions. In the latter half of the 1720s, along the line of the last years of the Petrine reign, the state relied on the voluntary baptism and material stimulation of the non-Russian peoples. This period featured decrees 'On the Education of Newly-baptised Kalmyks to Christianity', dated March 19, 1725 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 7, No. 4683, p. 437], 'On the Exclusion of those Baptised into the Graeco-Russian Faith from the Siberian Yasak Non-Christians Poll Census', dated March 26, 1726 [Ibid., No. 4860, p. 565–596], 'On Restitution of Villages Seized from their Fathers and Grandfathers by the Decree of 1713 to the newly-baptised Tatars', dated September 30, 1726 [Ibid., No. 4962, p. 699]. However, the execution of the decrees providing the newly-baptised with privileges was far from perfect. The letter of the Kazan Metropolitan Sylvester to the Senate, dating back to the start of 1731, reported that 2,184 people baptised in the Kazan guberniya from 1719 to 1724 were unable to make use of their privileges to the full extent; whereas 811 people baptised from 1724 to 1731 got nothing at all. Being concerned with these facts, the Senate suggested making up for it by exempting the newly-baptised from the poll tributes for 3 years, which received the royal approval

of Empress Anna Ioannovna on April 3, 1731 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 8, No. 5737, pp. 447–448].

The numbers reported by the Metropolitan Sylvester exemplify what was for the state dispiriting results of missionary work in the Kazan guberniya. The number of the baptised in the region from 1719 to 1731 came to 2,995 people [Ibid.]. A simple equation shows that Christianising at that rate just the 56,113 people designated to the Admiralty in 1718–19 would take some 225 years. It was essentially the failure of a policy oriented towards voluntary Christianisation of the non-Russian population, one of the reasons for which was the state's failure to fulfill the material obligations that it had taken upon itself.

The situation started to take a turn once the Empress Anna Ioannovna took the throne (1730–1740). March 16, 1730 marked the issuance of the manifesto 'On the Coronation of Her Imperial Majesty' [Ibid., No. 5517, p. 255], and the very next day is dated the issuance of the manifesto 'On the Overseeing of the Synod, so that the Orthodox Christians Obey God's Law and the Traditions of the Church...', which included a provision 'to convert Our different peoples, who do not know the Christian laws [and]...oppose the Holy Church by their ignorance, into devotion and union of the Holy Church by exhortation and education' [Ibid., No. 5518, p. 256]. According to B. Titlinov, during the entire reign of Anna Ioannovna, 'the propagation of Christianity among non-Russians was strongly encouraged and developed under the direct influence of the supreme authority' [Titlinov, 1905, p. 432]. The government acknowledged the inefficiency of the path of voluntary Christianisation of the non-Russian peoples and changed from a policy of 'carrots' to one of 'sticks'. As a rule, it involved decrees that disenfranchised the non-Orthodox population from their rights. For instance, there is a clear religious context in the royal decree of March 10, 1736, on recruiting non-Christians for service 'in the garrisons by the Ostsee troops', rather than the garrison troops in Kazan, Astrakhan and Voronezh guberniyas, as

it had been before [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 9, No. 6913, p. 776]. The royal decree of May 5, 1737, on collection of grain levy in addition to the poll tax ordered its collection from Russian yasak and chernososhny (free) peasants by a quarter, whereas 'from the Tatars and other non-Christian tillage peasants... twice as much' [Ibid., vol. 10, No. 7244, p. 136].

The reign of Anna Ioannovna brought in a series of important decisions on the expansion of the missionary activities. The decree of the Synod, dated August 23, 1731, introduced in the city of Sviyazhsk a special committee for baptising the Muslims and other 'non-Russians' under the guidance of the archimandrite of the Sviyazhsk Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, Aleksey Raifsky [Makarov, 2000, p. 171]. In about 1734, the committee took the name of the 'Office of Affairs for the Newly-baptised' or 'Novokreshhensky Office' [Islaev, 2004, pp. 118–119]. During the second third of the 18th century, this institution was the main organiser and guide of the monarchy's Christianisation policy.

The activation of missionary activities required training church workers from the very non-Christian nations in which they were active. At the suggestion of the archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, Illarion, on February 26, 1735, the Senate issued a decree 'On Establishing in the Kazan guberniya Schools for Unbaptised and Newly-baptised Children'. According to the decree, four institutions were to be opened: in the Fyodor Monastery in Kazan, in the royal village Yelabuga, the city of Tsaryovokokshaisk in Kazan uyezd, and the city of Tsivilsk in Sviyazhsk uyezd. Each school was supposed to include 30 pupils from the unbaptised 'Votyaks, Mordvins and Chuvash' and 'newly-baptised children of different nations' from the ages of 7 to 15. The decree provided the financial resources for construction and maintenance of the school buildings, payment for the needs of the staff, teachers and pupils, means for purchasing school books, candles, writing implements etc. [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 9, No. 6695, p. 483; vol. 11, No. 8236, p. 255; No. 8579, pp. 625–626].

For some reason this legislative act was not put into action. A. Mozharovsky linked it to the changes in the administration of the Kazan eparchy (see: [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 58]), whereas D. Makarov suggested that they might have failed to enlist enough students [Makarov, 2000, p. 173]. The opening of schools might have been interrupted by the Bashkir rebellion of 1735–1740, that affected the major part of the Volga-Ural Region [Islaev, 2004, pp. 125–129] and was also aimed against the newly-baptised. The government reconsidered the idea at the turn of the 1740s. January 16, 1740 marked the issuance of the royal decree 'On Appointing Church Acolytes for Teaching Orthodox Law and Leading Different Peoples to the Greek Faith Who Know the Languages of those Peoples' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8004, pp. 9–10]. It ordered the enlistment from the Kazan guberniya 30 children of the clergy, petty merchants and impoverished nobility, who could read and write in Russian and speak non-Christian languages. They were supposed to be sent to Saint Petersburg to study the fundamentals of Christianity. The graduates were supposed to become priests and deacons and return to their homeland to sermonise among the Mordvins, Chuvash and Cheremis in their native language. However, after the issuance of the decree, they realised that within the Holy Synod, there were no schools in the capital to get the education needed for a ministerial position. As a result, the Synod and Cabinet of Ministers made a common decision on May 1, 1740 to educate future preachers in Kazan guberniya 'under the guidance of the local eparchial bishops' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8090, p. 104].

It is remarkable that the decrees do not mention the Tatars, which might be because the government did not believe that the Christian sermon would work on Muslims. Their conversion to Orthodoxy would require much more conviction, which was demonstrated shortly after. The lack of preachers able to deliver the essence of Christianity to Muslims and pagans, did not stop the government from commencing the most brutal Christianisation campaign in

history, that started in the autumn of 1740 and lasted 15 years.

Unlike the previous campaigns, aimed mostly at the feudal upper class, it covered wide sections of the non-Russian population of the Volga River region and left its mark on the history of the place. Which is the very reason of why it got so much interest from the pre-revolutionary and Soviet historians (A. Shchapov, S. Yeshevsky, N. Firsov, A. Mozharovsky, N. Nikolsky, A. Grigoryev and others) [Shchapov, 1858; Firsov, 1869, pp. 165–210; Mozharovsky, 1880, pp. 61–98; Nikolsky, 1912; Grigoryev, 1948, pp. 225–285]. In the 2000s, this theme was covered by F. Islaev [Islaev, 1999; Islaev, 2001; Islaev, 2004]. Without going into details of the campaign itself, we will point out its connection to legislation.

The 1740–1750 witnessed a heavy increase in the number of the legislative acts regulating religious issues among the mass of those legislating Tatar affairs. They took 35% of all the state decrees and even amounted to 45% from 1740 to 1749. This is considerably higher than the average 15% for the period of 1649–1799. However, if we exclude the decrees of the 1740–1750, the percent of the legislative acts on Islam and Muslims would drop to 9%.

These numbers prove an important pattern, typical of the Russian legislation in general; the state significantly activated their legislative efforts during the period of social conflicts [Mankov, 2002, p. 4; Pushkarenko, 1983, p. 109]. The relationship between the supreme authority and Tatars in the 1740–1750s can be rightfully called a religious conflict. This period witnessed the issuance of a whole series of anti-Muslim decrees that made the legal status of the Tatar population directly dependent on their confession. The analysis of the sources has shown that the problem of religion had a direct impact on not only their spiritual life, but also on taxation, designation of the service class to the admiralty duty and a fixation of legal policy towards fugitives and immigrants, among others.

The campaign started with a decree of the Empress Anna Ioannovna, dated September, 11 1740, 'On Sending an Archimandrite with

a Number of Clergymen to different Governorates for the Education the Newly-Baptised into the Laws of Christianity and on the Privileges of the Newly-baptised' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8236, pp. 248–256]. The archimandrite was a lecturer at the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, D. Sechenov, who was assigned as the head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora. To help him with his missionary work, the state assigned him two archpriests from churches in Kazan, five members of the clergy speaking local dialects, translators, clerks and a 'required' number of soldiers from the Kazan garrison. The staff of Novokreshchenskaya kontora [office] included a total of 15 people [Ibid., p. 245 (section 17)].

This number calls into question the capability of this one institution to Christianise hundreds of thousands of 'non-Christians' living in the lands of the Volga River region governorates without the support of the state. The materials of the Complete Code of Laws point to its determining influence on the missionary activity, that was carried out at state cost and with the involvement of the state apparatus of government, army and others. The key legislative documents regulating the work of Novokreshchenskaya kontora and local authorities were issued by the Senate and the supreme authority represented by the reigning monarch, rather than just by the Synod, which had only the right of legislative initiative. Thus, the forced Christianisation campaign of the 1740–1750s was yet another attempt to unify the peoples of the Volga River region with the use of experience gained since the fall of the Khanate of Kazan, and the entire range of means at their disposal. The state provided the missionary activity with financial and administrative support, leaving the propagation of Christian doctrine, the process of conversion of non-Russian peoples to Orthodoxy to Novokreshchenskaya kontora, as well as supervision of the proper rituals for the newly-baptised and their protection from the unbaptised and local authorities.

The decree of September 11, 1740, included a number of provisions designed to give it all a legal basis. It also included measures to

make the process of Christianisation irreversible. For instance, section 4 of the decree stated that all the newly-baptised were obligated to go to church and participate in Orthodox services. This was to be supervised by their Russian neighbours. They had to pay particular attention to the baptised Tatars, as 'they are quite strict with their traditions and none of them would come to get baptised by their own choice, unless they were forced by some necessity' [Ibid., p. 249]. The consolidation of the newly-baptised in Orthodoxy was supported by encouraging their intermarriage with Russians. 'Having a Russian son-in-law and daughter-in-law, they (non-Christians.—*A.N.*) would not allow things that oppose the Christian laws in their homes, and, as the time would pass, they would forget their errors', the decree says [Ibid., p. 250]. As a result, these cross-cultural marriages led to Russification and assimilation of the non-Russian peoples. It was also encouraged to invite Russians as 'godparents at baptismal services' for the children of the newly-baptised [Ibid.].

Novokreshchenskaya kontora annually received 10,000 rubles from the income of the Collegium of State Expenses and 5,000 quarters of flour [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8236, p. 254]. Some of this money was used to reward the baptised. Each one of them was to receive a brass pectoral cross, a shirt and trousers, a homespun kaftan with a hat and mittens and shoes, chiriks with stockings. The noblemen each got a silver cross of 4 zolotnik, a woolen kaftan and boots. All the men over 15 were to receive a payment of 1 ruble 50 kopecks, a ruble at the age of 10–15 and 50 kopecks for children under 10. The women were to be rewarded as well. The baptised families in addition received icons [Ibid.].

Such specification, unusual for the legislative acts in the past, was caused by the developing bureaucratisation of the government apparatus and the specifics of the document itself. It was more of an instruction, each section of which gave specific recommendations on the problems that could come up during the missionary activities, rather than a law that was distinguished by its declarative nature. Due to

this distinctive feature, the decree of September 11, 1740 gives an idea of the role that the local authorities played in the process of Christianisation. They were responsible for the relocation of the newly-baptised to the residences of the Russian population [Ibid., p. 251], the proposed migration of volunteer converts to the special districts between Saratov and Tsaritsyno [Ibid., p. 252] and the construction of churches. Besides that, the temporal authorities had to detect and stop the harassment of the newly-baptised by the unbaptised, ensure that they were not recruited and forced to pay recruit money [Ibid., p. 254], and ensure that the provisions granting the baptised with various privileges and rights were fully executed.

The most significant privilege was the exemption from 'the poll tributes and other emergency levies and provisions collected from the non-Christians' for three years, which was introduced by the decrees of the 1720s [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 6, No. 3637, pp. 234–235; vol. 8, No. 5737, pp. 447–448]. The decree of September 11, 1740, not only confirmed the action of the Petrine resolutions, but also turned their norms into means of pressure on 'those in non-belief'. From that point, all the tributes and levies of the newly-baptised were imposed on their unbaptised compatriots that were living in that area so long as their privilege extended [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8236, p. 254 (section 16)]. Before the issuance of this decree, the poll tax money for the newly-baptised was taken from the income of Kazan guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 8, No. 5737, pp. 447–448, vol. 9, No. 6518, pp. 243–244]. Thus, one document contained two incompatible decisions. The monarchy, with one hand, expressed its renunciation of forcing the non-Russian population to convert to Orthodoxy [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8236, p. 248 (section 3)] and with the other established order, which proved much more effective than administrative methods of pressuring. Its introduction had extreme consequences on the financial status of the non-Russian nations of the Volga River region, especially of the Tatars, who put

up the stoutest resistance to the inculcation of Christianity.

The decree of September 11, 1740 determined the main directions for Novokreshchenskaya kontora and local authorities at the starting point of the 1740 and 1750s. Its actual implementation fell on the reign of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (1741–1761). According to S. Yeshevsky, 'Elizabeth was quite religious herself, so she was very concerned with the advancement of Christianity among non-Christians' [Yeshevsky, 1900, p. 131]. Her reign brought about some of the toughest legislative acts aimed at non-Russian nations.

The toughest one was the royal decree of April 6, 1742, 'On Converting Army Enlisted Kalmyks, Tatars, Mordvins, Chuvash, Chermis and other Non-Christians to Orthodoxy by Regimental Priests' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8540, p. 592]. As envisioned by the authors of this document, the army had to become religiously uniform. The army priests were ordered to baptise the non-Russian soldiers and then 'ensure that they keep the faith and keep a close eye on them' [Ibid.]. Once called up to military service, they stayed there for almost their whole lives and most of them eventually lost the faith of their ancestors. This was quite heavily influenced by a rule, introduced in the 1730s, according to which recruits from the native residents of the Middle Volga River region were assigned to serve in the Baltic states and other places, as far away from their homeland as possible.

Half a year later, on November 19, 1742, the Senate issued a decree 'On Prohibiting the Construction of Mosques in Kazan guberniya and on Reporting those Converting to the Mohammedan faith to Governors and Voivodes' [Ibid., No. 8664, pp. 719–720]. Unlike the previous legislative acts, it specifically addressed the Islamic clergy. Having realised that the 'Islamic religion was going strong among people under the influence of mullahs, that they make their impact through mosques, which serve not just as the place for praying, but also sermon and education, the state decided to weaken these bases of Islam in the country'. So N.

Firsov wrote on the government's intentions when issuing this document [Firsov, 1869, p. 179]. The formal reason for the issuance of the decree was the charter of the Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich of 1593, that prohibited the construction of mosques [Acts of the Archaeological Expeditions, vol. 1, No. 358, pp. 436–439]. Taking advantage of the fact that the forgotten, but officially not abolished decree was contravened in some places, the Senate ordered to not just 'destroy and forbid from building new' mosques, built after its issuance, but also to disinvest the religious buildings that had been constructed earlier. The guberniya authorities and eparchial bishops were to decide, which of the old mosques were to be demolished and which of them 'left to the Tatars for necessary legal needs' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 1, No. 8664, pp. 719–720].

Along with the destruction of the places that united the spiritual and cultural community of the Tatar people, the decree of November 19, 1742, was aimed alienating their influence on the rest of the non-Russian population of the region. For that the 'Nakaz (Order) to governors and voivodes' of 1728 included a particular mechanism [Ibid., vol. 8, No. 5333, p. 100]. The local authorities were responsible for detecting and prosecuting the cases of converting members of other nations to Islam. Those, who were proven guilty, had to face a brutal punishment, even so much as burning at the stake [Ibid., vol. 11, No. 8664, p. 720]. Severe measures were applied to non-Christians, who had embraced Islam and were refusing to voluntarily turn to Orthodoxy [Ibid.]. Thus a practitioner of a traditional faith who had become a Muslim, would not be able to return to his beliefs. The authorities considered it as a matter of honour to make him Orthodox Christian. Ultimately, the new order was aimed at not just exterminating the influence of the Islamic propaganda on the traditionalist population, but also intimidating them.

The decree of November 19, 1742, clearly showcased the distinct feature of the Christianisation campaign of the 1740–1750, namely, its anti-Muslim nature. This was not unique

in the history of the relationships between the peoples of the Volga River region and the monarchy. The government had attempted to weaken Islam's position in the region previously as well. However, during this period the religious showdown took on more massive and irreconcilable character. If we take the total number of the legislative acts, issued during the campaign, as 100%, then the decrees aimed at Christianisation of the entire non-Russian population of the region, regardless of their ethnicity and confession, would come to about 65%, anti-Muslim ones to 30% and the ones aimed at the traditional beliefs to 5%. These numbers prove another regularity of the Russian legislation: the quantity of the decrees issued by the state in regard to some problem depended on the complexity of the problem.

In order to convert the united and religiously organised Muslim population to Orthodoxy, the monarchy had to make much more of an effort that was needed for the traditional believers. The privileges for the newly-baptised and the chance to avoid additional levies imposed on the unbaptised were a weighty argument for Chuvash, Mari, Mordvin and Udmurts to convert to Orthodoxy. Moreover, the officials often used violence against the traditionalists, as the staff of Novokreshchenskaya kontora—preachers and priests along with military teams—came to the non-Russian villages, threatened their residents and forced them to get baptised. For instance, in May, 1745, the Chuvash peasants of Yadrin and Kurmysh uyezds complained to the Senate that the monastery builder Neophytus, the Kurmysh hieromonk, S. Kupriyanov, the Yadrin priest V. Mikhaylov and others came to the Chuvash villages in groups of 20–40 people and forcefully baptised hundreds of Chuvash, beat them with 'cudgels' and 'held them tied for days' 'chained in irons' [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 346)].

The stubborn resistance of the Muslims forced the government to look for new ways to pressure them. The latter would include a decision on the distribution of tributes and fees to the newly baptised from those left in 'disbelief' among the non-Russian population of Kazan guberniya. This was established by a Senate report approved by His Imperial Maj-

esty on September 28, 1743 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8792, pp. 914–919]. Previously, governors and voivodes held to the administrative-territorial principle in this regard. As a result, there were areas where 'non-Christians from whole villages and all the uyezds and sotniks of...every single person, were given holy baptism'. Hence an excessive burden of the payment of tributes and other commitments were left for those who remained 'in disbelief'. However, there were volosts and uyezds where the opposite situation was observed [Ibid., p. 917]. Laying the proportional burden on all those recalcitrant in adherence of Orthodoxy was, according to the government, to prompt them to take this step. In fact, this decision was directed against the Tatars, who were forced in such a way to pay for the other, baptised people of the region almost one and all.

Another important innovation was the change in the order of execution of instruction about the separate habitation of unbaptised and newly baptised. In contrast to the decree of September 11, 1740, it was ordered not toward the relocation the newly-baptised, as before, but to the unbaptised, which also should have led the latter to accept Christianity [Ibid., p. 916]. Subsequently, this legal norm was the reason for the oppression of the Tatars in the regions where they lived when surrounded by a Russian majority. Relying on this norm the Russian citizens of the town of Kasimov in 1760s tried to evict the Tatars 'who lived in Tatar sloboda, and to give their land for settlement of local merchants' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 144, p. 169].

It is noteworthy that the decree of September 28, 1743 combined measures of financial pressure on the non-Russian population with the regulations derogating their religious feelings. It, in particular, ordered pressing non-Christians, 'who shall not wish to be baptised', into building Orthodox churches [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 11, No. 8792, pp. 914–915]. There remained in the arsenal of powers the old tried methods as well. Held on the same day, the royal decree 'On the various Benefits provided Mohammedans for the Reception of the Graeco-Russian Con-

fession' confirmed the statutes of the previous years, according to which dependent people having been baptised, ceased to be kholops (serfs) or peasants of the Tatar landlords and were subjected to resettlement in the specific Novokreshhenskie [newly-baptised] slobodas. However, in the case of the baptism of the landlords themselves everything was returned to its original state. The same decree forbade making bondage certificates and debtors writs on the newly-baptised [Ibid., No. 8793, pp. 919–920].

As had been observed from the time of Archbishop Gury, the condescending attitude of authorities towards the misdemeanors and crimes of the newly-baptised was allowed to develop. The decree of September 11, 1740 contained an order to the judicial authorities to provide them with all possible leniency in the courts [Ibid., No. 8236, p. 252 (claim 7)]. During the reign of Anna Leopoldovna, March 11, 1741, a decree 'On the Exemption from the Death Penalty of Non-Christians Involved in Murder or Other Serious Crimes for their Reception into the Greek confession' was issued [Ibid., No. 8349, pp. 369–370]. Though it was destined to a short life, and in the first weeks after the accession to the throne of Elizabeth Petrovna it was reversed [Ibid., No. 8482, p. 549], the very fact that the autocracy sometimes equated the price of human life to the ransom for the adoption of Orthodoxy is indicative. In everyday activities the authorities were guided by the statements of the decree of September 28, 1743 prescribing the release from custody of non-Christians held because of 'unimportant matters, namely in theft from one another, in quarrelling, fights, and the like', in exchange for the reception of the Christian faith and baptism [Ibid., No. 8792, pp. 914–915].

Despite the government's support, the activities of Novokreshchenskaya kontora met stubborn resistance across the whole of the Tatar population. The decree of May 1, 1744 includes such facts. 'On Measures for Protecting Newly-baptised non-Christians from Abuse and Destruction' [Ibid., vol. 12, No. 8929, pp. 89–96]. More often than not opposition to government actions was expressed as follows: the unbaptised forced the newly-bap-

tised to pay to with them the poll tax and other tributes. There revealed some cases when 'the non-Christians turned over the newly-baptised instead of the unbaptised in recruits' [Ibid, vol. 12, No. 8929, p. 90]. This even reached the level of direct confrontations with the authorities.

An important milestone of the campaign of the 1740 to the 1750s was the Senate decree of June 22 'On the Dissolution of Mosques in Villages, where Russian and Baptised Non-Christians Live, and on Not Baptising Non-Christians by Force' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 8978, pp. 157–159]. The document regulated the procedure of building Islamic places of worship, which had been destroyed on a mass scale in previous years. From the issuance of the decree of November 19, 1742, 418 of 536 mosques were destroyed due to the efforts of the spiritual and secular authorities of Kazan and Kazan uyezd alone. Some of these had been built 'before Kazan had come under Russian possession, and others within the past 200 years...' [Ibid.]. The continuation of this policy was in danger of provoking serious problems with Russia's Muslim population. For this reason the Senate, taking into account the numerous petitions of Serving and yasak Tatars for the restoration of mosques, were guided moreover by the fact that 'if they, Tatars, have all their mosques broken, they will arrive at no other conclusion but that this is a desecration of their law. And should this be disclosed in such places in other states where among Mohammedans live people of the Greek confession, and God's churches are built, would their not also be oppression of those churches. Besides Tatars of the Mohammedan law living in Russia, take oaths according to their laws in their mosques. ' They thus allowed for the construction of two mosques in Tatar sloboda of the city of Kazan [Ibid.]. In other cases, following rules were ordered to be followed:

1. The presence of mosques in places of coexistence of Muslims with Russians and the newly-baptised were excluded. Those mosques unbroken to the moment of the appearance of this decree in such settlements were to be destroyed;

2. By agreement with the spiritual and secular authorities the construction of mosques was permitted in places of separate Tatar settlements, on condition that the total number of males in them had to be at least 200 to 300 people. In some cases, it was allowed to build one religious building for several small villages, if they added up to the proposed number of people;

3. It was permitted to build only a certain number of mosques. This number could not be increased, even taking into account the future growth of the population [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 8978, pp. 157–159].

The rules established by the first two paragraphs of the decree were in effect for more than a century [Malov, 1868]. Their vitality was due to the fact that they had become a serious obstacle to the uncontrolled increase in the number of Islamic places of worship. Which, in fact, was what the tsarist government sought. These restrictions affected the Siberian Tatars most of all. For example, in the early 1740s 66 mosques were destroyed in Tobolsk uyezd alone and there remained only 23 mosques for the 5,843 souls of its Muslim population. In Tyumen and its uyezd 19 of 32 mosques were destroyed. As a result, people living 70 or more versts from them were allotted to the remaining 13 mosques, which generated a huge inconvenience for believers [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 9446, p. 764].

As well as the rules for the construction of mosques, the decree of June 22, 1744 also contained another warning for the Tatars, the prohibition of religious propaganda against other nations, as well as the order for the spiritual and secular authorities to inflict 'no rancor or violence' on the Tatars who wish to adopt the Christian faith [Ibid., No. 8978, pp. 158–159]. The same principle was stipulated in the Synod's decree of December 12, 1746 "On the Use of no Enforcement Measures against Foreigners in their Adoption of the Graeco-Russian Confession" [Ibid., No. 9359, pp. 636–637]. The appearance of such documents can be explained by the fact that the monarchy could already afford to take populist measures in an en-

vironment where the mechanisms of economic coercion had begun working.

The process of adopting Orthodoxy was especially active among the 'idolaters', a name used in legislative acts for the Mordvins, Chuvash, Mari, Udmurts and other nations of the region. Even the Government's partial failure to fulfill their obligations to financially encourage the baptised did not stop them. In 1742 The Synod inquired of the Novokreschenskaya kontora [the office responsible for the newly-baptised population] about the possibility of canceling the reward for baptism, and in 1743, the officers of the desk began collecting signatures from the Chuvash that they would not claim any reward for the adoption of Christianity [Dimitriev, 1959, pp. 348–349].

The most powerful stimulus for the adoption of Orthodoxy for the pagan peoples was to be made exempt from tributes and conscription. These concessions, along with the pressure exerted by the authority for the newly-baptised population, secular authorities and the clergy had visible results. The Senate's decree of March 11, 1747 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 9379, pp. 667–670] passed at the request of service murzas and yasak Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd, shows that the Christianisation of the pagan population had almost finished. This had the most adverse effect on the Tatar population, the majority of which had no wish to be baptised. Additional duties were imposed on them to compensate for the former 'idolaters' who were "quite many in number". As a result, according to the decree, the Tatars 'were unable not only to pay the poll tax for the new converts, but also for themselves, so those of them who remained non-Christians had to abandon their homes and move away' [Ibid., pp. 668–669]. The situation was similar in other uyezds of the Volga guberniyas [Islaev, 2004, pp. 178–179].

The regulatory part of the document is noteworthy. The Senate rejected the request of the serving and yasak Tatars to exempt them from the taxes they had to pay for the newly converted pagans. The small number of non-Christians in Sviyazhsk uyezd was not regarded as a justification to satisfy that request since as per the decree of September 28, 1743 the pay-

ments were divided between all the non-Christians of Kazan guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 9379, p. 670]. The excessiveness of taxes for the unbaptised was pointed out by N. Firsov. According to his calculations, instead of 53 kopecks per capita, unbaptised 'non-Russians' of the Kazan Krai had to pay 3 rubles and 10 kopecks, that is almost 6 times more [Firsov, 1869, pp. 40–43]. These exactions were quick to undermine the economy of the Tatar population, but this was, in fact, the government's intention. Moscow deliberately sought to make the Tatar taxpayers bankrupt, hoping that the threat of complete impoverishment would sooner or later become a stimulus for them to adopt Orthodoxy.

The growing list of benefits for the newly-baptised was also a great loss for the government. On December 16, 1745 the Senate passed a decree 'On the Non-Inclusion in the Census of Tatar Murzas who had adopted the Greek Confession and had been Granted Villages and Noble Titles' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 9236, pp. 480–483]. The most significant innovation of the late 1740s was the liberation of the non-Russian servicemen from the Admiralty duties introduced by the Senate's decree of December 7, 1748 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 9556, pp. 941–943], and then restated on June 14, 1751 [Ibid., vol. 13, No. 9861, p. 450]. These decrees encouraged still unbaptised Chuvash and Mordvin soldiers to adopt Orthodoxy. As a result, the Admiralty authorities, faced with the labour shortage at the state-owned logging completely shifted the work onto the Serving Tatars.

Despite all this, even the most severe pressure could not shake the commitment the majority of the Tatar population of the Volga-Ural region had to Islam. Many researchers have noted this failure of the Russian government to convert the Tatars to the Christian faith. Moreover, according to Vladimir Kabuzan in the 1730–1750 there was an increase in the proportion of Tatars in the region, compared to other nations, since 'some of the Chuvash, Mordvins

and Mari, who had evaded baptism, merged with the Tatars' [Kabuzan, 1990, p. 105].

This phenomenon is confirmed by the legislative acts of the time. For example, the Senate's decree of June 14, 1749 contains information about 293 Chuvash of Sviyazhsk uyezd who had converted to Islam [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9631, pp. 82–85]. The attitude of the authorities to this event is characterised by the list of penalties for the guilty. Along with forcing Muslims to adopt the Orthodox faith, 26 Chuvash women married to Tatars were taken away from their husbands [Ibid., p. 83]. The children from these marriages, 'to teach other Mohammedans from now on...never to convert subjects of His Imperial Majesty to their godless Mohammedan law 'were ordered' to be given to the newly-baptised Chuvash families, who have already asserted themselves in the faith of Christ...and to order those families as much as possible to instruct and educate those children to bring them to the Christian faith' [Ibid., p. 85]. Vasiliy Dimitriev discusses the prosecutions for mixed marriages between Chuvash and Tatars, Tatars and Mordvins [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 351].

The conversion of the members of other nations into Islam by the Tatars is evidenced by the Senate's decree of March 23, 1750 'On the Prohibition of the Non-Christians living in Russia from converting Russian Citizens to their Faith, regardless of the Latter's Ethnicity or Titles' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9722, pp. 209–215]. According to the document, in 1744 in Astrakhan alone there were 854 people of both sexes, 'converted to the Islamic, Armenian, Roman and Lutheran confessions. ' The vast majority of them, namely 634 people adopted Islam. The residents of one of Kazan sloboda had 18 male and 28 female serfs, who 'were converted to the Mohammedan faith by their masters without permit' [Ibid., pp. 210–211]. In the Lower Volga region it was mainly Kalmyks who converted to Islam. A similar situation could be observed in Orenburg guberniya, where the Tatars not only persuaded the Kalmyks to change their faith, but also entered into

marriage with them [Ibid., p. 212]. The above demonstrates both the Tatars' commitment in spreading the Islamic faith and the role that the conversion into Islam played for the pagan nations within the Russian Empire as a form of resistance to forced Christianisation. To stop the islamisation of the pagans, on May 13, 1752 Synod passed a special decree 'On Monitoring the Newly-Baptised Citizens of the Kazan and Vyatka dioceses to ensure they do not fall into their old superstitions' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox profess Department—2, vol. 3, pp. 471–473].

There was also another trend that concerned the government. Taking advantage of the decrees adopted in the latter half of the 1740s that declared the principle of voluntary adoption of Christianity, many baptised Tatars began sending petitions to the Synod asking for a permission to go back to Islam. Their appeal was motivated by the fact that "they were forcedly baptised into the Orthodox Eastern Graeco-Russian faith by Luka, an eminent Bishop of Kazan, being at that time in madness and having, in fact, no voluntary desire to adopt the Orthodox faith" [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 13, No. 9825, p. 393]. This stimulated the Senate to pass a decree on December 24, 1750 that instructed all the dioceses, Novokreschenskaya kontora and other relevant authorities not to convert people to Orthodoxy without their 'written voluntary request and without giving them adequate instruction in Orthodoxy' [Ibid., pp. 392–395]. Those who wished to be baptised were offered to sign a petition drawn up in a form offensive for Muslims where Muhammad was called 'a false prophet and precursor of the Antichrists', and the Quran was described using epithets such as 'deceitful, unholy and godless' [Ibid., p. 394]. The authorities believed that such an approach to the baptism would make it impossible for the newly-baptised citizens to go back to their old faith.

After the publication of this decree the legislative activity of the government gradually decreased. Nevertheless, according to Firsov, at this time the missionary work continued 'with the same commitment as before, and to the same plan' [Firsov, 1869, p. 182]. According to Islaev, in 1750–1755 in the Volga Region

58,752 people were baptised, including 6434 Tatars [Islaev, 2004, p. 204]. By the mid-1750s, it was already possible to summarise the results of the Christianisation campaign. Legislative documents of the time give the following data on the destruction of mosques: in Kazan and Kazan uyezd, as already noted, 418 of 536 mosques were destroyed. In the Siberia guberniya: 'in Tobolsk and its uyezds there were 133 mosques, 98 of which were destroyed and 35 were abandoned and re-built', in the Astrakhan guberniya: 'around Astrakhan and in the steppes, in Tatar settlements there were reportedly 40 mosques and 29 of them were destroyed and 11 abandoned' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 14, No. 10597, p. 609]. It should be noted that there was no information on the destruction of mosques in Sviyazhsk uyezd of Kazan guberniya, as well as in Simbirsk, Nizhny Novgorod and Voronezh guberniyas, and other localised Tatar populations. This makes it impossible to estimate the overall scale of the losses incurred by the Russian Islamic community in the 1740–1750s. However, there is no doubt that the action of destroying Islamic religious buildings went far beyond the limits of the Middle Volga region. Moscow struck a blow to Islam in all the areas where its followers could be found.

Among the few exceptions was the Cis-Ural region. The memory of the recent Bashkir rebellion of 1735–1740s gave the government reason to call off the destruction of mosques in the region. In order to 'prevent such confusion from ever occurring again', the Senate's decree of February 20, 1744 determined as follows: 'the mosques existing at present in the Bashkir villages of the Ufa province should be abandoned till further instructions..., no other mosques should be built without special decrees from the Senate' [Ibid., vol. 12, No. 8875, p. 26]. Missionary work here was also mostly called off. 'And in the Bashkir villages, as we know, there are no newly-baptised residents',—the same document stated the situation [Ibid.]. The relative freedom of religion was one of the reasons for the mass outflow of the non-Russian population from Kazan guberniya to the Ufa province [Kabuzan, 1990, p. 119, 128]. It also encouraged the Tatars to seek a better life

in the Orenburg steppes, because freedom of religion was one of the city's 'privileges' established on June 7, 1734, in paragraph 11 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 9, No. 6584, p. 347].

Legislative acts also had some information about the number of the baptised. In 1741–1742 the total number of people who adopted Orthodoxy was 17,362 [Ibid., vol. 11, No. 8792, p. 919]. By 1756, 'according to the reports from governorates and provinces' this number was estimated to be 269,213 people [Ibid., vol. 14, No. 10666, pp. 693–694]. In the same year the officials of the Novokreschenskaya kontora evaluated the number of people converted to Christianity between 1741 and 1756 to be 412,962 [Islaev, 2004, p. 205], but these data were not confirmed by other sources, and were probably greatly exaggerated.

Most of the people who adopted Christianity were, as already noted, Chuvash, Mordvins, Mari and other pagan nations, who, according to N. Firsov, 'had no proper, fully functional religion able to compete with Christianity' [Firsov, 1869, pp. 167, 183]. He also provides information about the number of the newly-baptised citizens of Kazan uyezd according to the census of 1762: 'only 1,673 men of 44,687 male Cheremis are yet unbaptised; only 750 of 23,652 Chuvash are yet unbaptised; 26,209 Votyaks apart from 502 men were found to be all baptised; and all 4,960 Mordvin people have also been all baptised' [Ibid.]. However, this change of faith did not have any significant effect on the traditional beliefs of these people. I. Lepekhin, who visited the Middle Volga Region in the 1760s as a member of Academic expeditions, noted that being Christians on paper, Chuvash, Mordvins, Mari, and other ethnic communities of the region 'remained highly committed to their old pagan... delusions' [Lepekhin, 1795, p. 162].

A different situation was observed among the Tatars. 'The Tatars were exposed to continuous missionary persuasions, and offered various benefits by the government for the conversion to Christianity; they had to face the threat of bankruptcy due to the duties they had to pay for the newly-baptised, and see their mosques

being destroyed. None of these things, however, seemed to have much effect on them; the great majority of them remained firm in the faith of their fathers and grandfathers, while pagans living next to them were almost all baptised' [Firsov, 1869, p. 182]. This description given by N. Firsov is also confirmed in legislative sources. According to the Senate's decree of August 23, 1756, the proportion of the baptised and unbaptised Tatars in the Kazan province at the time was as follows: 'yasak tatars: 1,616 baptised, 35,005 unbaptised, among the admiralty workers in the Kazan Admiralty office: 1,766 baptised, 63,908 unbaptised' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 14, No. 10597, p. 610]. Researchers give similar figures. According to V. Kabuzan, in 1750 in Kazan guberniya there were 168,782 baptised people (3,451 Tatars), and 129,087 non-Christians (108,680 Tatars) [Kabuzan, 1990, p. 26–27; Iskhakov, 1980, pp. 37–38]. F. Islaev gives slightly larger numbers; according to his data the number of Tatars who baptised between 1743 and 1756 was 10,501 [Islaev, 2004, p. 205]. At the same time, it is clear that the Tatars who chose to be converted to Christianity consisted mostly of those who had gone totally bankrupt, were non-voluntarily enlisted in the army or were trying to avoid the punishment for their crimes.

Summing up the campaign of 1740–1750 it is necessary to answer the question about its origins and generally about the reasons for the government transition to the universal forced Christianisation. As is often the case, there are several factors to consider. Recent military clashes with Muslims during the Russian-Turkish war of 1735–1739 and the Bashkir rebellion of 1735–1740 played their part. They triggered a strong anti-Muslim attitude among the Russian ruling elite. A. Kappeler considers the events in the Volga region as a part of the general attack on other religions that took place during the reign of Anna Ioannovna. During this period, not only the Muslims but also the Old Believers, Protestant and Catholic missionaries have experienced the pressure of the state, Ukrainians' privileges were infringed as well [Kappeler, 1982, p. 282].

The observation of another Swiss scientist also deserves attention. In an era when Western European methods had a strong influence on the Russian aristocracy, traditional religious tolerance also started to be seen as a sign of backwardness. Starting from the late 17th century, foreign merchants would criticise Russians for not converting pagans and Muslims living in the heart of the state. According to Andreas Kappeler, the man directly responsible for Peter the Great's idea of enforcing Christianity throughout the state was the German philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz [Ibid., p. 283]. Mass Christianisation came on the back of reforms made by Peter the Great annulling the special status of non-Russian peoples. The church was now completely under control of the state, which made such concerted actions easier to coordinate. A. Kappeler writes: 'For a systematic state seeking to shape all aspects its citizens' lives, the fact that in the very heart of the territory it controlled lived a group of people whose values did not correspond with the state ideology and Orthodox Christianity was a source of aggravation, as it limited the state's control over these citizens, its ability to exploit them, take disciplinary measures against them and in a broader sense, called into question the unity of the state' [Ibid., p. 282].

In the second quarter of the 18th century, Peter I's successors on the Russian throne, especially Anna Ioannovna and Elizabeth Petrovna, continued his work in unifying belief systems across the Russian Empire. The system of rules and regulations governing the status of Islam and Muslims was significantly expanded on to include several laws that infringed upon their rights. Some Tatars were faced with administrative, economic and religious pressure from the state and were forced to accept the Orthodox faith.

Religious frays between the Tatars and the imperial government continued until 1755, when an event occurred which would create a radical change in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions. In that spring, a mullah from the village of Karmysh-Bash on the Siberian daruga through the Ufa province Gabdulla Galiev, known by the people as Batyrsha, directed a

far-reaching appeal to the Muslims of the region opposing the government restrictions on Islamic rituals and demanding the creation of an independent Islamic state [Bashkiria, 1996, pp. 147–148]. This appeal would be the starting point for a revolt by the Bashkirs and Tatars in the Cis-Ural Region, and which had, according to Nikolay Firsov, 'all the signs of a struggle for the faith of Mohammed' [Firsov, 1869, p. 209]. The rebellion found a ready response among the Muslim population of the Volga Region (on the aim of the rebellion, its progress and results, see: [Islaev, 2004, pp. 268–300]). The possibility of mass social upheaval that would pose a real threat to the Empire forced the government to make some hasty adjustments in their domestic policy.

The first step in this direction were the decrees dated September 3 and September 26, 1755 prohibiting the resettlement of unbaptised Tatars [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 14, No. 10597, p. 610], and their exemption from supplying recruits into military service in lieu of newly-baptised people [Ibid., No. 10666, pp. 693–694]. A year later, on August 23, 1756, the Senate issued a decree 'On the Approval for Tatars of the Mohammedan Law dwelling in Special Villages in Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Astrakhan and Siberia guberniyas to build Mosques, and on the Resettlement of Newly-Baptised Tatars to other Villages' [Ibid., vol. 14, No. 10587, pp. 607–612]. This bold title disguised the softening of certain statutes from the decree of June 22, 1744 [Ibid., vol. 12, No. 8978, pp. 157–159]. The restrictions on the total number of Islamic mosques in a settlement were lifted. Newly-baptised citizens were allowed to be relocated from villages where they comprised less than one tenth of the total population. After Orthodox resettlement Muslims were allowed to rebuild their mosques provided they adhered to the rules on the number of parishioners [Ibid.].

Although the decree of August 23, 1756 did not make any significant amendments to the state religious policy, it indicated the government's intention to soften policy. A direct consequence this act being passed was a decree by the Senate authorising the construction of a mosque in the village of Popovka on the out-

skirts of Kazan, where, after a destructive fire in the Tatar sloboda in the early 1750s, more than 800 people were relocated [Ibid., vol. 15, No. 10991, pp. 377–388].

Another clear indication of the state's change in direction were the changes in the status of newly-baptised people. Another clear indication of the state's change in direction were the changes in the status of newly-baptised people. Which defined the rights of newly-baptised citizens in the service of the Russian army are significant in this regard. After the Senate issued a decree on December 10, 1756, ordering not to recruit them into military service 'pursuant to previous statutes' [Ibid., vol. 14, No. 10666, pp. 693–694], the evolution of this legislation went thus. On July 4, 1757 The Senate introduced a ban on the recruitment of 'baptised Mohammedans and Kalmyks' by the Orenburg and Astrakhan garrisons, to prevent them from 'leaving and abandoning Christian law, and acting malignantly towards the state when in proximity to neighbouring Mohammedans' [Ibid., No. 10749, p. 783]. The Military Board was recommended, as was usual in the 1730s, that such soldiers be sent to serve in the Baltic garrisons [Ibid., vol. 14, No. 10749, p. 783].

From December 23, 1756, the General Annual Recruitment Agency, in setting the maximum reward for servicemen who had expressed a wish to adopt the Orthodox faith, would determine the right to transfer from the garrison to the field regiments [Ibid., No. 10786, pp. 844–845]. A Senate's Decree of March 16, 1758 ordered for Tatars, Chuvash, Cheremis, Mordvins and Votyaks baptised before the census of 1743 to be taken into military service [Ibid., vol. 15, No. 11099, p. 507]. This put an end to the indefinite exemption of newly-baptised citizens from military service. From here on with each new census military service was made compulsory for those who had been baptised before the previous census. It was even demanded that such people be described as 'baptised before the previous revision' rather than 'newly-baptised' [Ibid.]. The Senate's decree of April 6, 1764 meant this too underwent some changes. Non-Chris-

tians who had accepted Orthodoxy were now no longer exempt for the entire period between censuses, but only for three regular recruitments, which took place almost annually. Those who could pay their way out could contribute a sum as fixed by the state until the next census, while the poor had to serve [Ibid., vol. 16, No. 12126, p. 705].

This evolution of the legislation towards limiting the privileges of the newly-baptised is very significant. The state could not allow this group of people to be given a preferential status permanently. This would be contrary to its ambitions to unify. Moreover, it could not allow ethnic minorities to possess such privileges even if they adhered to the prevailing belief system in the country.

The final legislative acts that can be viewed as reflective of a state policy favorable for the newly-baptised can be dated to the early 1760s. These include the Senate decrees of May 31 and September 11, 1760, which restated the content of previous resolutions, according to which all affairs relating to this category of the population were to be conducted only with the consent of 'a particular chief commander for newly-baptised affairs and his team of officers'. All officials were reminded not to accept any offense in connection to the newly-baptised [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 15, No. 11064, p. 446; No. 11099, pp. 506–507]. A Senate decree of June 9 of the same year 'On not Burdening the Newly-Baptised with Double Billetings and other Police Duties' was protective in character, permitting only non-Christians 'coming to get baptised' and their guards entrusted with their 'protection' to be accommodated in their homes [Ibid., No. 11068, p. 479].

In laws concerning the Tatars from the second quarter of the 18th century and in the 1750s, religious decrees reflecting the priorities of the domestic policy of Moscow in the particular historical period typically dominate. Of course, relations between the Tatar population and the state were not just limited to the religious sphere. In the Complete Code of Laws can be found many legislative acts relating to the conduct of admiralty duty by the

Serving Tatars. In the second quarter of the 18th century we begin to find references in the legislation to populations in the Cis-Ural Region such as 'Meshcheryaks' and 'Teptyars' who subsequently merged into the single Tatar ethnos. A number of decrees from the 1730–1750s outline the role of the Tatars in the de-

velopment of the Orenburg region. There are individual legal acts concerning the Tatar land tenure, trade, migration to other regions and other matters. However, they are only of interest in conjunction with other documents of similar content belonging to different historical periods.

§3. Religious Policy of the State in the First Half of the 18th Century

Fayzulkhak Islaev

Not only the modern history of Russia, but also a new phase in the history of relationships between the government, the Orthodox Church and Islam begins with the reforms of Peter I. The Orthodox Church took the lead in this turning point in relations, which at the end of the 17th century persistently compelled the tsars to intensify the fight against non-Christians, meaning Christian Separatists, Catholics, Lutherans, and also Muslims and believers of other confessions. The Orthodoxy position in this question was most figuratively reflected in the last will of Patriarch Joachim made on March 17, 1690, in which he called for the sovereigns not to allow Orthodox Christians to be on friendly terms with Heretics, Latins, Lutherans, Calvinists and godless Tatars, not to allow gentiles to build pagan places of prayer and sacrifice and to destroy those which were already built..., not to allow the Tatars to build mosques anywhere' [Solovyov, 1991, book 7, p. 463].

Awareness-building campaign of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Volga Region in the first quarter of the 18th century is connected with the name of Kazan Metropolitan Tikhon, who arrived in Kazan on October 4, 1700, from the Sarsk and Podonsk dioceses with a decree 'to call for Christianity and enlighten the Cheremis people in Urzhumsk, Yaransk, Tsaryovosanchursk and Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezds, encouraging His Great Sovereign with favor and long years' [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 37].

Monasteries continued to play an important role in the advancement of Orthodoxy among non-Christians. In 1712, at the initiative of Metropolitan Tikhon, the Bulgarian Uspensky monastery was built in the Volga region for

missionary purposes among the Tatars, 'in the desolate ancient regal Bulgarian Islamic ancient town. And in the ancient chamber, they built a church and held services familiar to the community' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 10, inv. 5, file 511, p. 11]. According to D. Korsakov, the main guides of monastic colonisation on the Meadow Land of the Volga were Sedmiozyorny, Raifsky and Savior-Transfiguration monastery; and on the mountain side, the Tetyushi monastery [Korsakov, 1889, p. 31]. By order of Kazan Metropolitan, Alexy Raifsky and his father, who baptised 4,683 Cheremis people between 1701 and 1705, were engaged in vigorous awareness-building activities among the Mari, and 7 churches were built for them at government expense [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 1, p. 364].

Christianisation of the Muslim Tatars was accompanied by escalating spiritual violence and duress of goods. A decree of Peter of 1704 gave orders to 'Collect this money from abyzes (elders) from mosques and from keremets, to enumerate the people in curacy of each mosque: male and female, both widowers and single, widows and maidens; and to raise this money from any married person—three coins; from widowers, both from single persons and from small children, from any person—two coins; from married women three coins; from widows and maidens two coins every year' [Golikov, 1837, p. 329]. In 1704, the Bashkirs were ordered to build mosques in the form of Orthodox churches, and to hold religious ceremonies similar to Orthodox ceremonies. A mullah had to perform a ceremony together with an Ortho-

dox priest (papa). It was ordered that in case of a marriage 'there must be one Tatar abyz, and another Russian priest to perform the marriage ceremony', and to bury the dead at mosques against Islamic customs, and to establish new taxes on weddings, on mosques [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936, pp. 110, 114–115]. A special tribute was levied on all Islamic clergy. All these measures raised a storm of public discontent, which led to a protracted period of rebellion in 1704–1711, as a result of which the government had to abandon implementation of this decree [Kulbakhtin, Sergeev, 1988, pp. 36–37].

It is no coincidence that Orthodox churches became targets of attacks by rebels. According to the documents, 'during the revolt of Bashkir and Tatar thieves, they burned 62 churches in the Kazan diocese, and in Kungur uyezd the Bashkirs and Karakalpaks burned 8 churches, and stabbed and hacked many people in villages' [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 2, p. 607]. During the revolt in Kazan and Ufa uyezds by February, 1709, '303 big and small villages had been burned and ruined', 12,705 people had died and had been captured [Solo-voev, 1991, book 8, vol. 15–16, p. 170].

The participation of murzas and the Serving Tatars in sedition was probably the reason for active measures by the government against the Tatar feudal lords, who played a significant and authoritative role in Islamic society. The coincidence of suppression of the gentile rebels and the start of active measures to baptise murzas and Serving Tatars shows that there is a direct logical link. November 3, 1713 the Senate passed a decree on baptism of those Moham-medans in Kazan and Azov guberniyas who had peasants of the Orthodox faith on their manors and votchinas. According to this decree, Muslims who had their own manors, and peasant serfs of Orthodox confession on their manors and votchinas, had to be baptised within half a year, and 'as they take the sacred baptism, they will own these manors and votchinas and people and peasants as before. And if they are not baptised in half a year, their manors and

votchinas with people and with peasants will be signed over to the Great Sovereign, and without decree will not be given to anybody' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, pp. 66–67].

Despite the specific instructions that this decision affected murzas who had Orthodox workers on their estates, this restriction was not taken into consideration if the prescribed measures were implemented. The fears of murzas and the Serving Tatars concerning unfair confiscation of property was justified, as during 1714, in Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Sinbirsk and Penza uyezds 180 estates in different settlements and villages were signed over to the sovereign and were later given to the Kazan vice-governor N. Kudryavtsev [Makarov, 2000, p. 143]. According to the estimates of A. Nogmanov, the total number of landlord and peasant households signed over as a result of this decree was 560 units; and the number of signed over men and women was 3,795 persons in seven towns of Kazan and Azov guberniyas [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 101].

In 1719, in one Uzinsky camp of Penza uyezd alone, 48 estates of peasant serfs of the Orthodox confession were signed over to the sovereign from murzas Akchurins, Shakhmametevs, Dashkins, Teberdeevs, Kugushevs, Enikeevs, Davletkildeevs, Churakovs, Kozayevs, Bichurins, Agishevs and Mansurovs in the villages of Kunchurino, Bikbulatovo, Elyuzan, Pendelga because of their refusal to be baptised [Enikeev, 1999, pp. 110–111].

According to the sources, murzas and Serving Tatars took their time to receive baptism. The decrees of Peter I was actually the final blow to the former privileged position of the serving Tatars, as 'they formed the basis not only for baptism of some of them, but also for the attack on serving Tatar land tenure in general' [Gilyazov, 1995, p. 249]. Nevertheless, for all that they failed to achieve mass acceptance of Orthodoxy, although rare cases were noted. We will give several examples. In 1717, the baptism of estate-owning murzas was recorded in various settlements: G. Mansurov, Timofey Lvovich Divletkildeev and Ivan Lavrentyev Enikeev [Dokumenty' i

materialy', 1940, pp. 234–235]. Murza Khan-ya Sumcheleev from the village of Toropov in Kadom uyezd expressed his desire to be baptised in 1722 [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 9, p. 173]. On November 7, 1722, murza Shig-Aley, son of Ivanashev, Prince Alyshev from the town of Kadom made a petition for baptism addressed to Peter I [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 1, pp. 728–729]. Serving murza Trakhman Bakhtiarov, the son of Kutkin, stated his willingness to accept the Orthodox faith on May 2, 1729. He was baptised in the same Savior monastery on July 3 and was called Ivan Avraamov-Kutkin [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 9, pp. 239–240].

The process of baptising the Tatar murzas was recorded in Tatar genealogies. The genealogy of the Maksudov princes recorded Biktimer (Ivan), Batyr (Ivan), Peter, Fyodor, Timerbulat (Tikhon), Azamat (Alexander), Egor, Mostafa (Nikolay), Aleksey (captain) and Vasily (ensign); that of the Krymsky-Shirinsky princes—Vasily, Peter, Michail, Lukyan and Fyodor; and that of the Davletkildeev princes—Aleksey, Afanasy, Savil (Seitbattal) and Martin (Mortaza) [Ahmetzyanov, 1996, pp. 64–67, 70, 72–73, 126]. Of course, opponents of baptism lost not only peasant serfs of the Orthodox confession, but also all wealth, first of all their manors and votchinas. It was probably after these events that the expression 'chabataly muoza'—'lapotnye murzas' appeared among the Tatars.

The Tobolsk diocese became the second center of the awareness-building campaign of the Russian Orthodox Church at the beginning of 18th century. And here Peter I played a key role by giving orders to choose a new metropolitan in Siberia who would 'not be only kind and lead a good life, but also be a scholar, so that he, as the Metropolitan in Tobolsk, could bring close-minded people blinded by idolatry to knowledge of the true God, with God's help, in China and in Siberia' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 3, No. 1618]. This work was assigned to Metropolitan Filofey Leshchinsky, who before his appointment was

the provisor of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery who arrived in Tobolsk in 1702.

That was also when the Siberian Tatars were restricted in performing Islamic ceremonies. On October 11, 1703, a decree was passed, according to which Tatars living among Russians near churches were forbidden to make noise during the divine liturgy, and to move mosques far from churches, 'so that there was no shouting and singing near holy churches'; if the Tatars begin to shout during the divine service, they would 'be in disgrace and be executed' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 194]. The Metropolitan proposed 'that in Tobolsk there shall be no Tatar mosques between holy churches and the Tatars shall not live with Christians, because there would be interference from mosques on holy churches...' [Sulotsky, 1863].

In 1714–1720, according to some data, in our opinion somewhat exaggerated, he baptised 14,000 people and built more than 30 churches for the newly-baptised Christians. This awareness-building campaign was praised by Peter the Great [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 10, pp. 685–687].

The ideology of Orthodox missionary work under the new conditions was developed by the outstanding religious leader of the first third of the 18th century, Feofan Prokopovich. By order of the emperor, he arrived in Saint Petersburg from Kiev and drew up Spiritual Regulations, in which careful attention was paid to the religious and educational functions of the church. There is a special section on the awareness-building campaign consisting of 10 provisions [Verkhovskoy, 1916, pp. 116–118, 451, 533]. Before his death in 1736, Feofan Prokopovich, who became one of the leaders of the Synod, provided all possible assistance in the development of the Orthodox missionary work among the people of Russia. Not coincidentally, V. Tatishchev characterised him as 'the main clergyman of the Russian church and the most diligent one to spread the word of God and the Christian doctrine' [Tatishchev, 1990, pp. 163–164].

A system of granting privileges to the newly-baptised was developed in the 1720s. On September 1, 1720, the Senate passed a decree

under which the newly-baptised received privileges 'in all governmental fees and products for three years in order to make Greek law more attractive; to give this privilege only to those who accepted the sacred baptism, if only some persons in a household come to be baptised, but not all the inhabitants of that household'. Along with tax privileges, and privileges for building churches and buying churchware and gifts, the newly-baptised were annually given one thousand rubles [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox profess Department—1, vol. 1, pp. 210–211].

In 1722, Peter the Great told the Kazan governor not to take recruits from the baptised infidels into service 'and to take into service those who do not want to be baptised under the previous decree' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 6, No. 4123]. The decision on exempting the baptised from military service became one of the most effective measures for bringing non-Christians to Orthodoxy, as the only legal way to avoid military conscription was to accept Orthodoxy. Not coincidentally, the statistics of baptism later showed that there were more men among baptised non-Christians than women; perhaps for the same reason, there is a difference in baptised by gender among the Bashkirs who were exempted from military service.

On August 28, 1724, a decree was passed, according to which the Tatars and other non-Christians who had accepted Orthodoxy were exempted from servitude and 'were set free' [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 4, pp. 251–253]. October 21, 1724, the Senate decided, that Tatars and other non-Christians condemned to death, who wished to receive baptism, should be taught and baptised, and after accepting the sacred baptism, 'if there are some who are worthy of execution, to exile them as usual' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox profess Department—1, vol. 5, pp. 251–252]. This decision legislates the widespread experience of exempting the baptised from obligations, and from pursuit of non-Christian criminals if they voluntarily accepted baptism.

In October 1721, the Synod demanded that Metropolitan Tikhon explain why Mohammedans who had accepted Christianity were deserting him and if it happened because of the actions of secular authorities who burdened the newly-baptised with heavy tributes. According to the patriarch, the fact that the newly-baptised did not go to churches and buried the dead without priests at Mohammedan cemeteries was the main reason why the Tatars drifted away from Orthodoxy [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 1, pp. 364–368].

At that time, he proposed some new measures which would contribute to strengthening Orthodoxy among the newly-baptised Tatars. According to the Metropolitan, it was necessary to forbid them to bury the dead in former cemeteries under threat of a fine; to bury the dead only in the presence of a priest, and 'to raze to the ground' the former cemeteries; to build churches in the converted villages and to control church attendance on Sunday and holidays. Children of the newly-baptised were put under special control, and it was proposed to involve them in studying 'Slovenian reading and writing' with the help of awards'. The clergy had to strengthen control over observance of church ceremonies and carry out unannounced inspections so that the newly-baptised were always 'in fear' of derogations from canons, and to encourage conversion to Orthodoxy with the help of awards [Ibid., app. 29].

Metropolitan Silvester made regular trips around villages of the newly-baptised. After each trip, the Kazan bishop was disappointed because the newly-baptised Tatars could be considered only nominal Christians in terms of religion. His trip to Abdi village of Kazan uyezd of Zyurey road provided clear evidence of this. He wrote that the Tatars of Abdi village 'were enlightened with the sacred baptism by St. Gury, the first hierarch of the region, and their great-grandfathers and fathers were enlightened after the conquest of Kazan, about 170 years ago, but they could not speak Russian like their great-grandfathers, fathers and mothers; few knew how to say the Jesus prayer, they could not make the sign of the cross or observe and

keep Christian law because they had not learned it and not from contempt, but because they had lived in their old dwellings since ancient times, a long distance from other villages and from Christian churches, about forty versts or more, and also beyond the woods and rivers and in great summer and autumn, many were in inaccessible places and behind much dirt, and could not come to pray in God's church on Feasts of the Lord and on Sundays with their wives and children and to make confession according to their Christian duty and could not receive the Sacrament, and because of this, they lose the grace of God, and parish priests, because of the long distance, came seldom and for a short time' [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 4, pp. 357–358].

The Metropolitan suggested building a church in the village, and on returning to Kazan, charged the hieromonk with the task of visiting other foreign villages where it was possible to build churches or chapels. Later, a decision was made to resettle Russians in this village. The result of these activities was full Russification of this settlement.

Despite considerable efforts of the Orthodox Church, in the latter half of the 1720s the number of the baptised gentiles gradually decreased. Whereas in 1719–1724, 2,184 non-Christians were baptised, in 1724–1730 only 811 non-Christians received baptism. Although 75 more people were baptised in March 1730, these figures do not change the general picture [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 9, pp. 35–38]. Therefore, during 12 years in the Kazan diocese 3,070 people were baptised, an average of 256 people a year. According to other sources, from 1701 to 1730 a total of 6,311 people were baptised [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—1, vol. 1, pp. 171–175].

At the end of the 1720s, it became clear that it was impossible to speak about wider Christianisation of people of other religions in the Volga region only through the efforts of certain enthusiastic apostles, without creating the relevant religious organisation responsible to the Synod for missionary activities. By the decree

of August 23, 1731, the Synod established an organisation for baptism of Muslims and other 'non-Russians'. The Sviyazhsk Bogoroditsky Uspensky monastery was chosen as the location of the commission. According to the decree, the hieromonk Alexy Raifsky was entrusted to know and correct newly baptised affairs in the Kazan diocese, 'to call non-Christians to the sacred baptism and to enlighten those who wish it, and to educate them in the content of the Orthodox faith, according to the Christian duty, and to watch diligently on his own' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—1, vol. 7, pp. 332–334; Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 10, pp. 522–523]. In addition, 636 rubles were allocated annually from hierarchical income for awareness-building. Thus, Alexy Raifsky headed the monastery and at the same time was responsible for the awareness-building campaign among non-Christians. In 1734, this organisation was called Novokreshchenskaya kontora [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 14, app. 29].

In the first year of the commission's existence, in 1731, 108 people were baptised, 15 children of the newly-baptised were chosen by Alexy Raifsky to study at a special school in the monastery, he selected the teacher, and children of the newly-baptised began their studies. To carry out this missionary work, he took 3,153 rubles 78,5 kopecks from the Kazan bishop, 425 rubles 65 kopecks of which had already been spent. This money was mainly used to buy various things as gifts for the newly-baptised: 500 copper crosses, 30 kaftans, 30 pairs of boots, 30 caps, 33 shirts, and also a horse for traveling, etc. The following people were appointed to organise the work: the clerk Ivan Nikitnikov, the teacher Vasily Svintsitsky and copiers Afanasy Andronnikov and Lev Sudovikov [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 11, pp. 375–376].

The activities of the Novokreshchenskaya kontora began to produce the first results, although they were very modest. In 1732, they baptised 201 people, and their number increased to 290 in 1733; in addition, 7 church-

es were built between 1722 and 1733, and the eighth church was under construction. In 1733, 1,047 rubles 37 kopecks were spent for missionary purposes; thus, the baptism of one non-Christian cost the treasury 3 rubles 61 kopecks [Isaev, 1999, p. 13].

In the city of Yekaterinburg on June 20, 1738, they conducted an act to intimidate non-Christians and the newly-baptised—the newly-baptised Tatar Toygilda Zhulyakov was burned at the stake for converting to Islam [Berkhin, 1885, p. 191]. Before the execution, they published a decree stating that 'it is ordered to burn you, Tatar Toygilda, for the fact that you, after accepting the Greek Orthodox Faith, adopted Muhammad's Islam, and you not only committed an ungodly crime, but as dog returned to his vomit, you broke your oath taken during the ceremony of baptism, and made a great protest and curse to God and his Holy Law, to frighten others who converted to Christianity from the Mohammedan faith, in the presence of all the baptised Tatars' [Anisimov, 1999, pp. 541–542]. In 1740, they made a decision to burn the baptised Tatar Roman Isaev, who had received baptism together with his wife in Kazan uyezd, and then moved to Ufa uyezd, converted to Islam, accompanied the chief rebel Kilmyak, and was taken prisoner in battle. Isaev was brought to Saint Petersburg where the sentence was handed down: 'this Isaev shall not be sent to Menzelinsk to Soymonov, but be to put to death in Saint Petersburg for his established guilt, so that the state does not suffer losses for his transportation, and especially so that he does not escape during the journey and commit a greater crime' [Popov, 1861, p. 206].

In 1738, Dimitry Sechenov became the head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora in place of Alexy Raifsky. Then began a new, most dramatic stage of Christianisation of non-Russian people of the Russian Empire, especially of Muslim Tatars, which lasted 20 years—from 1741 to 1761. This stage in the history of the Tatar people is inseparably associated with the name of Luka Kanashevich, though he never officially headed Novokreshchenskaya kontora. The appointment of Luka Kanashevich to the Kazan diocese and the staff changes initiated

in Novokreshchenskaya kontora are links in a chain aimed at moving the Christianisation of non-Christians to a qualitatively new stage. With the appointment of new leaders, the method of using persuasion of Muslims and pagans was gradually supplanted by the use of force. The combination of giving various privileges to the newly-baptised and methods of persuasion and violence against non-Christians yielded really outstanding results—the pagan peoples of the Volga region, with rare exceptions, were baptised.

By this time, a favorable environment had been created for deploying mass baptism. As a result of the previous missionary activities of the Orthodox Church by the 1740s more than 30,000 Muslims and pagans had been baptised in Kazan guberniya, including 16,227 Muslims, 12,026 Cheremis, 804 Chuvash, 693 Mordvins, 205 Votyaks, and 104 Kalmyks, for a total of 30,059 people [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 21, p. 19].

The decree 'On the Departure of the Archimandrite with a Number of Priests to Different Governorates for teaching the Newly-Baptised Orthodox Christian Law and on Privileges given to the Newly-Baptised' of September 11, 1740, signed by Empress Anna Ioannovna, became the programme of mass Christianisation of people of other religions in the Volga-Ural region. The majority of the measures prescribed by the decree were prepared and accepted earlier; this document is distinguished not only by the inclusion of decisions made earlier in one decree, but by the attempt at a comprehensive approach to the problem of mass baptism of the peoples of Russia. Implementation of all prescribed measures required considerable financial expenses from the state, and these expenses equal to ten thousand rubles were specified by the decree. It became the legal basis of the awareness-building campaign of the Orthodox Church and mass baptism of Muslims and pagans throughout the existence of the Novokreshchenskaya kontora, and in the following years.

The mass baptism of people of other religions was under direct supervision of Dimitry Sechenov, the new head of the Novokresh-

chenskaya kontora and the archimandrite of the Sviyazhsk Bogoroditsky monastery. To accomplish this task, they needed vigorous illuminators and managers of this work. At the request of Archimandrite Dimitry Sechenov 4 more people were added to the two archpriests of Novokreshchenskaya kontora: teachers of the Kazan seminary Vasily Grigorovich and Stefan Glovatsky, student of the Moscow Spiritual Academy Nikolay Kamensky, and the priest Georgy Davidov. As a result, in 1741, there was a quantum leap in missionary activities. The number of people baptised in one year increased thirty times to 9,159 [Islaev, 1999, p. 51]. In this year, Georgy Davidov baptised 416 Cheremis in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd; Veniamin Puczek-Grigorovich baptised 475 Cheremis and Votyaks of Urzhumsky and Vyatka uyezds; the head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora Dimitry Sechenov baptised 721 Mordva in Alatorsky uyezd; Stefan Davidov baptised 114 Mordva in Penza uyezd; and from January to May 1741, the archpriest of Kazan Vladimirsky Cathedral Ioann Simonov baptised 179 people of the Chuvash, Mordva and other nations. By September 1741, 86 people had been baptised in Astrakhan guberniya, along with 6 men and 2 women in the Ryazan diocese [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 21, p. 235]. Among those baptised by Dimitry Sechenov were murza Mantsyrev and his wife and children from the village of Serkamka of Verkhologomovsk uyezd of Voronezh uyezd [Ibid., p. 484].

Dimitry Sechenov was the first to raise the question of mass construction of churches in the settlements of the newly-baptised. On his initiative, construction of 30 wooden churches began, not only where the newly-baptised lived, but also 'where they do not wish to be baptised' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—1, vol. 10, pp. 415–419]. Initially, the construction of 16 churches began in the Kazan diocese, including those in the villages of Nizhnie Aktashy and Yamashkino of Kazan uyezd of Zyurey road; in the village of Kutusha of Nogai road; in the village of Kuroyedovka of Simbirsk uyezd; and in the village of Nurma of Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd. At that time, there were 30 friaries, 15

convents and 699 churches in the Kazan diocese [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 21, pp. 378, 469–471].

It is characteristic that there were few Muslims among the baptised Tatars, especially in comparison with the pagans. This situation forced the adoption of new measures to encourage Muslim Tatars to be baptised. The unwillingness of the Tatars to accept Orthodoxy, and the significant role of the Islamic clergy in this matter led to a decision to destroy Islamic mosques. Moreover, mosques were considered to be the strongholds of propaganda against the Russian conquerors, and the centers of separatism [Klimovich, 1936, p. 12].

On May 10, 1742, the Synod decided 'to demolish the Tatar mosques that are in Kazan and other guberniyas, to demolish all the mosques built after the prohibitory decrees, wherever they may be, without any delay and henceforth not to allow construction of them' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 14, file 803, p. 52 reverse–53; Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 50, pp. 725–726]. According to the missionaries' logic, destruction of mosques would result in destruction of the Islamic clergy, and therefore, Islam as the religion of the Tatars and the Bashkirs. The measures were revolutionary, but Islam in Russia met this challenge with dignity. Almost immediately after the destruction of the Tatar mosques, the Muslims began to petition strongly for restoration or construction of new mosques. The first to petition the Senate was Safer Umerov from Tatar sloboda of Kazan, who took part in the negotiations with the rebellious Bashkirs in 1735 [Materialy, 2002, p. 64].

The vigorous awareness-building campaign of Dimitry Sechenov, the head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora and archimandrite of Sviyazhsk Bogoroditsky monastery, was praised, and by the decree of the empress of September 1, 1742, he was appointed bishop of the Nizhny Novgorod diocese. In Nizhny Novgorod, he continued his active missionary work, which yielded real results: the number of baptised people increased considerably, there were even whole volosts in which there were no unbap-

tised non-Christians, except the Tatars. Thus, in October 1744 in Ardatov volost, in which there were 84 villages, 'each and every one had been baptised, and there was not a single unbaptised Mordvin left' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—2, vol. 2, p. 290]. In 1746, the newly-baptised in the Nizhny Novgorod diocese numbered 50,430 people, and 74 churches had been built for them [Malov, 1878, p. 61]. The newly-baptised Tatar Philipp Nikitin who encouraged the baptism of 10 Tatar recruits, helped the missionaries [Nikolsky, 1915, p. 129].

The mass Christianisation of non-Christians in the Volga region was continued by Sylvester Glovatsky, who became the third head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora and the archimandrite of Sviyazhsk Bogoroditsky monastery. At the initiative of Novokreshchenskaya kontora or the Kazan guberniya administration, the new privileges of the newly-baptised were determined and the old ones were confirmed by decrees of the Synod or Senate. On September 8, 1743, the decree of Elizabeth Petrovna again confirmed the privileges of the Mohammedans for accepting the Greek Orthodox faith [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 11, pp. 919–920]. Later, the Synod confirmed the privileges of newly-baptised Mohammedans for receiving the sacred baptism: release 'from kholops (serfs) and the peasant labour of non-Christian landlords' and 'indulgence' of debtors and awards to them by their former owners of '5 rubles for adults, and 3 rubles for singles' [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796, inv. 24, 397, pp. 5, 11]. In 1748, murzas and the serving Tatars who had received baptism were released from shipboard work, which gave the lashmans the chance to leave the hard work of tree felling [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 12, pp. 941–943]. As a result of this decision, murzas, serving and yasak Tatars became the basic workers of the Admiralty Office, as the pagans assigned to the office were excused from performing these duties after being baptised.

Analysis of the legislation during the years of mass Christianisation shows that decrees of a religious nature made up 45% of all govern-

ment orders among all legislative documents concerning the Tatars in 1740–1749. The anti-Muslim orientation became a distinctive feature of this campaign. If the total number of legislative acts issued during this campaign is taken as 100%, then the decrees aimed at Christianising the entire non-Russian population of the region without distinction in ethnic and confessional characteristics make up about 65%, anti-Muslim decrees make up 30%, and decrees on paganism make up 5% [Nogmanov, 1994, pp. 18–19].

Control over the religious state of the newly-baptised was considerably tightened. The slightest signs of backsliding of the newly-baptised from Christianity caused an immediate reaction of the authorities and missionaries. The case of Pavel Yakovlev (Ahmed Musmanov) is characteristic in this respect. He was baptised 'of his own free will' in February 1741; Ivan Filippov, the archpriest of Kazan Bogoroditsky Cathedral, baptised him, and his godfather was the Kazan craftsman Yakov. After receiving baptism, he settled in the Russian village of Kermen, then went to Ufa uyezd, where he called himself a Tatar by a Tatar name, on in fast days he ate meat and milk, in defiance of Christian traditions. The missionaries somehow learned of this and sent him to the Raifa monastery, where he was 'held in custody', and the skillful hieromonk was instructed to hear his confession within 6 weeks [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—2, vol. 3, pp. 247–252]. In this case, the missionaries limited themselves only to confinement in the monastery and spiritual enlightenment. The penalty was frequently more severe. In 1743, in the midst of violent baptism, 33 Chuvash converted to Islam, while 26 Chuvash women married Tatars and also adopted Islam. On learning of this, the Kazan provincial office ordered the 'circumcised Chuvash' to be baptised, and if they refused, to flog them mercilessly in the presence of the deputy from Novokreshchenskaya kontora. On this occasion, 16 Muslim Tatars recognised as the main perpetrators of conversion of the Chuvash to Islam were deported to Siberia forever. If they adopted Christianity, they were released from

any responsibility for adopting Islam and were let off without penalty; and the children born of Tatars were taken from their parents and given to the newly-baptised Chuvash [Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 200–202].

The use of privileges of release from recruiting duty by the state was one of the most effective means of putting pressure on non-Russians in the matter of 'sacred baptism'. The recruitment for the common people became such a heavy burden that there was no real hope for release from military service and return of the recruit to the native heath. Family members, seeing young men off to the imperial army, parted with them forever, as the term of service in the Russian army was unlimited. Only total disablement caused by wounds or mutilations gave them the right to return home.

In this situation, the only escape for youth from recruiting duty was receiving baptism. And they often used this means to avoid conscription into the army. We will give several examples. The established fact that there were more men than women among baptised Tatars was no coincidence. However, it was also customary for non-Christians of other nationalities. For example, in 1744, only 14 out of 139 baptised Tatars were women; the numbers in 1745 were 26 and 159, respectively, and 37 and 184 in 1746 [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796, inv. 26, 169, pp. 1–4, 12–13, 36–38 reverse]. And hereafter this tendency remained, although the number of women among baptised Tatars increased slightly. For example, in 1748 out of 1,173 baptised Tatars, there were already 329 women; and in 1751 out of 1,441 baptised, there were 673 women [Ibid., pp. 84–88 reverse, 148–150].

In 1746, Andrey Ashkin and Utyagan Yekhchurin wrote on behalf of the yasak Tatars of the village of Yanbakhtino of Arinsk volost in Sviyazhsk uyezd that recruits were enlisted from those serving and yasak Tatars, Chuvash, Cheremis and Mordvins who, after receiving proper wages and supplies, did not wish to serve out and adopted the 'Greek Orthodox-confession' and were exempted from service, and new recruits were enlisted instead of them. As a result, they took 6 or more men from one village, and caused great destruction to the re-

maining non-Christians [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—2, vol. 3, p. 83].

The mass Christianisation of non-Christians in the Volga region required adoption of further measures for improving piety among the newly-baptised. The Church understood that outward spread of Christianity must be accompanied by internal assimilation of the articles of Orthodoxy and truths of the new faith. In April, 1744, the Synod ordered strengthening of the watch over piety of the newly-baptised, 'to appoint devout and kind priests for them'; and they ordered the eparchial bishops to visit them every 2 years, and the head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora was ordered to visit them annually [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796, inv. 24, 397, p. 89 reverse].

Consequently, 277,326 people were baptised in seven years, an average of 39,618 people annually. This was the highest rate in all all years of mass Christianisation, the result of persistent actions to Christianise gentiles in the Volga region conducted by Novokreshchenskaya kontora under the leadership of Sylvester Glovatsky. Analysis of the ethnic structure of the baptised revealed that during this period baptism was received above all by the Chuvash (164,778 people), the Cheremis (38,941), the Mordvin (37, 558), the Votyaks (21,957) and the Tatars (4,067). Despite the fact that Christianisation of the Muslim Tatars was carried out in all regions of Russia, the Volga Region remained the main region during the years of mass Christianisation, especially Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds.

By the end of the 1740s, the bulk of the population of other religions in the Volga region, except Muslim Tatars, had been baptised by missionaries. And the archimandrite Sylvester Glovatsky received a new appointment as head of the Tobolsk diocese. This appointment can be considered an attempt by the government and the Orthodox Church to intensify the awareness-building campaign in Siberia, especially among Muslim Tatars. Metropolitan Sylvester Glovatsky made extensive use of the experience of organising awareness-building activities in the Tobolsk diocese, which were tried in the Volga region. On arriving in Siberia he proposed to establish a special office in the

Dolmatovsky monastery to organise baptism of the Bashkirs and Karakalpaks, similar to Novokreshchenskaya kontora, and diverted 200 rubles for awareness-building; to build churches by community effort in the settlements of newly-baptised Tatars, with the assistance of unbaptised Tatars; to impose payment of tribute money and yasak on unbaptised people, 'so that it would be more convenient for the baptised to make the sign of the Cross'; to expel the unbaptised from the villages of the newly-baptised; to send a cleric or an interpreter with a stipend, 'to half of the Kazan diocese' [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 32, pp. 80–82]. However, the proposed measures were not endorsed by the Synod, and the Metropolitan continued to insist on his proposals: to appoint a worthy person as an inspector among the Siberian noblemen or retired officers to protect the newly-baptised, and to arrange the affairs of the newly-baptised as in the Kazan diocese [Ibid., pp. 83–85]. In 1754, by the example of Tatar sloboda of Kazan, Sylvester Glovatsky built a wooden church with a similar name—Zachary and Elizaveta—in Tatar sloboda of Tobolsk on the bank of the Irtysh [Abramov, 1854, p. 50].

Baptism of the Bashkirs became one of the important directions of awareness-building of the Tobolsk Metropolitan. In spring 1751, the Bashkirs beat Dorofey Medvedkov, the priest of the Church of Ioann Predtech in the village Shchelkunkskoe, who was carrying out missionary work in their settlements [Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod, vol. 32, p. 146]. Taking this opportunity, the Metropolitan called for 11 Bashkir of Isetsk province. In addition, he declared that if they wished to be baptised, they would be released from exile to Tobolsk but if they did not receive baptism, they would be sent there. On hearing this news, the Bashkirs headed home, saying that they 'would not be taken alive'. Sotnik (Lieutenant) Bulat, who could not withstand the pressure, received baptism and began to compel others to receive baptism; but the majority thought that death was better, did not wish and would not be baptised. The Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery office took into ac-

count the attitude of the Bashkirs and decided not to send them to Tobolsk [Senate Archive, vol.8, p. 285–286].

Despite considerable efforts of Metropolitan Sylvester Glovatsky to baptise non-Christians in Siberia, he did not make any progress there. As in the Volga region, the Muslims offered stubborn resistance to violent baptism. From 1750 to 1756, a total of 421 Tatars, Bashkirs and Bokharans were baptised in Tobolsk and Tobolsk municipal department. [Ogryzko, 1941, p. 67].

On February 7, 1750, Sylvester Glovatsky was replaced by Evmeny Skalovsky who became the last head of Novokreshchenskaya kontora, occupying this post for more than 14 years [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—2, vol. 4, p. 33].

The main initiative for Christianising people of other religions was taken by Luka Kanashevich, the bishop of Kazan, 'one of the favourites of the late Feofan Prokopovich' [Znamensky, 2001, p. 161], recognised in Tatar memory as 'Aksak Karatun' or 'Lame Monk'. P. Znamensky described the activities of Luka Kanashevich in the following way: 'The rise of missionary activities in Kazan territory was especially strong from 1738, when Luka Kanashevich, the most memorable bishop during the Christian Enlightenment, became the bishop of Kazan. In his zeal to Christianise gentiles he even went to extremes, he forcibly took non-Christian children to his school, set up two churches in Tatar sloboda in Kazan and started Cross processions there; he destroyed the remains of the ancient buildings which were considered sacred among Muslims in the village of Bolgars and angered all non-Christian Tatars' [Znamensky, 2000, p. 344].

In the latter half of the 1750s, there were no fundamental changes in the religious policy of the Russian state. October 29, 1755. The Kazan diocese was headed by G. Kremenetsky, a member of the Synod (from July 25, 1762, he was replaced by V. Puczek-Grigorovich). The instruction prepared by G. Kremenetsky 'On Ecclesiastic Decency' demanded that decent people be observant to ensure that in their de-

partment 'mosques are not constructed and Tatar abyz do not lead any people loyal to Her Imperial Majesty to the godless Mohammedan law'. In this document, the important task of studying languages of non-Russian people was first given to the Orthodox clergy.

During tours about the diocese in 1758–1759, the head of the Kazan diocese found some faults characteristic of previous years. Many newly-baptised people did not know the prayers, and did not go to churches or to confession. They immediately made the decision to divide the parish into parts and teach those who did not know the prayers. They strengthened supervision over teaching of the newly-baptised [Malov, 1878, p. 198, 234].

The baptised non-Christians of Nagaybatskaya fortress of Ufa uyezd were under special control. In 1757, G. Kremenetsky appointed an experienced priest to intensify the religious education of the newly-baptised and to confirm them in the Orthodox faith. In 1760, there were ten villages and one big village in the Nagaybatsky voivodeship where 1,359 baptised serving Kozaks lived.

During this period there were individual cases of forced baptism. Thus, in early 1760, a missionary team consisting of the priest V. Ivanov, the newly-baptised A. Stepanov and his brother A. Lukin arrived in Belaya Gora (Azychevo) of Kazan uyezd of Nogai road. They were accompanied by two soldiers from Novokreshchenskaya kontora. The missionaries forcibly baptised 12 people, including the Tatar U. Aitkulova and her young son. U. Aitkulova was flogged and forcibly led to the mill, and there she and her son 'were baptised in captivity'. In the adjacent villages the Tatars, their wives and children were converted to the new faith. A. Stepanov and A. Lukin, however, claimed that the Tatars were baptised at their will.

After the complaint of the baptised Tatars, the Senate sent a message to the Synod saying that 'clerics shall try to exhort non-Christians to receive sacred baptism, as edification, to bring them to baptism of their own free will'. The Synod adopted the decree on 'Interdiction on Forcing non-Christians to accept the Orthodox Faith' which was sent to the Kazan bishop Gavriil, the Ryazan bishop Pallady, the Tobolsk Metropol-

itan Pavel, and the Nizhny Novgorod, Vyatka and Tambov bishops [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796, inv. 36, 425, pp. 1–10]. According to N. Kostomarov, the Senate's orders voluntary baptism of non-Christians were not executed exactly [Kostomarov, 2001].

In the 1760s, new decisions were made to protect the neophytes against harassment, and the earlier privileges of the newly-baptised were confirmed. May 31, 1760. the Senate once again reminded others that they should not cause any bitterness, harassment or rancor to non-Christians who had been converted to the Greek confession, to treat them kindly, not to arrest them, that officers should protect and defend them, voivodes guilty of oppressing the newly-baptised should be fined, and to investigate complaints about Russians without omissions; to assign minor matters to elected officials, and more difficult ones to the chief manager of newly-baptised affairs and his subordinates. On June 7 of the same year, the Synod abolished the payment for marriage of the newly-baptised by Orthodox priests. March 30, 1761 the Senate forbade unbaptised gentiles to buy and sell land, and on October 20, 1761, once again confirmed 'to release from under guard for minor theft, for quarrels, fights, in case of acceptance of the Greek confession, and that these guilty persons shall released for acceptance of the Greek confession' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox profess Department—2, vol. 4, pp. 424–425, 430–431, 468–470, 499].

When Catherine II came to power, there was a noticeable turn in the state's religious politics, the essential feature of which was a change in the attitude to Islam and its followers, first of all to the Tatars. The empress was the initiator of this long, contradictory, and in many respects painful process. Naturally, the Muslim population of the Volga-Ural region supported this effort. The famous missionary archpriest E. Malov considered her reign 'happy and beneficial for Muslims' [Malov, 1878, pp. 217–218].

Catherine II expressed her position on the range of religious problems for the first time in her speech at the general conference of the Synod and Senate on September 15, 1763. Here she couched the idea of 'abolishing established reli-

gion and full freedom of religion, and religious tolerance in Orthodoxy'. Naturally, this radical presentation of the problem did not receive full support of members of the Synod, who asked the empress 'to forget about freedom of religion'. Nevertheless, Catherine II allowed the Old Believers to make the sign of the cross with two fingers and released them from a double poll tax [Ekaterina, 1912, pp. 15, 29–30].

According to historiographic analysis, changes in religious politics were due to a combination of factors. First, the ideas of 'Enlightened Absolutism' had a role in this. Second, the government could not reasonably ignore the persistent demands of the Tatars and other Muslim people of the empire on free exercise of religious needs. And after defeat of the rebellion of Batyrsha, active resistance of the Muslim Tatars to the politics of forced Christianisation continued. Thus, on August 12, 1756, the Siberian provincial office and the Tobolsk spiritual consistory accused the Serving Tatar A. Azizov 'of speaking great blasphemous words' and made the decision 'to sentence him to death, to burn him in a log cage'. However, this time the Senate did not agree with such a harsh punishment and gave orders to flog A. Azizov, to slit his nostrils, to sign and send him to Rogervik for hard labour [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 619]. Third, by the early 1760s, mass baptism of a number of gentile peoples of the Volga-Ural region was almost complete. Fourth, as for the Muslims, the majority of them kept their former religious identity, despite the combined efforts of the state and Orthodox missionaries and active use of coercion. Faced with failure of the policy of mass baptism of Muslims, the public authorities had to find other solutions. They tried to use Islam in the interests of strengthening the empire, officially acknowledging the right to freedom religion of adherents of Islam.

In general, in 1762, the number of baptised among the non-Russian peoples of the region was approximately the same as in the early 1730s. In conjunction with other data, this indicates the end of the stage of their mass Christianisation. Moreover, we can speak only about the quantitative aspect of the process as, according to P. Znamensky, 'the missionaries managed

only to baptise them, but could not teach faith' [Znamensky, 2000, p. 345].

We will consider the results of mass Christianisation of non-Christians of the region in a broader historical retrospective, that is, from the time Novokreshchenskaya kontora was established. But first we should note that the government spared no expense for missionary activities in the Volga-Ural region.

From 1741 to 1764, Novokreshchenskaya kontora was to receive a total of 356,064 rubles 50 kopecks. It was intended for distribution to the newly baptised, for construction of churches, for salaries of priests of the newly-baptised parishes, for upkeep of the office, schools for the newly-baptised schools, the service class, and for office expenses. However, the office actually received less than half of the assumed amount—160,923 rubles 66.5 kopecks. Baptism of one non-Christian cost the Treasury 45 kopecks, which was much lower than the figures for the 1730s when similar costs for baptism amounted to more than 3 rubles.

During a little over thirty years of work of Novokreshchenskaya kontora, 362,420 people from among the non-Russian peoples of the Volga and Cis-Ural regions were converted to Orthodoxy. Whereas during the first preparatory stage, in 1731–1740, only 2,654 non-Christians were baptised, 335,789 were baptised in 1741–1755.

During mass Christianisation, 12,699 Tatars were baptised; the vast majority of them—9,548 people—were converted to Orthodoxy in 1748–1755. These figures do not agree with the data of E. Malov, who believed that there were only 838 Tatars among those baptised from 1739 to 1747, and 7,532 Tatars from 1748 to 1762 [Malov, 1878, pp. 217–218].

We should emphasise that there still is no generally accepted number of people baptised during the entire period of work of Novokreshchenskaya kontora. For example, the church historian Philaret estimated that 8,370 Tatars were baptised in 1744–1752; P. Znamensky—up to 430,000 baptised non-Christians, including 8,000 Tatars, in 1741–1756; P. Shchebalsky—360,000 people; and A. Grigoryev gave the figure of 400,000 baptised non-Christians

[Znamensky, 2000, p. 345; Grigoryev, 1948, p. 243]. The data we presented from the annual report of Novokreshchenskaya kontora prove that the total number of baptised non-Christians was actually slightly smaller, and for Tatars, slightly larger.

The rates of baptism were especially great in the first ten years of work of the Novokreshchenskaya kontora, and they are connected with the activity of missionaries such as L. Kanashevich, D. Sechenov, V. Puczek-Grigoryev, S. Glovatsky and E. Skalovsky. In these ten years, most of the pagans were already baptised. An insignificant number of Muslim Tatars were forced to receive baptism under the influence of undisguised force or material interest, that is counting on receiving various privileges. That is why the fact of baptism remained formal for them, and therefore fragile. According to Ioann, the Belgorod bishop, 'it was, perhaps, the first large-scale illustrative example of the fact that it is impossible to gainco-religionists and adherents, and to solve difficult problems of religious antagonism using force'. [Ioann, 1996, p. 48].

In our opinion, the main reason for preservation of traditional religious identity by most Muslims of the region is that Islamic values were enduring for them, so the policy of Christianisation of the Russian government caused firm resistance. Furthermore, privileges which were due to the baptised caused not only negative emotions among Muslims, but also created a negative attitude to the baptised tribespeople as to people who not only betrayed their faith, but who were defective, with undeserved advantages. Academician I. Lepekhin, generalising his own observations, noted that 'distinction of faith causes great disagreement between them, so that the unbaptised cannot stand the baptised, and conversely, they play dirty tricks on each other' [Lepekhin, 1795, p. 101]. Christianisation of Muslim Tatars, according to P. Znamensky, caused 'terrible rancor among the remaining mass of the Tatar population' [Znamensky, 1910, p. 36]. A. Mozharovsky believed that Christianisation partly predisposed and prepared the minds of gentiles and the newly-baptised to accept Pugachev [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 96].

The Orthodox missionaries were convinced of superiority of their religion; however Muslims had their own idea on this topic, and they looked on at Orthodox Christians as the representatives of a 'backward', archaic religion. According to V. Sadur, 'the office of baptism without adequate preparation was perceived by them as eccentricity of the churchmen who paid money for agreement to enter the water; the Christian understanding of one God, who existed in three persons, was strange, as Muslims knew for certain that only one mortal man was honoured to contemplate God, and what he saw was beyond words; in addition, the story of the crucifixion of the Almighty God by people was absolutely incomprehensible, and the cross seemed like a symbol of his humiliation; worship of images seemed pagan to Muslims, and consequently the image of Jesus Christ depicted as a Tatar on the well-known Perm icons caused great indignation; moreover, Muslims had no doubts that Isa al Masih (the Arabic name for Jesus Christ), who was one of prophets and a great healer, was neither a Tatar, nor God' [Sadur, 1999, p. 424].

Under the influence of extraneous circumstances, mass conversion to Orthodoxy was no secret and was regarded negatively by contemporaries. In the opinion of prince M. Shcherbatov, 'those who cross themselves only for reward, of course, are ruthless people; thus, the church does not find faithful Christians in them, and those who avoid punishment or capture by making the sign of the cross, those who were intolerable people in their community, were removed from it, they became immoral, without any faith, indeed, they made the Christian faith contemptuous to others' [Shcherbatov, 1986, p. 558].

The work methods of the Orthodox preachers elicited this strong criticism. Lieutenant Colonel Svechin, in his submission in the Senate about the status of peasants of different uyezds in Kazan guberniya, wrote that 'monkish and religious people earned considerable wealth by inducing non-Christians to be baptised and when baptised, making them dissatisfied with receiving a legal reward, and so for giving money themselves; substantial dues were also exacted when learning the rules and sometimes

for crimes invented by them, in relation to these rules, also for prayers for christening babies, for coronal memory, for wedding ceremonies, for funerals; and in particular for peasants staying at the monasteries, they were taking money from them for going to different places, for leaders' and doorkeepers' salaries, for whom the poll taxes were paid by the rest of the peasants; ...and through many other myths, despoiled the peasants, in any way they could' [Senate Archive, vol. 15, pp. 480–481].

Against this background, in many instances, the efforts used to engage baptised people in the dogmas of Orthodox belief yielded few results. Subsequently, the ideologist of the enlightened mission among the Tatar-Muslims N. Ilminsky noted that 'the majority of Tatars persist in Islamic misconceptions; a small part of them have accepted baptism, and observe church worship unconsciously and indifferently, without going into the meaning and being of the Christian faith, to the extent of blind diligence about their salvation secretly and they clearly backslide from truth to a lie' [Znamensky, 1892, pp. 333, 387]. According to N. Odigitrievsky, 'the Tatars, with few exceptions, were converted to Christianity not through personal conviction, but thanks to external compulsion, and/or due to all kinds of benefits' [Odigitrievsky, 1895, p. 16].

There is no historical evidence in support of the idea that the government, intending to make substantial correction to religious policy in the Volga-Ural region, took into account the negative demographic consequences of forced Christianisation. Meanwhile, these effects were quite serious. According to estimates of D. Iskhakov, the average annual growth rate of the Tatar population in the Volga-Ural region had decreased to 0.62 percent by 1762. For comparison: in 1744, this figure was 1.1 percent; and in 1782 it increased to 1.39 percent [Materialy' po istorii, 1995, p. 261].

This set of factors in as a whole had the effect of a gradual evolution of religious policy of the Russian State towards religious tolerance, at the very least, in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions. The first step of the plan was to close the Novokreshchenskaya kontora, which was the main

organiser of the mass Christianisation of gentiles in the region. The corresponding decree of the Senate is dated April 6, 1764 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, pp. 704–707].

The complaints of newly-baptised Peter Alekseyev and Michail Alchinov of Kazan uyezd dated May 18 and August 24, 1760 became the incentive to close the Novokreshchenskaya kontora. They asked to free newly-baptised people from recruiting duty and recruiting muster, to release those who were already recruited, continue to be called newly-baptised and protect them from being harassed. By its decision of November 22, 1762, the Senate not only satisfied all those requests, but also removed payments for baptism, since new converts were 'receiving and must receive baptism not by extortion, but through love of God'. He also gave orders to send all newly-baptised people to governorate, provincial and voivode offices, and headquarter and subaltern officers—to the herald's office; to return the liberated service class workers; to close Novokreshchenskaya kontora (there were more baptised people than unbaptised, and only a few remaining who did not accept Orthodoxy). Episcopal consistories had to carry out awareness-building activities, and also had to manage schools for the newly-baptised. Since the matter concerned problems of the newly-baptised, final settlement was referred to the joint conference with the Synod [Senate Archive, vol. 12, pp. 282–285].

The key decision on the division between the previously and newly-baptised depended on time since conversion to the new religion was made in the same period. A milestone was achieved in 1722, the year of the first census.

It must be emphasised that to this day, the use of the terms 'previously baptised' and 'newly-baptised' has generated controversy in the historical and ethnographic literature. P. Znamensky considered 1740 the separation date between previously and newly-baptised [Znamensky, 1892, p. 327]. This was also the opinion of A. Grigoryev and I. Zagidullin [Grigoryev, 1948, p. 238; Zagidullin, 1997, pp. 34–35]. N. Vorobyov and I. Iznoskov con-

sidered that previously baptised people were the descendants of groups baptised after the region was conquered, and the newly-baptised were those who converted to Orthodoxy during the reign of Peter the Great, Anna Ioannovna and Elizabeth Petrovna [Iznoskov, 1909, p. 4; Vorobyov, 1929, p. 3]. In the opinion of Yu. Mukhametshin, previously baptised were Tatars whose ancestors were baptised from the middle of the 16th century through early 18th century [Mukhametshin, 1977, p. 184]. The same opinion is shared by D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 56]. The original, but mistaken idea about previously and newly-baptised people was presented by D. Miftakhutdinova, who attributed those who had tax breaks to the newly-baptised, while the previously baptised were those who had 'exhausted' these breaks [Miftakhutdinova, 1999, p. 58].

We would like to emphasise once again that the cited official document clearly shows that the demarcation between previously and newly-baptised were the years of the first census. The decree established that the Tatars of Kazan uyezd from Arsk, Nagai and Zyurey Roads had been baptised before the last census in 1722; therefore, they should not be 'considered newly-baptised and they should not write themselves as such, but be treated as baptised before the last census' [Senate Archive, vol. 12, p. 282].

Although legislatively it was established precisely who should be called newly-baptised or previously baptised, in practice the use of these terms was difficult, because during the mass Christianisation the newly-baptised were relocated to settlements of the previously baptised, were integrated into the village community fairly quickly and gradually became known as previously baptised. The practice of relocating Tatars who had recently adopted Orthodoxy was used extensively at the time they returned to Islam, when by a court decision for confirmation in the Orthodox faith they were relocated to Russian villages or settlements of the newly-baptised, where there were churches. Of course, with time they also started to be called previously baptised.

The legends recorded later among Christianised Tatars claim that they became Christians

after the conquest of Kazan Khanate by Ivan the Terrible. However, those stories concerning their conversion to Orthodoxy were not supported by reliable historical sources. Such confusion over terminology results in mythical ideas about the Christianisation of the Tatars in the Volga-Ural region long before it was captured by Ivan the Terrible (see: ([Glukhov, 1993, p. 135]). The document introduced allows us to clarify this long-standing dispute.

The fate of Novokreshchenskaya kontora was irreversibly decided only after finalising the positions of the Senate and Synod concerning these problems. In the final version of the royal decree basic provisions of the Senate document were preserved: all payments (warehouse and poll taxes) from unbaptised non-Christians, as opposed to those paid by newly-baptised recruits, were dismissed. The legislator had to admit that as a result of the redistribution of taxes and other duties in favor of the newly-baptised, 'it would obviously be impossible to increase the number of non-believers conscripted and paying taxes for three years without placing severe tributes upon them and creating utter devastation'.

All of the newly-baptised were afforded the same rights as state peasants: after a three-year grace period, they had to pay poll taxes and wear the same outfits as state peasants. According to this decree the Novokreshchenskaya kontora was closed: 'There should be no great burden placed upon the Novokreshchenskaya kontora and those appointed to protect the newly-baptised, their headquarters, officers and other attendants, in order to avoid regional divisions between their military commands' (our emphasis.—F.I.). All attendants and officers at the headquarters of the newly-baptised returned to where they had been living when drafted [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 16, pp. 704–707].

Novokreshchenskaya kontora was closed only after the Christianisation of the pagan peoples of the Volga-Ural region was concluded. Such was one of the main, if not the most important, objectives of Novokreshchenskaya kontora. As concerns the conversion of Tatar-Muslims to Orthodoxy, it was impossible, as attempts demonstrated, to achieve any mean-

ingful results using previous methods. Other organisations were called upon to accomplish this task more successfully.

According to a decree issued by Catherine II, all missionary activity by the Russian Orthodox Church among non-Christians in Russia was transferred to county dioceses. A new-diocesan-phase of these activities, which lasted almost till the end of the 80s, began. XVIII century. In this context, preachers appointed to conduct missionary work received a salary of 150 rubles per year. Their number was not consistent for all dioceses in the region. Three preachers were appointed to the diocese in Kazan, two each in Tobolsk, Irkutsk, and Tambov, and one each in Nizhny Novgorod, Vyatka, and Ryazan. Preachers were to be guided in their work by the decree of 11 September, 1740 issued by Empress Anna Ioannovna. In this decree it mentions once again that non-Christians should not be forced into baptism, and that one should 'act in accordance with the gospel-humbly, quietly and meekly'. The law rewarding Christians with money and clothes was also repealed in this decree [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, p. 707].

In fact, the leader of Kazan diocese V. Putsek-Grigorovich tried to preserve the bureau at Novokreshchenskaya kontora by transforming it into a 'special expedition', to where the former director of the Novokreshchenskaya kontora and Archimandrite of Sviyazhsky Monastery of the Virgin E. Skalovsky, as well as the Archimandrite of Preobrazhensky Monastery of Kazan Feofil and priest I. Afanasyev were appointed [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 10, inv. 2, 1383, pp. 59–60].

This kind of cosmetic reform of missionary activities in the Kazan diocese was not supported in the spiritual department. The Synod immediately ordered designated priests to fire the preachers, since it was impossible to reconcile missionary activities with those holding high-level positions in the monasteries. Hieromonach Iust and F. Ivanov, the Archpriest of Tsarevokokshaysky Cathedral, were appointed to serve as preachers in the Kazan diocese.

However, the closure of Novokreshchenskaya kontora and the transfer of missionary func-

tions to the dioceses created a new problem, the consequences of which were undesirable for the Orthodox Church. The fact is that financing for the newly-baptised parishes, which had been previously handled by the Novokreshchenskaya kontora, now was passed on to the congregations. Thus, as A. Mozharovsky stated quite fairly, Christianity for the newly-baptised became a burden and their tributes, instead of being reduced—increased. The newly-baptised came to hate the clergy and considered Christianity a yoke [Mozharovsky, 1880, pp. 97–98]. This circumstance later plays a role in the movement by the newly-baptised to return to Islam.

Thus, in the early 1760s the mass Christianisation of non-Christians in the Volga-Ural region objectively come to an end. This was demonstrated by the downward trend in the tempo and number of those converted to Orthodoxy, and the decision to close the Novokreshchenskaya kontora. However, the actual process of Christianisation, freed from its most odious manifestations and having adopted new forms, continued. The diocesan phase of missionary work began. Simultaneously, a new element in the religious policy of the Russian State, which one might call 'religious tolerance', appeared during this period.

From 1741–1762 the consequences of religious politics and their resulting ethno-cultural effects were diverse. Actually, the mass Christianisation of entire groups of pagan peoples in the Volga-Ural region solved the problem of their integration into Russian socio-cultural realms, essentially, through spiritual unification. Thus, a foundation for the formation of Russian civilisation was objectively expanded mainly at the expense of ethnic diversity. The expansion of these foundations, although at the expense of religious diversity, meant that most Muslims maintained their prior beliefs. For Muslims, and especially Tatars, Christianisation resulted in a socio-cultural divide.

The mass Christianisation of non-Russian peoples in the region was forcible and coercive in nature and resulted in its rejection. Secular and spiritual authorities were supposed to change the religious politic, which they themselves had established and implemented.

Table 3.2

Statistics on the Christianisation of the peoples of Russia in 1740–1762

	Years												
Peoples	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751		
Tatars	46	143	88	-	139	159	184	371	1173	2041	1985	1441	
The Mordvins	58	3808	7101	-	1189	3420	8183	14614	10035	117	125	214	
The Chuvash	65	617	1025	-	1756	2819	52545	79235	19172	9251	2336	3611	
The Cheremis	110	3785	4136	-	661	242	4372	18486	4017	11163	3885	2126	
Votyaks	29	806	8	-	292	4346	8685	686	3517	4431	2723	2950	
Total	308	9159	12358	10025	4037	10986	73969	1113392	37914	27003	11054	10342	
	Years												
Peoples	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	Total	
Tatars	917	421	1076	594	456	491	319	272	245	134	115	12810	
Mordvins	674	147	27	14	641	18	24	18	91	37	3	50558	
The Chuvash	846	1139	753	3025	2468	1627	1223	402	623	204	34	184776	
The Cheremis	2880	715	1322	1939	790	1062	416	712	585	52	29	63485	
Votyaks	2945	2016	1639	1461	1236	1828	3364	2389	1238	816	15	47420	
Total	8262	4438	4817	7033	5591	5026	4946	3793	2782	1243	196	369074	

Calculated in accordance with: Russian State Historical Archive, f. 796, op. 26, 169, S.1–246.

CHAPTER 3

The Tatars During the Period of Enlightened Absolutism

§1. The Dialogue of the Authorities: from Theory to Practice

Guzel Ibneeva

The epoch of Catherine II was marked by relative tolerance towards heterodoxy, which also affected the peoples of the Russian Empire, including the Tatars. The views of the empress in relation to other confessions reflected the ideology of the Enlightenment: the politics of religious tolerance was shared by other enlightened European monarchs as well: Frederick II—the King of Prussia and Joseph II—the Emperor of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Catherine the Great expressed her attitude towards the question in her 'Nakaz'—a guide for Ulozhennaya Komissiya, where she emphasised the need for 'reasonable' religious tolerance in the interests of public security in a multi-national Empire. Article 494 of the 'Nakaz' noted: 'In such a large empire as ours, which extends its sovereignty over so many different peoples, the mistake that would cause the most damage to the peace and tranquility of its citizens would be intolerance with respect to their different religions. And there is no other means but the reasonable permission of other laws, which do not reject our Orthodox religion and politics, to return the wandering sheep to the true flock of the faithful. Religious persecution provokes human minds, but the permission to believe according to conscience softens the coldest hearts, and dissuades them from hardened perseverance, extinguishing their opposition to peace in the country and the solidarity of citizens' [Nakaz imperatriczy', 1907, p. 134].

Tolerance, which was then an omen of the times, was largely based on the utilitarian goals of the state and the pragmatic considerations of rulers. In this sense, Catherine was no exception. She knew that representatives of other faiths constituted a large portion of the population, and subsequently needed to cooperate

with these citizens of the state as well. The schismatics, including those living abroad, could, for example, participate in the colonisation of the Russian Empire. As for the Muslim population, and therefore the Tatars, the authorities were aware of their important role in trading activities: they not only successfully traded with the countries of Middle Asia and the East, but also were intermediaries in trade between these countries and Russia.

In all fairness, it should be noted that when it came to legislative processes towards the heterodox world, Catherine II could be seen as a successor to the politics of Peter III. It was during his short reign that important legislation regarding the Old Believers was adopted; it invited Old Believer refugees to return home, and shielded them against the retaliation of the civic clergy and administration.

It should be noted that by that time the Tatar population faced significant restrictions, first of all in regard to religion. It is known that since the 1730s the government exercised a strict policy towards members of non-Orthodox faiths, including the Muslims. For the implementation of the policy of Christianisation of the non-Russian population, 'The Commission for Baptising the Peoples of the Middle Volga Region' was created in 1731 in Sviyazhsk. In 1740 it was transferred to Kazan and developed into the Office of Rechristened Affairs. The enforcement of Orthodoxy contributed to the emergence of conflicts between the two categories of Tatars: baptised and Muslim.

The beginning of the reign of Catherine II was marked by some policy liberalisation towards the non-Orthodox population. In 1764, the Office of Rechristened Affairs was abolished. Baptised Tatars were given equal

status to other state peasants, which exempted them from poll tributes and conscript obligations for an additional three years. On the other hand, unbaptised non-Christians were relieved of the obligation to make payments to the rechristened population [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 16, No. 12126, p. 704]. The next step in relation to the Muslim population became the allowance to choose deputies to participate in the activities of Ulozhennaya Komissiya in 1766.

The stay of Catherine II in the Volga region in 1767 played an important role in shaping her policy towards the Muslims. Indeed, the political practices of Catherine II, such as her extensive travels across the country, had broadened her conception of the 'multinational' character of the empire and raised the attractiveness of the multinational world, leading the empress to understand the need for a politics of tolerance. The empress was especially impressed by her visit to Kazan. Her interest in the city was likely resulted from the fact that the Kazan Tatars played an important role in developing links with the East: by that time Tatar commercial capital had monopolised Russia's trade with Middle Asia and the East [Mikhaleva, 1982, p. 36–37]. The group of Tatars who were loyal had a special place in the service class of the Russian State. For the empress it was important to gain an understanding of this part of the empire, which was terra incognita for her.

She saw something in Kazan that she hadn't seen before: the ethnic diversity of the empire. It should be noted that during the era of the Enlightenment much attention had been paid to the polyethnic Russian Empire. The empress was also fascinated by this interest. Later, in the 1770s, the work of Johann Gottlieb Georgi 'A Description of all the Nations of the Russian Empire' was published in Russia, illustrating 'the way of life, religion, customs, dwellings, clothes and other peculiarities' of more than 60 ethnic groups [Georgi, 1776–1780]. 'The Description...' was reprinted several times. Catherine loved the work: she ordered to send Georgi a medal and tell him that she read the Russian translation of his book with 'great pleasure' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 42, p. 277].

The empress and her inner circle were astonished by the ethnic diversity in Kazan. One of her contemporaries described the passage of the imperial entourage in Kazan, noting the diversity of peoples welcoming the empress: 'Tatar abyzs, and Mordvins, and Chuvash people, and the Cheremis' (most likely, it was the governor of Nizhny Novgorod Y. Arshenevsky, who was in Catherine's entourage.—*G.I.*). This surprised the guests, who hadn't seen such ethnic diversity before: 'such a large and at the same time multifaceted people had never been seen before' [Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature, fund 265, inv. 2, item 2318, p. 6]. Being in their national costumes and ornaments, the people overwhelmed the court audience with their appearance, as the court was accustomed to ethnic homogeneity. As noted by 'Saint Petersburg News', 'by the many different clothes and faiths, but also by the unanimous shouting of the people, it seemed as if Asia and Europe united to welcome Her Majesty [Pribavlenie, 1767].

What were the impressions of the empress and how did they crystallise into future government policy? First of all, she was convinced by the visible ethnic and religious diversity of the empire, and came to a bleak assessment of the effectiveness and results of religious policies adopted by previous rulers. She became convinced about the need to change the policies. This understanding was evident during the meetings of the Russian empress with the local Tatar population in Kazan. Prior to this, the Tatar population had participated in ceremonially welcoming the empress in other places. For example, in Kostroma she 'had expressed the courtesy of letting Tatars came up to kiss her hand, about 6 women kissed...' [Orlov, 1908, p. 322].

Here, in Kazan, Catherine officially received representatives of the Islamic faith. The Kammer-Furier Ceremonial journal reported that on May 30, 1767 at 6 pm the governor introduced her to Kazan's 'abyzs Tatars and their wives in the Old sloboda' [Kammer-Furier Ceremonial journal, 1767, p. 189]. The abyzs were representatives of the Islamic clergy, who at that time had no official status and were thus not recognised by the authorities. The institu-

tion of ukaznoj [official] Mullahs did not yet exist; it was launched later—in the XIX century. The abyzs served as spiritual leaders, catered to the educational needs of children, were healers, acted as judges, and were the heads of the communities. During the policy of Christianisation undertaken by Luka Konashevich, the abyzs led the movement against the church's coercion. At the meeting with the Russian empress, the abyzs were presented as the spiritual leaders of the Tatar people. Catherine allowed them to come up and kiss her hand 'when they brought some bread and salt in a silver salt holder, and all their rich women's garments and two carpets' [Ibid.].

That event was a remarkable one for the Tatar population. It is clear that during the meeting with Her Highness the rulers of the Muslim community asked her for permission to build stone mosques. Catherine graciously accepted that request and gave them personal permission to build two stone mosques in Kazan [Märcani, 1989, 374 b.].

During the meeting, the empress recognised the status of unofficial Islamic ministries and the role which they played in the lives of people, based on an understanding of the necessity for cooperation. All the more since the clerics expressed loyalty (ritually) towards the Russian Empress in public. The Islamic clerics had close relations with Tatar merchants, whose tangible role in the trade with the East was already mentioned. The government, which was interested in developing commercial links with Eastern countries, had a clear understanding of the role of the Tatar merchants in the country's economy, and tried to adopt greater flexibility in relation to the religious world view of this part of the population.

It was no coincidence that the Sloboda Tatars based their request on the difficulties in performing religious rites, and associated it with their economic and trading activities: 'although one wooden mosque remained in that Old Sloboda, it was rather small, besides it was very dilapidated, and they were deprived of such mosques by their law, and to go to pray in more distant locations was not possible, which is why they left almost all of their activities and crafts' [Russian State Historical

Archive, fund 796, inv. 51, file 345, pp. 197–198]. The sloboda Tatars had turned to central government institutions multiple times previously for permission to build a second mosque. It is known that there was a determination of the Senate and Synod in 1744 that allowed the construction of two mosques far from 'Russian and rechristened dwellings... and till the end of their sloboda in a field' [Ibid., pp. 103–105 reverse].

However, the central and local authorities denied the Tatars building permits for a new place of worship, based on the reasoning of the Kazan archbishops. The latter pointed to possible undesirable consequences of mosques on the world view of the rechristened Tatars. Because of this, the Tatars of Kazan used the stay of the empress in their town in order to achieve their goal [Salikhov, Khayrutdinov, 2005, p. 17].

It should be noted that there are no direct documents with evidence of the empress's permission. However, there is indirect evidence that points to the fact that such an order was given. First of all, this includes official sources. As discussed below, the subsequent legislation reflected this fact. On the other hand, a distinguished Tatar writer in the first half of the XIX century—Shihabetdin Marjani wrote about it in his work 'Mustafad al-ahbar...' in which he set down the oral memory of the Tatar people. Being the local head of the cathedral mosque, built as a result of the permission of Catherine II to construct mosques in the Old Tatar sloboda, he had the opportunity to meet eyewitnesses (or their children) of the visit of the Empress to Kazan. However, the account given by Marjani contains a mistake: he gives the year of the Empress's arrival as 1768, and not 1767 [Märcani, 1989, 374 b.].

What determined the logic and appropriateness of the empress's permission to build stone mosques? There were several grounds for taking such a decision: Kazan, which the empress considered to be an Asian city, provided her the necessary food for thought. The stay of the imperial retinue in the city was impossible without communication with its citizens. Meetings with the Tatar population and other nationalities in the area played an important role in

formulating the policy of tolerance towards the different peoples of the empire.

The authorities were interested in the ethnicity of the area. At one of the city's groves (on the territory of what is today the Arsk Field) in May 27, 1767 there was a big popular holiday, which was attended by representatives of different peoples living in the Kazan guberniya. In the words of a contemporary, 'more than sixty thousand [people] of both sexes were at this promenade: it was impossible not only to drive, but even to walk through the vast Arsk Field' [Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature, fund 265, inv. 2, item 2318, p. 6]. Her Majesty was at the bishop's country retreat on 30 May, where the celebration of her visiting Kazan took place. Eulogies in honour of the Empress were made by the pupils of baptism schools: Tatar, Chuvash, Mari, Mordvin [Duxovnaya czeremoniya, 1769]. Returning to the city, Catherine took a trip through Tatar sloboda, 'to see the style of their buildings and life' [Pribavlenie, 1767].

On May 31, 1767 other non-Russians who inhabited Kazan guberniya gathered at the governor's country house: 'Tatars, Chuvash, Mordvins, Cheremis, and Votyaks, were each dancing separately, while their Tatar music with choruses was playing [Kammer-Furier Ceremonial journal, 1767, p. 193]. It is clear that the local authorities tried to show all of the ethnic diversity and colour of the region themselves. To celebrate the arrival of Her Majesty the local administration 'requested' groups of 10 men and women from the Votyaks, Mordvins, Chuvash and Cheremis for Kazan. They were told to appear before the Empress wearing traditional clothing and to play folk musical instruments [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 1844, p. 5 reverse].

Impressions of the celebration were recorded in the diary of the brother of V. Orlov (in favour with the empress), who was in the entourage during the journey. He emphasised the ethnic diversity of the represented peoples and the traditional dances, and even expressed certain preferences: '...Mordvins, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votyaks and Tatars were dancing here; men and women; the dancing of

the last ones I liked more; Cheremis had separate dances for married women and single girls, and the music was different; the dresses of Votyaks, I thought, were the best, excluding the Tatar women, some of whom were dressed richly and used good fabrics for their clothes' [Orlov, 1908, p. 327]. Right after the holidays, at 9 o'clock, a costume party started, which was attended by many aristocrats. At 11 o'clock there was a 'very nice, though not so big' fireworks display [Ibid.].

It is known that Catherine was 'quite pleased with the reception', and gave a golden sword to the Burgomaster P. Kamenev [Ibid.]. The empress herself was interested in the clothes of the peoples present. It's known that she was interested in the women's dress of the Cheremis. She ordered to buy a Cheremis women's garment and headgear. This order was fulfilled: a dress and headgear (in Cheremis 'shurka') with silver old coins were purchased for 12 rubles and 20 kopecks. In September 1767 the clothes were sent with a courier to Moscow [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 1844, p. 5 reverse].

Based on the above, it's clear that Catherine was happy with her stay in this 'multinational' city. She was pleased that she didn't see any signs of disorder or reasons for concern resulting from the ethnic diversity of the population. It's likely that she would have indulged the abyss if she had felt any sign of aggression from the Tatar population. In contrast, her presence at the celebration and the large crowds of Tatars who welcomed her were supposed to convince her of their loyalty, devotion to higher authority, and, ultimately, the tolerance of the Tatar population. Modern researchers note that the religious tolerance of the Tatar population in the Volga region has deep historical roots.

Thus, Catherine's positive perception of local conditions makes it possible to understand the rationale of the decision-making process—what led to her allowance to build the mosques. The outstanding linguist and ethnographer N. Katanov, who recorded Tatar stories at the end of the XIX century, documented: 'We heard that when she was at Kazan, she pointed out

the facades of two mosques located in Old Tatar sloboda herself, in the parishes of Yunusov and Apanayev' [Katanov, 1898, p. 65; Katanov, 1920, pp. 287–300]. This fact was close to the truth: it's consistent with information given by Sh. Marjani about the empress's allowance to build two stone mosques, as described above. A model project of the mosque facade approved by the empress was preserved in the collections of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 160, file 868].

Catherine's visit to Kazan didn't only include her taking part in festivities of a pleasurable and entertaining character. The empress understood that the central government had to take steps to alleviate the situation of people who didn't speak Russian, and to create conditions for friendly relations and interactions between different ethno-confessional groups. It is known that the local authorities occasionally cited their lack of knowledge of the Tatar language when making certain decisions. Apparently, Catherine was aware of the fact, as on May 30, 1767 she wrote to I. Betsky, who managed educational institutions (including military ones), from Kazan: 'Ivan Ivanovich! As I shouldn't overlook anything which is good for the state and my institutions, so I can't not tell you, that we should teach our cadets...the Tatar language, because if any of them will need to serve here, it will be good for their service, and a relief for them' [Saveliev, 1879, pp. 252–253]. The original letter is kept in the National Museum of Tatarstan.

During the reign of Peter I additional steps towards promoting the learning of Eastern languages were made. Since the latter half of the 18th century the teaching of Eastern languages (Arabic, Persian, Tatar and others) was introduced in several educational institutions in Russia. A decree on July 21, 1758 ordered the introduction of the Tatar language in the Kazan gymnasium. Studies began on May 12, 1769 [Kononov, 1960, pp. 202–214], that is a few months after the visit of Catherine II to Kazan. This was hardly a coincidence. Teaching of the Tatar language commenced in Moscow University in 1771 [Shevyrev, 1955, p. 190].

Despite the positive picture of the coexistence of various nationalities and confessions introduced to her in Kazan, the empress began to ponder the importance of maintaining the public peace, which could rapidly be destroyed. This was reinforced by her visit to the remains of the ancient Bulgar capital—Bulgar, where she was convinced of the vandalism of the local Orthodox clerics. In a letter to N. Panin on June 3, 1767 Catherine said that there were 'found, ... the remains of big, but fairly good constructions, two very tall Turkish minarets (there were two minarets in Bulgar. The small one was preserved to this day.—*G.I.*), and all, that remained here, was built from very good slabs...'. This letter indicates that she was convinced about the significance of the place for Muslims. The empress spoke with the local Tatars whom she met who came there to perform religious ceremonies: 'Tatars have a great reverence for this place and come to pray to God in these ruins'.

Staying in Bulgar, she noticed the negative tendencies that existed in the Kazan eparchy in the 1730–1740s: the use of gravestones from Tatar graves and the remains of destroyed Islamic places of worship in the building of new Orthodox churches. 'There is one persecutor here,—wrote Catherine with an explicit condemnation,—the Bishop of Kazan Luka, during the time of the now deceased Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, was envious and destroyed much, and had built a church out of the ruins, and occupied the cellars and the monastery, though there was a decree made by Peter I to not harm or destroy such antiquities' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 10, pp. 207–208]. V. Orlov reported on her reaction to the practice: after seeing that some stones with inscriptions were taken apart, she convincingly told ('strongly ordered') the governor that the situation should never happen again [Orlov, 1908, p. 326].

Thus, in Kazan the empress was convinced of the need to consider the existing ethnic and cultural diversity of the empire in the formulation of the imperial ideology, and to find commonalities that could unite the peoples within a single state. The cultural integration of the different peoples of the Russian state was to

be facilitated by the introduction of elements of European civilisation into the multi-ethnic regions. In a letter to Voltaire she indicates: 'in this city twenty different nations exist, which are completely different from one another. However, we must give them something common, but the particularities... and what particularities! It's almost the same thing as to create, to arrange, and to retain the whole world' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 10, p. 204]. Here, by reflecting on the future work of the Legislative Commission, Catherine already tries on 'the dress' of the New, not yet established, Constitution on the 'multinational' body of the Russian Empire.

The impressions collected by the empress during her travels across the Volga broadened her previous conceptions of the empire. During this period, the 'multinational' character of the Russian Empire was reflected in the prevalence of ethno-religious groups, which is why her subsequent legislation, aimed at strengthening the principle (albeit limited) of religious tolerance, was outside the scope of religious life. For the next century a new principle of imperial politics was established which placed political loyalty over ethnic and religious homogeneity. In 1767, 'The campaign to Kazan' of Catherine II solidified that political turn.

* * *

The meetings between Catherine and the Tatar population defined her attentive attitude to Islamic worship places. After returning from her trip across the Volga, Catherine ordered the Synod, with the consent of the Senate, to send an order to the Right Reverend Veniamin in Kazan: to find the decree of Peter I dated June 19, 1722. In this decree, which was sent to the former bishop, it was forbidden to impoverish Islamic mosques, and also old and new cemeteries. As it is clear from the ordinance, during her stay in Kazan, she received a petition from all the regional and district service class *murzas* and Tatars of Kazan guberniya [Polnoe sobranie postanovlenij i rasporyazhenij, 1910, p. 430].

The empress, giving the order to Veniamin, tried to find a necessary precedent in the legislation in relation to Islamic places of worship. It

was supposed to convince the Kazan archiereus to be more tolerant towards Islamic places of worship. However, on August 20, 1767, The Synod heard a report, sent by Veniamin, where he declared that 'the undertaken... in the consistory of His Eminence ... background check and statements issued by the servants did not find such a Decree' [Ibid.].

The ideology of peaceful coexistence of different religions, which developed during Catherine's trip along the Volga, subsequently resulted in her famous decree 'About the Tolerance to all religions and about the Prohibition for archbishops to engage in business, relating to other faiths and the construction of worship places by their laws' dated 1773. The publication of the decree was directly related to the permission to build two stone mosques in Kazan for the Tatars. The fact is that this decree of the empress, which was made in the presence of the Kazan Governor A. Kvashnin-Samarin, was transmitted orally. The authorities did not rush to make the decree public immediately, or to publish it. In the first years of her rule, Catherine couldn't 'hurt' the sentiments of Orthodox people or the Orthodox faith, which were cornerstones of the empire and firm foundations of her own reign.

At the same time, according to Russian legislation, an oral decree of the monarch was considered to be law and was expected to be executed, in the same way as a written one. That's why, after receiving the highest command, Kvashnin-Samarin allowed the Tatars to build 'at their expense'. The Kazan Tatars immediately outlined plots for the construction of two mosques on the territory of Starotatarskaya [Old Tatar] sloboda, adjacent to Lake Kaban. They were personally surveyed by the Kazan governor. The construction of the two mosques started in the summer of 1768—the first Cathedral Mosque (Marjani), later named Apanayev.

Their construction provoked the discontent of spiritual authorities in the Kazan eparchy [Salikhov, Khayrutdinov, 2005, pp. 19–20]. The leader of the eparchy—the Right Reverend Veniamin (head of the Kazan eparchy from July 25, 1762, and Metropolitan from 1775.—*G.I.*) wrote a report to the Synod in May 1768, where he condemned the construction of the

two stone mosques in the Old Tatar sloboda as being too close to Orthodox churches. He also criticised the living of 'Tatars and the newly-baptised' in one sloboda [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 796, inv. 51, file 345, p. 7171 reverse]. The report of Veniamin dated April 28, 1771 illustrates the reasons for his frustration: the closeness of Islamic religious places and coexistence could have negative impacts on the rechristened, since they 'are easily corrupted from the faith' and thus could 'turn away... from the church'. The leader of the Kazaneparchy raised the issue of the lawfulness of the Kazan governor's authorisation to build the mosques [Ibid.].

In July 1772, the Synod demanded that the Senate clarify the situation on the authorisation of the construction of the mosques in Kazan. On June 14, 1773 the General-Procurator of the Senate A. Vyazemsky announced the results of the report to the empress on the case. On May 29, 1773 he received Catherine's ruling [Ibid., p. 113114], and the decree 'About the Tolerance to all the religions' was signed by June 17, 1773. Commenting on it, the government definitively pronounced its intention: 'As the Supreme God tolerates all religions, languages and confessions on Earth, and so Her Majesty, by the same rules, according to His Holy intent, will act, wishing only that love and concord would always prevail between her subjects' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 19, No. 13996, pp. 775–776].

It was also noted that the former governor allowed the construction of the mosques under articles 494, 495, 496 of the Great Nakaz [Ibid., p. 776]. The authorities ordered to send decrees to the leaders of the eparchies, where they commanded: 'eminent archbishops not to engage in the affairs of foreign faiths and the construction of worship places by their laws'. These questions were to be considered by secular groups. The decree also assigned a code of conduct for both clergy and secular groups. In accordance with government legislation they had to make efforts so that 'between the subjects of Her Imperial Majesty there were no disagreements, and that love, peace and consent reigned among them' [Ibid., pp. 775–776].

That document, which was created as an answer to Archbishop Veniamin, became an official all-Russian 'patent' for religious tolerance. Catherine II left a positive legacy about herself to the Tatar people. In the historical memory of the Tatars, Catherine remained as 'Abi-patsha' (in translation from Tatar 'grandma-Tsarina'.—*G.I.*) [Mărcani, 1989, 374 b.].

It was during the epoch of Catherine II that the need to provide a policy of ethnic and confessional tolerance was identified as the basis of imperial politics and as the element that would consolidate the empire. For the sake of maintaining the peace of the empire, the state should function by taking into account existing religious diversity. Catherine refused the legacy of former rulers (first of all, Anna Ioanovna and Elizabeth Petrovna): persecution, harassment, and the forced conversion to Orthodoxy.

This directly affected the religious aspects of the Tatar population's daily existence. In 1783 the empress allowed Tatars to choose clergy from their own milieu rather than having to invite them from abroad as before. Representatives of the local clergy began to be designated as mullahs to peoples who lived on the periphery of the country—as 'reliable' people, they started to get compensation for their work from the authorities. The Decree of September 22, 1788 in Ufa established the 'Spiritual Collection of Islamic Law'. Some time later it was assigned a staff of secretaries, office, and other servants, who were given an emolument [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 22, No. 16710, p. 1107; vol. 22, No. 16711, pp. 1107–1108, vol. 23, No. 16759, pp. 20–21].

They were supposed to monitor the activities of the Islamic and Tatar clergy in the interests of the authorities. But the Tatars used the changes in religious policy to their advantage: they accelerated the construction of mosques and opened maktabas and madrasah on their basis at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, laying the groundwork for the development of an educational system that was independent from official ideology [Islam v Povolzh'e, 2005, p. 3].

§2. The Tatar Delegates of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya

Fayzulkhak Islaev

The main objectives of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya were formulated in the manifesto of Catherine II dated December 14, 1766. It underlined: 'In order to better understand the needs and conspicuous flaws of our people, delegates from the Senate, the Synod, the Boards, uyezds and towns are to be sent to Moscow six months after the promulgation of this manifesto in each of the places'. Not only were the delegates to inform the government on these needs and flaws, but they were also to prepare a draft of a 'new Ulozheniye' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 1, pp. 15–16].

The elections of delegates to the Ulozhennaya Komissiya were regulated by a corresponding directive. It was indicated in the document that from each uyezd which had noblemen, one delegate should be elected, from the population of each town—one delegate; and from the non-nomadic non-Christians, irrespective of their religion, whether they were baptised or not, from each province—one delegate as well.

Scholars mention different numbers of elected delegates, from 460 to 564 [Latkin, 1887, p. 250; Platonov, 1998a, p. 699]. According to the copy of delegate names, compiled by January 1, 1781, there were 577 delegates [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 110, book 7, p. 175]. From the Kazan guberniya, sixty-one delegates were sent to the Ulozhennaya Komissiya, including five noblemen, sixteen townsmen, twelve non-Christians and fourteen newly-baptised. Among all delegates there were thirty-two non-Christians and twenty-four newly-baptised [Ibid.].

Our own calculations show that among the elected delegates there were twenty-eight Muslims, including twenty-four Tatars, two Bashkirs, and two Bukhars (Siberian Tatars) [Islaev, 2003, pp. 42–46]. Among the delegates there were fifteen baptised ones, including two newly and old baptised Tatars; their biggest number represented the Chuvash people (five) (researcher I. Valiullin made a miscalculation

in mentioning only nineteen Tatar delegates [Valiullin, 2004, pp. 128–129]).

The Islamic population sent the most reputable members of its society as delegates. Among them there were three mullahs, five murzas, two chiefs and one chief's son, and two clerks. The service murzas and Tatars of the Sviyazhsk province were represented by mullah M. Yusupov, the serving Meshcheryaks of Iset Province—by mullah A. Tavyshev, the Tatars of Ichkinsky and the Bagaryatsky Yurts by mullah A. Ibragimov.

According to the opinion of some historians, the non-Christian delegates were a kind of 'ethnographic exhibition'. In other words, it was believed that their participation in the legislative process had an ostentatious and superficial character. A. Florovsky justly considered such evaluation 'deeply unfair' [Florovsky, 1915, p. 140]. Contemporaries had a positive view on the participation of non-Christians in the work of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya, taking it as a sign of the unification of the peoples of Russia. N. Karamzin wrote: 'My imagination can picture nothing more magnificent than this day, when in our ancient capital two hemispheres of the Earth have been united, all peoples, scattered throughout the territory of Russia, of different languages, customs and faith, have come: descendants of the Slavs—conquerors of the Normans,...peaceful shepherds of south Russia, Lappish ichthyophags and the Kamchadals dressed in animal skins. At the time, Moscow seemed to be the capital of the universe, and the gathering of Russian delegates—the assembly of the world [Karamzin, 1802, p. 64].

The ideas about religious tolerance, which had been reflected in the initial documents of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya, were familiar to the non-Christian delegates. However, these ideas were not shared by everyone. Old traditions of religious policy were vividly on display in an order to a delegate from the Most Holy Synod. The first draft of this order was composed by Ober-Procurator Melissino. It contained propositions about shortening the

fasting period, moderating the veneration of icons and relics, shortening church services, easing divorce processes, permitting marriages with non-Christians etc.. The Synod declined this draft and made up its own [Readings at the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia, 1871, b. 3, pp. 114–121; Znamensky, 2000, p. 319]. In paragraph six it referred to those defiling Orthodoxy and deviating from it, as those who should be subjected to a 'fitting execution'. Besides, in the annex to the order it was suggested that the diocesan bishops watch over the Orthodox, so that 'Russian people, both Christians and disbelievers, foreign as well as those who are in allegiance to Russia, in all the Russian empire, do not convert to other rules, to other foreign religions' [Xristianskoe chtenie, 1876, pp. 243, 254].

Congenial to this document was an extensive 'Content list of a future project on spiritual and civil affairs', composed by the Spiritual and Civil Commission. There, among others, were sections about preserving and strengthening the dominating religion in Russia, heresy, religious tolerance, spread of the dominating Graeco-Russian religion and the benefits to those converting to it. The commission attributed Islam to heresy, which was more malefic than simple idolatry. Therefore, conversion from Christianity to Islam was considered a more serious crime than going back to paganism. Such apostates were regarded by the commission as more dangerous persecutors of Christianity as compared to natural Muslims. It proposed to ban religious propaganda and prohibit all non-Christians from any attempts to convert the Orthodox to their religion. The penalty for converting an Orthodox person to another religion was one thousand rubles as well as a year's exile to a monastery. Religious tolerance, which was accepted by Orthodoxy, was considered in light of it being an aid to the baptism of Muslims [Pokrovsky, 1910, pp. 93, 96–98].

The main obstacle for the active participation of non-Christian delegates in the discussions was likely their poor knowledge of the Russian language. That was one more serious problem. However, a solution was found: the interests of the delegates could be represent-

ed by the so-called custodians. The status of a custodian who spoke Russian was very high. It equaled the status of a delegate, except for the government wages.

The first attempt to appoint custodians for the Tatar delegates failed. After the protest of the delegate of Smolensk szlachta of Ufa uyezd E. Tikhanovsky dated September 12, 1767, U. Urazmetev was dismissed from custodianship. As A. Florovsky supposed, this was because of his shadowy past [Frolovsky, 1887, p. 521]. Later, Procurator prince S. Vyazemsky, Senator A. Olsufiev and Poruchik G. Potemkin were appointed custodians over the non-Christians. It is likely that the custodians of the non-Christians carried out their responsibilities only formally, since we discovered no initiatives from their side in favour of the non-Christians in the documents of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya. G. Potemkin, elected member of the Spiritual-Civil Commission, rarely attended the meetings; in the daily records of a local Spiritual-Civil Commission of 1768 we came across his presence only five times (from May 27 to December 30, 1768 a total of 59 meetings were held) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 131, book 1, pp. 1–159]; judging by the prepared materials of the commission, the interests of non-Christians were not taken into account.

The delegates worked in general assemblies and nineteen local commissions. According to the voting results, there were no Tatar delegates in the commissions, except for the delegate of the Tatar slobodas of the town of Kazan S. Khalfin, who was elected as a candidate in the commission 'Of ore-mining, growing and preserving the forests and of trade in general' [Materialy, 1861, pp. 1–84]. An attempt by murza A. Enikeev to enter the commission for revising the collection and expenditure of the delegates was not supported. His candidacy received sixty-eight affirmative votes and two hundred nineteen negative ones [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 34, p. 56].

In its essence, the behaviour of the delegates in the Ulozhennaya Komissiya was determined by orders from the localities. These orders were prepared by specially elected representa-

tives of the uyezds and provinces. As for the orders, which the Tatar delegates brought with themselves, they reflected the basic needs of Tatar society of the time. The spiritual needs of Muslims, alongside social and economic ones, took up the leading place there, though S. Tashkin stated that the problem of their religious standing had lost its acuteness for the Muslims [Tashkin, 1922, p. 55]. M. Khodarkovsky notes that the general results of governmental policy towards religious missionaryism became apparent in the Nakazes [orders] [Khodarkovsky, 1996, p. 287].

The significant role of confessional issues in the orders handed over to all the Islamic delegates shows that these issues continued to be of practical importance to them. The contributing factor to this was the participation of Islamic religious figures, as the more energetic and literate part of Tatar society, in working-out the orders in question. Thus, the order of Seitov slododa of Orenburg was signed by akhund A. Uraev, Mullahs K. Chyupashev, A. Imankulov, and I. Abdulkarimov [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 147, p. 232].

One of the most vital and common issues for all Muslims was the problem of building new mosques at the desire of the congregation, without various bureaucratic obstacles. The orders could not but reflect this situation. The order of the serving murzas and Tatars of Kazan uyezd, signed by R. Alkin, is exemplary in this respect. It underlined that previously, the service murzas and Tatars, according to the Islamic law, had mosques in every village, where they made their services. From 1743 all existing mosques were destroyed. Then, upon the request of the Tatars, the Senate allowed them to build mosques if their settlement had no less than 200 people. In the settlements where the newly-baptised lived alongside the Muslims, it was prohibited to build mosques. The service murzas and Tatars asked for permission to build mosques in each village, as it had been before 1743 [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 318–319].

The content of the other orders on the issue was approximately the same. 'Though now we have in our settlements mosques and mullahs and azanchies'—wrote the Meshcheryaks of

Orenburg guberniya—'but only a small number, and it should be ordered to have them in each of our settlements' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 109, p. 235]. The yasak Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd reported that due to the absence of prayer houses they had to go to the neighbouring village. The yasak Tatars of Kazan uyezd rode to the mosques ten or more versts because of the same reason. Both of them petitioned for permission to build mosques at their own expense in all settlements, so that there would be 'a separate izba for gathering people for prayer'. The same reasons are given in the orders of the yasak Tatars of Kungur uyezd of the Perm province and the Bashkirs of Ufa uyezd [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 358, 373, 401; Kulbakhtin, 1996, p. 39].

Not only did Muslims need houses of worship, but also the newly-baptised. Though churches were built for the latter in the settlements at the state's expense, they were still not enough. So, the newly-baptised the serving Tatar from the Sviyazhsk province asked for a chapel to carry out burial services [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 406].

In many orders attention was paid to the position of the Islamic clergymen. The Islamic clergy, unlike the Orthodox, received no payments from the state and had no benefits. Moreover, it had to carry all state duties equally with other members of the community. Such an injustice could not go unnoticed by the authors of the orders. Thus, the yasak Tatars of Kungursk uyezd of the Perm province asked to relieve the mullahs and azanchey from the poll tax, while the yasak Tatars of Ufa uyezd asked to exclude mullahs and azanchey from service. The Bashkirs and Tarkhans of Ufa uyezd tried to obtain the right to choose the akhunds for the streets of the uyezd from among the Bashkir, Meshcheryaks or yasak Tatar clergymen, having relieved them from any state service and tribute [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 358; Kulbakhtin, 1996, p. 39; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 109, p. 256].

The Tatar population strove to get the right to use familiar norms of the Sharia when solv-

ing various everyday matters. For example, the yasak Tatars of different area of Kazan uyezd asked that 'in cases of conflicts, fights, money lending of up to ten rubles, the matter should be handled by mullahs according to the Quran'. The Tatars of Seitov sloboda in Orenburg guberniya petitioned to leave the solving insignificant matters in the hands of the Akhund and mullahs. Similar articles can be seen in the orders of the Meshcheryaks of Orenburg guberniya and of the yasak Tatars of Ufa uyezd. Muslims gave preference to Sharia norms also when 'the wives of the Tatars convert to the Russian religion and do not give back the dowry.' In such situations, they wanted the question of dowry decided by a mullah and not a Russian court. Interference of civil administration in spiritual matters did not suit the petitioners because the judges had no knowledge of Islamic laws. The Bashkirs and Tarkhans of Ufa uyezd asked to transfer family and inheritance proceedings to the Akhunds [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 359, 395, 402; vol. 147, p. 227; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 109, p. 235, 256 reverse; Kulbakhtin, 1996, p. 40].

The issue of everyday clothes of the baptised non-Christians was also given attention to in the orders. It is known that upon conversion to Orthodoxy they received clothes and shoes as a gift. However, the making of uncustomary clothes was a rather difficult task for them. Not without reason did the newly-baptised Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd ask for permission to wear their old clothes and not the clothes of the Russian people, because they did not know the Russian ways of sewing and were afraid to ruin the clothes. They could not have their clothes made by Russian craftsmen due to poverty [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 406].

Part of the requests in the orders addressed the practical aspects of the religious policy. Thus, the inhabitants of the Old Tatar Sloboda of the town of Kazan was clearly unsatisfied by the fact that since the 1750s a church and school for the newly-baptised were located in its city center. Murzas and the service Tatars wrote: 'We humbly trust that there is nothing

more offensive to a person of whatever rule and status to suffer from a stranger's disgrace and abuse of his law; and being a stranger he gets carried away using more obscene and foul words; and it often happens that people of different rank talk indecently of our law and our Prophet, and also during our prayers say swear words causing us great offence.' The position of the authorities, openly disdainful towards Islam and its believers, naturally, could not be met with support from the Islamic part of the population. The Tatars of Kungur uyezd also report with insult that people of another religion 'denounce and revile' their faith. They proposed to publicly punish the offenders mercilessly and to fine the officers. The Bashkirs of the Iset province noted that 'our Tarkhan and Bashkir people are under the law of Mohammad and that our people should be left free within the framework of our Law' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 311, 359; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 342, inv. 1, file 109, p. 263].

One of the 'pillars' of Islam is to carry out the Hajj, to visit the holy places in Mecca and Medina (see: [the Quran, 1990, p. 43]). From the end of the 30s of the 18th century this duty could not be fulfilled by Russian Muslims because of the complications in Russian-Turkish relations. This entailed the ban for the Russian Muslims to carry out the Hadj in Mecca via Turkey, though the Russian government in its negotiations with Turkey managed to keep the right for Orthodox pilgrims to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Islamic delegates from almost all regions of Russia asked the government to allow pilgrimage via Turkey and provide free issue of the necessary passports. This request was set forth by delegate A. Abduzhelilov. As an argument, he gave the example when all 26 people from a previously permitted hajj, returned to Russia [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 134, p. 182]. Similar requests could be found in the orders from Tatar sloboda of Astrakhan, from service murzas, and the Tatars of Kazan, Penza, Saransk and Ufa uyezds. However, these requests did not receive legal confirmation then. The first Russian legislative act about organising the pilgrimage

to Mecca appeared in 1803, when on March 23, Alexander I forwarded to the military Governor Bakhmetev the decree 'On letting the Bukhars, residing in Russia, pass to Mecca for pilgrimage' [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 27. p. 509; Arapov, 1999, pp. 298–299].

The spiritual needs of non-Christians were closely tied to the socio-economic ones. And this connection was born out of practice itself. Russian legislation from the times of Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 prohibited Muslims to use the labour of the Orthodox and, therefore, of the newly-baptised. Such limitation, guarding the baptised from the possible influence of Islam, however, restrained the economic interests of both orthodox and Muslims alike. Baptised Mari, Mordvins, Udmurts, and Chuvash, being deprived of substantial sources of extra income, suffered greatly from this prohibition.

Taking into account bilateral economic losses, the Tatars of Seitov sloboda of Orenburg guberniya petitioned for permission to employ workers from among the baptised non-Christians to engage them in arable farming and households. They took upon themselves the responsibility to feed their workers lenten food during lent and lenten days, on Sundays and holidays to let them go for prayers to Berdsk sloboda and the Sakmara cossack town, where there were churches and Orthodox priests [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 147, pp. 221–222]. In turn, the newly-baptised from the yasak Mari of Kazan uyezd asked to be permitted to hire non-Christians for their needs, and non-Christians to hire the newly-baptised, seeing there 'no contradictions with the Greek law' [Ibid., vol. 115, p. 392].

Prohibitive, restrictive measures, introduced with the active participation of the Orthodox church, complicated not only mutually beneficial economical relations, which had been formed before between Muslims and the mainly pagan people, but also inter-ethnic relations. In the order from the murzas and service Tatars, proclaimed by murza Ya. Mangushev, it was said that previously the Tatars had lived in harmony with the Mordvins, Chuvash, Mari, and Urdmurs, but that later these relations

were spoiled by Novokreshchenskaya kontora, who 'enacted great restrictions, so that they did not have any neighbourly relations with us.' The delegate asked not to forbid them, in order to maintain the previously good neighbourly relations.

As the analysis of the orders shows, a number of problems in inter-confessional relations was caused by governmental actions, directed at the conversion to non-Russian peoples to Orthodoxy and keeping them in new religion. Granting privileges and benefits to the baptised non-Christians was negatively evaluated in the orders. The service murzas and Tatars of different areas in Kazan uyezd noted that the Tatars are baptised and relieved from being recruited, from paying the poll tax or debts; those caught stealing stay free. In their opinion, the newly-baptised could not become true believers of the Orthodox faith, because they were converted out of need, and not by free will, did not know the dogmas of the religion and were only called the baptised [Ibid., vol. 115, p. 375]. The yasak Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd also pointed out the facts of evading service in the Russian army under the guise of baptism. Quite often in one national village several young men were baptised at the same time and there were no young men left suitable for recruiting. The Tatars asked 'not to take other recruits' from the Muslims instead of the the baptised [Ibid., p. 403].

The granting of benefits and privileges to some was followed by infringement of others. Thus, in all the regions of Russia an additional tax was imposed on Muslim Tatars, the so-called povenochny tax. In 1765 this tax was revoked, however, it continued to be collected from the service murzas and the Tatars of Simbirsk, Penza, Alator, Kurmysh uyezds, from the yasak Tatars of Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds. The Collegium of State Income wrote that aforementioned tax had been collected and was collected from non-Christians so that they, feeling the burden, could convert to the Orthodox faith.

One of the consequences of Christianisation policy was that the non-baptised and the baptised lived in the same settlements. Such situations was perceived by the Tatars as an undesir-

able phenomenon. Quite often in the orders it was suggested to relocate the baptised from the places where they had lived before their baptism. For example, the Serving Tatars of Sloboda uyezd justified this measure by the fact that the baptised gave lodgings to various strangers and they themselves were often away, and the Tatars 'suffered considerable losses' because of this. It was reported also that the Muslim Tatars could not influence the behaviour of the newly-baptised. Relocating those converted to Orthodoxy to the places, inhabited by Russians and the newly-baptised, was suggested by murzas and serving Tatars of Old and New Tatar slobodas of Kazan. They also stood up for the homesteads, estates, vegetable gardens, mowing lands of the newly-baptised Tatars to be sold to Muslim Tatars and their relatives, and not to the Russians and newly-baptised. The yasak Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd asked for permission to buy the lands of the baptised murzas and service Tatars while at the same time establishing a ban on selling these lands to Russian landlords [Ibid., pp. 311–312, 342, 393, 401]. Socio-economic orientation of the latter propositions was readily apparent.

The newly-baptised did not always support the idea of relocating the converted to Orthodoxy out of their native settlements. So, the baptised Tatars of Sviyazhsk uyezd wrote, that everyone—fathers, mothers or young brothers, and also children—live with non-Christians in the same settlements. Their request was not to separate fathers and mothers, brothers and children, but to let them live together. They justly believed that young brothers and children, having grown up, would help their parents, take care of them, provide for their subsistence. And if separated, 'impoverishment on both sides might occur' [Ibid., vol. 115, p. 405].

The current situation in many Russian settlements, however, required a solution. As a result of the earlier accepted acts on relocation of the baptised and their consequent revocation, there were both Muslims and Orthodox in the same settlements. The attempts to relocate them were not always successful, because those wishing to relocate could not be found. The countryside was in fact divided into two communities due to the different social and le-

gal positions of Muslims and the baptised. Mutual claims were growing. While special teams protected the newly-baptised during the time of Novokreshchenskaya kontora, in connection with it ceasing operations, these functions were passed on to provincial chancelleries, who could not always satisfy both parties interests.

Of special interest are the position of non-Christians, declared by their representatives in the meetings of Ulozhennaya Komissiya—in the Grand Commission and in local commissions. At the Grand Commission, all the delegates preliminarily familiarised themselves with the Empress' decree, the reading of which lasted some time. The main part of their work was occupied by reading decrees on various problems and discussing them. Non-Christian delegates were active during discussions of various issues.

On April 28, 1868 the reading of the laws about non-Christians commenced in the General Assembly of the delegates. Without any particular system the delegates became acquainted with the laws on the benefits to the newly-baptised, starting from September 1, 1720 to 1764 [Ibid., vol. 32, pp. 39–40]. Along with this, the main decree, signed by Anna Ioannovna on September 11, 1740, generally solved the problem of mass baptism and granting the newly-baptised benefits, was not brought to the delegates' attention. However, incompleteness of the legal information did in no way reflect upon on the character and content of further discussion. The expressed opinions originated from the realities of religious policy and inter-confessional relations.

Both Orthodox and Islamic delegates were worried by the fact that Muslims did not have equal rights with those baptised in regard to resolving debatable issues or in giving testimony. This matter of rights was set forth by Cossack delegate, Burtsev, who asked if Muslims could be witnesses in cases of the Orthodox [Ibid., vol. 14, p. 135]. An attempt to solve the matter was undertaken by the representative of the service murzas and the Tatars of Penza province murza A. Enikeev and the delegate from Tatar slobodas of Kazan S. Khalfin. According to S. Khalfin, 'a Muslim could be accepted as a witness in all cases, on par with Christians,

because of having previously been geared toward the Quran. Upon bringing the faith to Christians as well as people of other orders and to Muslims, it should be included in the oath that he should tell only the truth, that which he heard, and not take notice from those having a lawsuit from one who is of the same religion as well as from one of another order'. His statement was fully supported by A. Enikeev, who asked to keep the custom of taking an oath by kissing the Quran for Muslims [*Ibid.*, pp. 156–157, 158].

Another aspect of the problem was also indicated. As noted by A. Enikeev, the newly-baptised, 'after baptism escape punishment, live together with non-Christians, do not follow the Christian faith, and steal more than before, thus causing substantial devastation to the remaining non-Christians'. The Tatar aristocracy and elders could not do anything to the newly-baptised, on the grounds that they had left their obedience and had become Christians of the Greek confession. Orthodox delegates also talked about the incidents of conversion to Christianity, dictated by the urge to avoid punishment for crimes committed, pointing out their negative implication [*Ibid.*, vol. 32, pp. 641–644].

In what manner was the collision proposed to be solved? According to the opinion of the aforementioned A. Enikeev, criminals from among the newly-baptised, were to be punished according to the law and to send them to corresponding places, in order to 'completely eradicate the evil enterprise.' Besides this, the delegate considered that in order to confirm their faith, the newly-baptised should live with Russians and not with Muslims. Muslims should not be baptised against their will and should be completely relieved from recruitment drives and from paying additional taxes for the baptised [*Ibid.*, pp. 541–542].

A. Enikeev proclaimed his propositions on June 3, 1768. A month earlier the Commission received the remarks sent by delegate P. Karyakin from the town of Khlynov. The partial coincidence of the positions of the two delegates calls attention to itself. So, P. Karyakin offered the following to the voluntarily baptised non-Christians: 'to give benefits

according to the present laws, leave to reside where they wish; and those who get baptised to avoid punishment, should be relocated to Russian villages, which are situated not less than a hundred versts from those of non-Christian ones, and in one village there should be not more than five people'.

It is however, characteristic that inter-ethnic, inter-faith motives, or motives of intolerance on a religious basis are practically not seen in such suggestions. The socio-economic aspect dominates, in essence, being the only one. Ya. Mangushev based his proposals on the fact that under current conditions, baptised Tatars sell their lands to strangers, who then settle their own Orthodox peasants on it, which causes great ruin to the Tatars. And the newly-baptised, as the delegate considered, should be relocated to other places, and their lands should be given to non-baptised murzas and Tatars [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 32, pp. 391–395]. The discontent of the yasak Tatars from Sviyazhsk uyezd caused 'attacks and ruin' on the newly-baptised, necessitating payment of tribute for those newly-baptised who had left for Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas, and who had remained there for five or more years. That was why they proposed to relocate the newly-baptised Tatars to Russian and newly-baptised villages; and if Muslim Tatars were less than a half, then relocate them to Tatar settlements [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 400]. They connected such practice with providing the 'best laws in both cases'.

However, the delegate from the Cossacks of Khoperskaya fortress A. Aleinikov argued against the relocation of the baptised in Russian and newly-baptised villages. He brought up the question in this way: 'Will it not be some sort of obstacle to converting the various non-baptised peoples to Orthodoxy, if in the case of relocation, they must leave their parents, relatives, and well-run homestead to receive an unknown lot'. The delegate proposed not to relocate the baptised to other villages, but to settle them in the same place, living in separate streets and give them benefits for ten years. Besides, he considered it necessary to build a church in each sloboda and maintain them at the state's

expense [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 32, p. 427].

The entanglement of socio-economic and religious issues, with the former being dominant, was characteristic of many problems raised at the meeting of the Commission. It was especially vividly expressed during the discussion of the proposal of the delegate from Ufa A. Podyachev to prohibit the Tatars of Seitov sloboda of Orenburg guberniya to trade in other uyezds. The delegate insisted that the Tatars should trade only within the borders of the sloboda itself [Ibid., vol. 8, p. 98]. The corporate interest, expressed by him, was apparent. The Tatars of Kargaly already had a reputation as significant trade rivals by 1768. It should also be taken into account that they came from the Kazan guberniya. The Serving Tatars from Kazan sloboda had the right of free trade granted to them by Letters patent, which were confirmed by the approved report of the Senate dated August 7, 1763. It turned out that a local matter was growing into a question of the right of the Tatars to trade. The majority of Tatars, as is well known, were Muslims. Besides this, the proposal of A. Podyachev could have played the role of trigger, not only with respect to the Tatars of Seitov sloboda. It was understood by many, therefore, a sharp discussion commenced.

Different delegates gave their arguments in defense of the right to carry out trade activities by the groups of population they represented. Thus, the delegate of the Bashkirs from Ufa uyezd T. Izhbulatov noted that it was not prohibited to the inhabitants of Ufa uyezd to buy different goods from each other. The delegate from the trading Tatars of Seitov sloboda asked to preserve the privileges they had, referring to the decrees of the Senate of August 8, 1745 and the decrees of the Governor of Orenburg I. Neplyuev of 1753. His attitude towards his competitors was also quite definite. It is enough to say that T. Izhbulatov openly demanded to prohibit trade to everyone except the Tatars of Seitov sloboda [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 8, pp. 113–114].

Delegate murza A. Enikeev deferred to tradition. 'Our ancestors traded' he said 'their local commodities in the uyezd and markets without

any impediments. This small uyezd trading of ours has never disturbed the merchants and has never undermined their commerce before and it will not in future'. Similar arguments were voiced by Ya. Arslanov and A. Seitov. It is remarkable that the Tatar delegates were not the only ones to think that way. Equally, the availability of trade worried the delegate of the newly-baptised Chuvash of the Sviyazhsk province Ya. Ishutov and the delegate of the newly-baptised Mordvins of the Kazan province V. Seleпов, and the delegate of the smallholders of the Sviyazhsk province E. Gladkov [Ibid., p. 116]. The importance of the trade, which was a reality if there was a right to carry it out, provided the ground for common outlook on the issue to many delegates, irrespective of their ethnic and confessional affiliation.

Almost twenty votes were voiced against the proposition of the delegate from Kazan I. Kobelev, who demanded 'to prohibit the trading activities' of Tatars [Ibid., pp. 183–185]. Common economic interest united the multilingual delegates, confessional differences did not become a considerable obstacle for their consolidation.

Despite the fact that the delegates touched upon many vital problems, concerning the religious policy of the state, neither social nor spiritual authorities were ready to accept and take measures for changing the status of Islam. Along with this, as A. Shchapov noted, 'The assembly of people's delegates in 1767 opened way to new Russian history in the face of the representatives of the Russian and non-Russian world...Many ideas of the Commission of the delegates in 1767 became vital issues of the 19th century and occupied the best minds in the government' [Shchapov, no year, pp. 37, 42].

Thus, during the work of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya, the different positions of the Russian state on socio-economic and religious issues were laid bare and clashed over. In effect, the issues that became essential were those of religious freedom and tolerance and of differences in the socio-legal status of the baptised and non-baptised, the Orthodox and Muslims. If the former related to the future of this policy, the latter, being an unresolved matter of the present, had its roots in the past. The most

active and consistent supporters for resolving this and other issues were the non-Christian delegates, mainly the Muslim delegates. Their orders and speeches, read aloud at meetings of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya, testified to the support for the formation of an updated government policy in the spiritual and religious sphere, and to the rejection of the policy implemented from the beginning of the 18th century.

Great discontent was caused by the practice of forced Christianisation with its system of measures, taken in order to convert non-Russian people to Orthodoxy and keeping them in the new faith. As the analysis of the non-Christian orders showed, there was an especially expressed feeling of offense and bitterness caused by the socio-economic limitations and duties suffered by those, who remained within the Islamic spiritual tradition. Thus the heritage of the previous religious policy of the government was negatively estimated. Regarding the future of this policy, in the orders and in the speeches of non-Christian delegates, main-

ly Muslims, it was connected with the ideas of religious tolerance, reflected in the initial documents of Ulozhennaya Komissiya. At least, the requests to freely build mosques, to carry out the Hadjj, to ban the abuse of Islam and others, clearly provided the guiding lines for governmental actions in spiritual and religious spheres of a multi-confessional country and its individual regions. At the same time, it grew obvious that spiritual and religious needs were one of the priorities for Muslims.

In the long term, the position of the non-Christian delegates contributed to the consolidation of the positive changes beginning in the socio-economic and religious policy of the Russian state. Their proposals, including those concerning specific interests of Muslims as well as the newly-baptised, later repeatedly used in the current legislation, became one of the corner stones in the legal foundation of a totally new tolerant attitude toward Islam, the religion of a substantial portion of Russian subjects.

§3. The Tatars in the Legislative Policy of Catherine II

Aydar Nogmanov

The rule of Empress Catherine II (1762–1796) left a remarkable trace in the history of the Tatar people. It was not unclouded. The great losses in Tatar population during the suppression of the rebellion of 1773–1775 under the command of Ye. Pugachev are evidence of this. The number of people killed, hanged, sent to penal servitude, and subjected to corporal punishment reached many hundreds [Alishev, 1973, pp. 187–193]. At the same time, Catherine II was the only Russian autocrat to be given the positive name 'Abi-patsha' by the Tatars, which requires paying special attention to her personality and rule.

An objective evaluation of the Empress's actions is impossible without reference to the materials of Russian legislation. Laws are the expression of the will of the supreme power, documented in the form of legal norms. As were the laws, so was the policy of the state. This a reality that cannot be ignored.

The legislative policy of Catherine II in relation to the Tatar population of the Russian Empire was determined by the main priorities of her rule, which included ensuring the safety of the country (internal and external), its economic welfare and preserving the current regime. This could be achieved only by adopting an extremely pragmatic policy that considered the interests of various social, ethnic and confessional groups. In making decisions on different issues, whether they concerned the most important problems in government policy or trivial everyday matters, the Empress was guided, first of all, by common sense, as her correspondence and numerous resolutions during reports make abundantly clear [Kamensky, 2001, p. 340].

The legislation on the Tatars, where it is hard to find any random legal acts inspired by a momentary thought, is an example of this pragmatism. Everything was interconnect-

ed, with one thing proceeding from another. Among the legislative acts of the rule of Catherine II presented in the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, seventy-one documents were addressed to the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region. They are divided as follows by subject of regulation: concerning religion—25; regulating the trade of the Tatar population—14; about loggers (lashmanns) (assigned to shipbuilding)—8; about taxation—6; about using the Tatar language in State Bodies and records management—4; about relocation and migration of the Tatars—4; about the representatives of the Tatar feudal class (murzas and princes)—3; about possession and use of land—3; about carrying out recruitment duty by the Tatars—3; about courts of law—1. Although these legislative acts cover different areas of legal regulation, most of them are directly or indirectly connected to religion. In this respect, the legislation of the 1760–1790s follows the tradition of the first two-thirds of the 18th century. At the same time, its contents undergo qualitative changes caused by a change in the priorities of the religious policy of the State.

At the beginning of Catherine II's rule the majority of Muslims lived in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions; later on, their number grew substantially due to the annexation of Crimea, Northern Taurida, Kuban, and part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita). The presence of a large Islamic community, second only to the Orthodox population in number, posed a serious problem for autocracy for many centuries. Each new Russian ruler resolved it according to his own understanding, upbringing and priorities.

Starting in the mid-16th century, the state periodically undertook actions of an anti-Muslim character: it forced the Tatar population to convert to Orthodoxy, confiscated the lands and dependent people from Tatar landlords, destroyed mosques, and imposed additional taxes and duties on the Muslims. In different periods, affiliation to the Islamic world had a negative influence on the freedom of travel of the Tatars, their economic activities, and relationships with other peoples. Intolerance to Islam culminated in the Christianisation campaign

launched in the Middle Volga Region in the 1740–1750s, which had the traits of religious genocide. The response to religious oppression and worsening of economic conditions was the rebellion of the Tatars and Bashkirs under the command of Batyrsha, which seized the Cis-Ural Region in 1755–1756. According to the account of the historian N. Firsov, it had 'all the signs of a fight for the religion of Mohammad' and threatened to draw in the Islamic population of the Volga Region [Firsov, 1869, p. 209]. Fearing this, the government of Elizabeth Petrovna (1741–1761) was forced to hurriedly curtail the missionary activities in the region and agree to mitigate some laws.

Given the previous history, where periods of religious oppression of the Muslims alternated with 'thaws', these measures were nothing more than another tactical retreat. However, on ascension to the throne of Catherine II on June 28, 1762, a new stage of the relationship between the State and Islam started, which was marked by a radical change in the status of Islam in the state and transformation from a persecuted religion to a tolerated one. Legislative decisions regarding the Muslims, made in the last third of the 18th century, can be characterised as a kind of 'religious revolution from above', as their consequences were so important.

The first step in this direction was the decree of the Senate of April 6, 1764 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 16, No. 12126], which ended the activities of Novokreshchenskaya kontora—a special body engaged in Christianisation of non-Russian people of the Volga Region from the 1730s (for details see: [Islaev, 2001]). The decree withdrew the benefits and privileges granted to the newly-baptised during previous reigns: the material reward for conversion to Orthodoxy was revoked, and the practice of payments, recruiting and payment of arrears for the baptised were abolished. The newly-baptised were passed from the submission to the Office to the control of the local authorities; and after the expiry of a three-year exemption period, they had to pay tributes and carry out duties along with other state peasants. The issue of this legislative act marked the abandonment by the su-

preme authorities of the policy they followed in 1740–1750.

A whole complex of reasons was the basis for such a radical transformation in the religious sphere, in which safety considerations were intertwined with the economic interests of the state and personality factors. The ineffectiveness of the missionary activities with respect to the Tatars had clearly revealed itself by the 1760s. N. Firsov noted that 'neither the persuasions of the missionaries, nor the benefits, granted by the government for conversion to Christianity, nor the fact that they had to go broke paying the tributes for the newly-baptised, nor destruction of the mosques had any influence on them; a large number of them stayed true to the faith of their fathers and grandfathers...' [Firsov, 1869, p. 182]. Continuing with the same policy threatened to make the already difficult economic situation of Muslim Tatars even worse and become a breeding ground for anti-government and anti-Russian sentiments. For this reason, Catherine II tried to exclude the factor of economic pressure from religious policy, which was the key factor in the Christianisation campaign of 1740–1750.

Along with safety considerations, qualitative changes in the confessional situation in the Middle Volga Region contributed to the issue of the decree of 1764. By that time, most of the pagan population had been converted to Orthodoxy, so the government found no reason to preserve the former privileges for the baptised. The privileges stirred discontent not only among Muslim Tatars, but also among Russians, who did not have such privileges, and more importantly, they were not beneficial for the treasury, since they deprived it of tax revenues.

Finally, the personal views of Catherine II on freedom of conscience and the place of different religions in the state played a major part in changing religious policy. Even before ascending to the throne, she formulated them in the following manner: 'Respect religion, but never permit it in state affairs' [Smolich, 1996, p. 191]. However, references to God and to Divine intent were always present in official addresses and documents of Catherine II, and she performed her honorary religious functions as

Orthodox Sovereign with greatest punctuality. However, the deep currents of religious and spiritual life did not touch her soul, and any mysticism seemed like heresy and nonsense to her. This was undoubtedly due to the Empress's German descent, and spiritual antagonism to Muslims, which had been fostered in the Russian ruling elite for centuries, was alien to her. Being a sensible person, she considered neither forced conversion, nor oppression of religious minorities acceptable, provided that her subjects believed in some god and carried out the rituals prescribed by their faith.

Catherine II saw religion as a valuable factor in preserving order in society and maintaining social and personal morality. For her, as for Peter I, the Orthodox Church was, first of all, one of the tools for governing the country [Kamensky, 2001, p. 362]. Catherine did a lot to turn it into an appendage of government bureaucracy. An illustration of this is the royal decree to the Senate of February 26, 1764 'On separating spiritual estates and on collecting 150 kopeks a head from all bishops', monastery and other church peasants'. A Proclamation on transferring all bishops' peasants to the control of the Collegium of Economy was attached to the edict [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 12060]. These acts abolished ownership of lands by monasteries in Russia, delivering a strong blow to the economic power and influence of the Church. As a result of the reform, monasteries and bishops' houses lost 8.5 million desyatins of land and about 2 million peasants of both sexes, who were signed over to the Treasury. In addition, more than 500 monasteries were abolished, and approximately 150 other cloisters were not closed down, but had to survive on the donations of believers and on small plots of uninhabited land, which were cultivated by the monks themselves or hired workers [Zakonodatel'stvo, 2000, p. 902].

Legislative acts weakening the ideological positions of the Orthodox Church appeared in the same period. In December 1762, permission for the schismatics who had fled abroad to return and settle in Russia was issued [Kamensky, 2001, p. 391]. The edict of the Senate 'On permitting Armenians and others, who so wish,

to build churches in all places in Astrakhan according to their laws' was issued on June 9, 1763 [Zakonodatel'stvo, 2000, pp. 973–974]. On July 22, 1763, a Proclamation was made, which contained the conditions for foreigners to come to Russia and promised them religious freedom [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11180]. On February 25, 1764, Catherine II signed the decree 'On permitting the community of the Evangelical Brotherhood of the Augustinian confession to settle in Russia', which guaranteed the followers of this Protestant movement unhindered practice of their 'religion and law' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 12057]. In this situation, shutting down Novokreshchenskaya kontora seemed a logical step, as part of the trend toward liberalising religious policy. Along with this, the absence of reaction from the Orthodox clergy on curtailing missionary activities in the Middle Volga Region becomes understandable—they had more important problems now.

The appeals of the Tatar population to the supreme authorities to abolish other religious restrictions were a direct consequence of the decree of April 6, 1764. Thus, the Tatars of the Seitov sloboda near Orenburg asked for removal of the ban on hiring Russian workers, and also baptised Cheremis Mordvins, Votyaks and Chuvash people. They argued that the shortage of labour hindered the development of agriculture. In exchange, the Tatars took the responsibility to help the workers carry out the practices of the Orthodox faith (to feed them lenten food during lent, let them go the churches in Berdsk sloboda and Sakmara Cossack town on Sundays and holidays, etc). These responsibilities were supposed to be fixed in writing at the time the workers were hired, with notification of Orthodox clergymen about it [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 147, pp. 221–222].

Significant changes in the position of the newly-baptised Tatars were introduced by the decree of 1764, in which they were made equal to Muslims in taxation and carrying out various state duties. They soon felt the burden of state tributes, especially recruitment. Fleeing from recruiting, the newly-baptised left en masse

for Ural and Siberian factories, where they deliberately took out loans from their owners, expecting that they would be relieved of duty before payment. Another inflow of illegal migrants rushed into the Orenburg guberniya, where the newly-baptised tried by all means to become ascribed to the village communities relieved from recruiting. The Senate's decree of September 10, 1773 was aimed at stopping their migration [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 14037].

The trend toward reducing the privileges for converts to Orthodoxy was confirmed by the report of the Senate dated January 5, 1766, approved by Her Imperial Majesty [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 17, No. 12542]. It abolished the decrees of 1715, 1718, 1726 and 1730, which specified the conditions for returning the manors confiscated by the decree of Peter I of November 3, 1713, to the baptised Tatar murzas and their relatives [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 2734]. By the 1760s, these legislative acts had become an anachronism, because the manors confiscated in 1710s had acquired new owners and were legalised. However, the issue of this law should be seen as a remarkable fact adding to the whole picture.

In general, the decree of April 6, 1764 can be considered the beginning of practical implementation of the policy of religious tolerance, although its ideological component had still not been formed at the time of its issue and Catherine II made the decision guided mainly by rational motives. The Empress became a staunch adherent of religious tolerance in the latter half of 1760s under the influence of the works of the French enlighteners and also from the experience of 'knowledge' of the Russian Empire acquired during the period of preparation for calling the Ulozhennaya Komissiya of 1767–1768. In May–June 1767, Catherine made a journey along the Volga, during which she saw the ethnic diversity of the country with her own eyes. During her visit to Kazan (May 26–June 1) and her meetings with the Tatar population, the Empress became convinced that Islam was a reality of Russian life that should not be feared and uprooted, but should be accepted as a given.

The impressions from the trip around Volga guberniyas undoubtedly had an effect on the articles of the Order issued by Catherine II on July 30, 1767, to the Komissiya in drafting a new Ulozheniye. Its content covers nearly all the matters of the state and social system, legal proceedings, lawmaking, the position of the classes, upbringing of youth, and maintaining order and discipline in the country [Zakonodatel'stvo, 2000, p. 14]. The Order did not become an official document, or a law, but its influence on Russian legislation was significant, since it was a program that the Empress wanted to put into practice. Articles 494–496 of the Order openly proclaimed the principles of the new religious policy of the state, which may be defined as 'sensible' religious tolerance. Despite the ornate wording, the content of the articles clearly indicates the true motives for this change—pragmatic care for the safety of the empire and the existing regime.

Catherine's subsequent steps in general corresponded to the chosen policy. On August 20, 1769, an royal decree was issued to the Governor of Siberia Chicherin, which gave him the right to grant permission to build mosques in the Siberian guberniya [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 18, No. 13336]. On June 17, 1773 the Holy Synod issued an edict declaring: 'As the Supreme God tolerates all religions, languages and confessions on Earth, and so Her Majesty, by the same rules, according to His Holy intent, will act, wishing only that love and concord will always prevail between her subjects' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 13996]. The name of the decree clearly reflects its specific content 'On toleration of all religions and on prohibiting all bishops from interfering in matters concerning non-Christian confessions and building houses of prayer according to their law, and leaving all this to the civil authorities'.

Because of the document's name, many researchers connect it with the official recognition of Islam as a 'tolerable' religion in the Russian Empire [Khayrutdinov, 1997, p. 83; Arapov, 2001, p. 19; Zagidullin, 2010, p. 107; Zagidullin, 2011], although this is not entirely true. In the text of the decree there are direct

references to Articles 494–496 of the Order of 1767 as the source of the legislative norms; therefore, its priority in this matter is indisputable. At the same time, unlike the Order, which had a declarative character, the decree of 1773 was binding. Although formally it was a decree of the Synod, it was prepared in the Governing Senate with the participation of Catherine II, who on May 29, 1773 gave an Imperial review of the report of the Senate's Procurator General A. Vyazemsky [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 13996].

At the Empress's behest a new attitude of the government towards Islamic clergy was formed, also based on pragmatism. For a long time it was the mullahs who had stirred up anti-government sentiments in Tatar society. The failure of the Tatar Christianisation campaign of 1740–1750 was mainly due to the influence and opposition of Islamic clergy. During a visit to Kazan on May 30, 1767, Governor A. Kvashnin-Samarin introduced the Empress to 'the Tatar abyzes of Old sloboda and their wives' [Ibneeva, 2006, p. 115]. During this meeting, the high authorities recognised the real status of unofficial Islamic ministries and the role they played in the life of the Tatar community, and the need to cooperate with them was acknowledged. With the help of clergymen, not only could the autocracy neutralise the manifestations of opposition among the Tatar population, but also influence its sentiments, and in practice—control and govern it.

Gaining the loyalty of Tatar mullahs became a priority in the religious policy of the following years. Catherine II actively sought ways of rapprochement with Islamic clergymen, which included involving them in state service. Of the seventeen legislative acts of 1780–1790 regarding Islam and Muslims, thirteen had to do with the issues concerning the appointment of Islamic clergymen to positions, and their activities, responsibilities and privileges.

The royal edict 'On permitting Muslim subjects to elect their own akhunds', issued on January 28, 1788 had a significant role in the implementation of the government's plans [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15653]. It was aimed at eliminating the Tatar practice of inviting mul-

lahs from the Middle Asian countries. As Catherine II envisioned, not only did it eliminate the influence of foreign Muslims on their fellow believers in inner Russia, but also allowed the appointment of loyal people to clerical positions, who could be used for her own benefit.

The royal decree of September 22, 1788 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16710] on establishing the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in Ufa was a significant milestone in the history of Russian Islam. By accepting it, the tsarist administration gained total control over appointing Islamic clergymen and their activities. When there was a position for an imam in the community, the candidates were supposed to take a 'loyalty' test and then be approved by the Governor General. The Orenburg Spiritual Assembly, whose authority extended to all Islamic clergy of the Empire, except the Crimean, was presented as one of the institutions of the Russian bureaucratic machine with all its attributes. By the decree of April 20, 1789, the Assembly was allotted 900 rubles for keeping a secretary, clerks and other employees [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1 vol. 23, No. 16759]. The decree of June 15, 1792 made Friday a day free from presence as 'by the Mohammedan law, Friday is a holiday' [Ibid., No. 17053]. The mullahs meeting in the Assembly were to be replaced every three years. After making this decision, by the decree of August 17, 1793, the Senate followed 'orders for the middle forums..., with which this Spiritual Assembly was compared' [Ibid., No. 17146]. Thus, the place of this newly created body in the Russian Empire's bureaucratic hierarchy becomes clear.

By setting up the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly in Orenburg, Catherine II also followed the objectives of foreign affairs. From the early 1780s, the monarchy regarded Islam as a force that was able to encourage movement to the East, first of all, to the Kazakh steppes. Military power was not enough for that. It had to be reinforced by ideological influence. The Orthodox Church could not count on success among the peoples of Kazakhstan. That is why Islamic expansion from the south, from the Middle Asian Khanates, was opposed by the

'Russian' version of Islamic propaganda. There was no alternative for the Tatars here. The government was faced with it as early as the 1730s, at the start of colonisation of the Orenburg territory. The Russian population, including merchants, was reluctantly exploring this boundary region. However, the Tatars themselves applied for resettlement [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 8893], motivated by freedom of religion, residence, entrepreneurship, and other benefits declared in the 'Privileges to the City of Orenburg' June 1, 1734 [Ibid., vol. 9, No. 6584]. They were also used as interpreters and dragomen [Ibid., vol. 19, No. 13489].

The foreign policy interests were also undoubtedly taken into account in determining a new vector of state-Islamic relations in the 1760s. N. Tyuryakulov rightly wrote that the 'tolerant' attitude of tsarism towards Islam was not established immediately, not from the 'first meeting', but was gradually built up with the gradual growth of capitalism in Russian and needs for the services of Islam to promote Russian imperialism in the East' [Tyuryakulov, 1936, pp. 206–207].

Promotion of the Eastern direction in the Russian external policy and the role of Islam in it are clearly seen in legislative materials. The decrees of the 1780–1790 presented in the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire do not include a single document characterising the religious situation in the Kazan Governorate and the Middle Volga Region, although during the previous period, the majority of the legislative acts had been addressed precisely to this. Now, most of the laws concerning Muslims were sent to officials in Orenburg, Ufa and other regions bordering on Kazakhstan and Middle Asia. The content of the legislative acts was also becoming quite notable. In 1782–1786 alone, there were 4 edicts for 'fast' mosque construction in the Kirghiz-Kaysak (Kazakh.—*A.N.*) steppes [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15352; vol. 22, No. 15991, No. 16255, No. 16400]. In accordance with them, new mosques were opened in Orenburg and Troitsk. At that time, the Muslim houses of worship were also constructed in the Middle Volga Region. However,

along with legislative acts, their construction faced open or unofficial opposition from secular and spiritual authorities. In the Cis-Ural region, the civil administration was responsible (our italics.—*A.N.*) for finding ways of building Islamic places of worship quickly.

This is proof of 'double standards' in state religious policy. While limiting the influence of Islam in the inner lands of the Empire, the monarchy strongly supported promotion of it in the 'Asian' regions, as it was seen as an effective method of getting local peoples to accept Russian citizenship and of keeping them obedient. The construction of mosques was also supposed to play an important role in this. Not surprisingly, when Catherine II found out about the new mosques in Orenburg and Troitsk, she expressed confidence that 'building such places for public worship will attract other neighbouring nomads or settlers to our borders and may later prevent them from being headstrong better than any strict measures' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 22, No. 16255].

Sending people loyal to the government as mullahs to the steppes had the same objective. This mission was mostly carried out by the Kazan Tatars, which is proved by the royal decrees of November 27, 1785 and April 21, 1787 signed by the Tsar [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 22, No. 16292, No. 16534]. Along with spiritual duties, the Tatar mullahs also carried out intelligence tasks for the government. Some of the mullahs were constantly in Middle Asian cities on the pretext of improving their religious qualifications in numerous madrasahs, while others went there as merchants and came back with the necessary information [Azamatov, 1996, p. 29]. The government was evidently satisfied with the mission of the Tatar mullahs in the Kazakh steppes, as their abilities and skills were also in demand in other parts of the Empire. By the decree of February 28, 1792 Catherine II gave orders to involved Tatars 'in bringing to faith' the Kabardians and building mosques in the Northern Caucasus—in 'Kabarda Major and Minor' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 23, No. 17025]. Along with the Kazan Tatars, missionary activities on

the southeast of the Empire were carried out by mullahs from the Tobolsk Serving Tatars, who were on a state allowance from the first half of the 1780s [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 22, No. 16014].

These facts are evidence of the important role of the Tatars in the Russian movement to the East and the abilities of Catherine II to put state interests above religious beliefs. This is seen in her other decisions. On August 27, 1784, the Empress signed a decree on establishing a special printing office for the needs of the Cabinet of Ministers and the Collegium of Foreign Affairs in order to print documents in Eastern languages '...Arabic, Turkish, Tatar, Persian, Georgian and Greek' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 22, No. 16048]. In 1787, on Catherine's personal order, the first Quran in Arabic was published at state expense. It can be considered another well-planned step. According to A. Karimullin, this made it possible to postpone the requests of the Tatars to have their own printing office for some time. It was used for political purposes during the war with the Turks as an example of protecting the Muslims of the Russian Crown. It also brought substantial financial benefits to the treasury [Karimullin, 1992, p. 98]. Copies of the Quran were sent to uyezd and zemsky courts where they were sold. The choice of this place is quite interesting although on closer examination, it was quite logical. Muslim life was regulated by the laws of the Quran, and these books were supposed to be sold, not in state judicial bodies, but in courts where the Tatars held trials. Thus, the authorities demonstrated their respect for the sacred book of the Muslims and made a the profit at the same time. The money from selling the books was sent to the uyezd treasuries. An census of the accounts of the Kazan treasury chamber in 1800 showed a profit from selling the Quran amounting to 617 rubles 10 kopecks [Istoriya, 1937, p. 248]. During Catherine's life, the Quran was published several more times: in 1790, 1793 and 1796 [Krymsky, 1904, p. 138].

However, the processes, taking place in the 1760–1790 should not be idealised. A certain freedom provided to Islam in that period met the strategic interests of the monarchy. Promo-

tion of Islamic religious doctrine was tolerated only on the outskirts of the Empire, with respect to those peoples who had either still not accepted Russian citizenship or might reject it at any moment. The decrees on building mosques had local and regional character. The Muslim-Tatar clergy was losing its former independence and becoming more and more controlled by the state authorities.

Giving a new status to Islam did not mean the monarchy's denial of the ascendant position of the Orthodox Church. By declaring tolerance for all confessions, it actually limited their free development. This is proved by the decree of the Senate of August 2, 1770 'On resettling newly-baptised murzas and Tatars to other settlements in order to separate them from the followers of the Mohammedan law', the title of which directly contradicts its content [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 13490]. In fact, the decree canceled all resettlements on a religious basis stipulated by the current legislation. On the requests of Muslims to resettle their Orthodox neighbours, the Senate decided to settle them in 'special slobodas' within one settlement. This decision was a covert prohibition on building mosques, as there were still orders in effect that did not allow construction of mosques in places where Muslims and Orthodox Christians lived together. In order to observe their religious needs, unbaptised Tatars were ordered to go to neighbouring villages, 'where there are mosques' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 13490]. Moreover, the legislative act confirmed the validity of the decrees of 1744 and 1756 forbidding the construction of mosques in Tatar settlements with fewer than 200 male serfs (for details see: [Nogmanov, 2005, pp. 111–112, 118]).

The monopoly of the Orthodox Church in carrying out missionary activities remained unshakable. Only the forms of its realisation changed. By the decree of April 6, 1764, in place of the abolished Novokreshchenskaya kontora, the institution of the missionaries was set up in the eparchies in order to continue Christian preaching at the local level [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 12126]. Any deviation from Orthodoxy

was prosecuted during the reign of Catherine as strictly as before [Kamensky, 2001, p. 362]. This is proved by the decree of May 1, 1775 'On the report to the Senate from all public offices on the matter of alienating people from the Orthodox faith', consisting of facts of the conversion of pagans and newly-baptised from Siberian guberniya to Islam. In order to fight this phenomenon, the Senate gave order to use of the norms of Sobornoye Ulozheniye of 1649 and the 'Nakaz' to the governors of 1728, which stipulated the death penalty for people who had been involved in this type of activity. All the guberniya, provincial and urban offices of the Empire were required to identify the 'seducers', who were against the Orthodox faith, and to deliver the information about them to Saint Petersburg [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14313]. The interests of the Orthodox Church were also upheld by the Code of Discipline of 1782. It prohibited blasphemy against Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, holy saints and other faith symbols, disputes against Orthodoxy, conversion of the Orthodox people to other faiths and other actions, regarded by the authorities as assaulting the principles of the Orthodox church [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15379].

During the reign of Catherine II, the system of privileges for the newly-baptised remained in effect, although truncated. The basis of the system introduced by Peter I was their exemption from all tributes and duties for three years. Foreigners who accepted Orthodoxy were especially encouraged. By the decree of April 20, 1770, Catherine granted the captured Turks and Crimean Tatars who wished to be baptised personal freedom, the right to independently choose 'the way of life', and also ordered that '...during baptism to give everyone 3 rubles for a cross from the orphan sum' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 13450].

These facts show that despite some concessions towards Islam made by Catherine II, the state did not lose control over the situation. Religious policy was only deprived of the excesses that took place during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna and threatening an open uprising of

non-Russian peoples. Having declared freedom of faith, Catherine did not shake the dominant position of the Orthodox Church. Until 1917, all the other confessions in the Russian Empire could function only within certain limits. The right to establish the 'reasonableness' of these limits remained with the state.

However, giving Islam the status of a tolerated confession led to positive changes in many aspects of Tatar life. In particular, the legal restrictions and social barriers for Muslims became an anachronism. A significant event in the reign of Catherine II was the decree of February 22, 1784 'On permitting the Tatar princes and murzas to make use of all the advantages of the Russian nobility' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 15936]. It concerned the members of the Tatar feudal nobility following 'Mohammedan law' and recognised their right to be confirmed with a 'noble' title. It opened up the prospects of social advancement to princely and murza Tatar families who had lost their previous high status during the reforms of Peter I and were turned into one of the categories of state peasants.

Elevation to the aristocracy by birth gave a number of important personal rights. Along with leaving the tribute class, being freed from the poll tax, recruiting duty and corporal punishments, the people assigned to the nobility were now able to obtain a state position, and their children could make use of the educational benefits [Khayrutdinov, 1997, pp. 83–101]. Tatar princes and murzas did not gain full equality with the Russian nobility. In accordance with the decree of 1784, they were deprived of the 'rights to buy, acquire and have the serfs or Christian residents', which was one of the main components of the political and economic power of the nobility [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 15936]. Moreover, affiliation to the nobility was to be confirmed by the documents with 'unquestionable proofs' (Letters patent for an estate granted by the state, etc.). The approval procedure was quite complicated, and not all those who applied could get through it. At the end of Catherine's reign, by different estimates, 4,811 out of 5,646 people belonging to 177 no-

ble Tatar families proved their rights and were written into the family books [Khayrutdinov, 1997, p. 90].

Despite the mentioned limits, the image meaning of this legislative act is difficult to overestimate. It demonstrated to the Tatar elite and was most likely accepted by it as the protection and care of the supreme power. The same function was fulfilled by the royal edict of November 1, 1783 to Field Marshal General prince G. Potemkin, who permitted the 'Tatar murzas and high-ranking people' to be accepted on military service and to be awarded officer ranks [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15861]. By his authority, Potemkin could award a rank as high as first major (an officer rank in the Russian army until 1797, equal to a Lieutenant Colonel.—*A.N.*); for those 'who deserved a higher rank', he had to petition Catherine II [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15861]. Thus, the Tatars gained the possibility, mostly hypothetical, to acquire a position in Russian society through a military or civilian career.

More realistic prospects for acquiring a high social status were related to entrepreneurship. The development of internal and foreign trade in Russia in the latter half of the 18th century required the implementation of legislative acts to regulate trade that would correspond to the new realities. The changes also concerned the Tatar population of the Empire.

The legal conditions for the development of Tatar trade early in the reign of Catherine II may be assessed from the legislative documents of that time, first of all, the Senate decree 'On not impeding Kazan Serving Tatars from taking leave to various towns for trading business' of June 11, 1763 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11856] and the Senate report confirmed by Her Imperial Majesty 'On unhampered trading for serving Tatars of Kazan slobodas under the charters granted to them' of August 7, 1763 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11888]. Analysis of the decrees proves that the majority of the Tatar population assigned to the peasant class in the first quarter of the 18th century came under all-Russian trade laws in

mid-century, which limited the rights of trading peasants. In particular, the Customs Regulations of December 1, 1755 protecting the interests of merchants forbade peasants from carrying out retail trade in towns, except for food [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 14, No. 10486]. They were allowed to carry out retail trade in slobodas and settlements more than 5 versts away from the towns. In towns and at fairs, peasants were allowed to buy only goods 'that are not made in the villages' for further sale in the permitted places. The list of goods permitted for trading included clay, wooden and copper dishes, agricultural and household tools, cloth, sheepskin, yarn, homemade clothes, tanned leather, earrings, rings and other jewelry, incense and candles, letter paper, tar, resin, mats, splint and bast, horse harnesses, sledges, wood sledges, wagons, etc.

These restrictions did not satisfy the Tatars, since trading had always been an important source of income for them. It was especially important for the serving *murzas* and Tatars, who had been storing ship timber for the needs of the Admiralty since 1718. Periodic absence for several months to timber harvesting areas had a negative effect on the peasant economy, which required consistent labour input. Under these conditions, trading that could be carried out in any season was a good means of support for Serving *murzas* and Tatars, and the main activity for a lot of them. This is confirmed by the Senate Edict of June 11, 1763 due to the petition of attorney-at-law Yakub Bimetev from the Serving *murzas* and Tatars of Kazan guberniya. He asked the Senate to allow his principals to trade without any limits, to travel with passports to St. Petersburg, Astrakhan, Orenburg, the Irbitsky fair, Troitsk fortress and the Ufa province to sell and buy goods 'with paying the set taxes' [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11856]. The nature of the requests and the geography of the trading interests of the Serving *murzas* and Tatars speak volumes. However, the realisation of their ambitions would have contradicted current legislation and became a reason for the Senate to reject the request for the right of free trade. The residents of Old and New Tatar slo-

bodas of Kazan covered by specific legislation were the exceptions.

As state peasants by legal status, they made use of all the rights of the Russian 'patented' merchant class during trading, including the right to own shops and carry out retail trade. The special position of this population group can be traced through legislative sources from the first quarter of the 17th century and was formalised by law by the *zhalovannaja gramotas* of September 4, 1676, May 22, 1686 and July 15, 1698. These documents assigned the residents of Kazan Tatar sloboda to right 'to trade all goods' in place of state salaries assigned to them as serving people [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 2, No. 1143; vol. 16, No. 11888]. An important circumstance was that Kazan sloboda's Tatars were freed from the duties of the merchant class. Thus, they had competitive advantages in comparison with the Kazan Russian merchants, who tried since the 1620s to involve the trading Tatars 'into paying the tax with them'. However, numerous attempts to change the situation were unsuccessful. In all periodic conflicts for 150 years the authorities always protected the privileges of the sloboda's Tatars. This caused discontent among Russian merchants as well as among the Serving *murzas* and Tatars from other places, who were trying to obtain the same rights and make use of the *zhalovannaja gramotas* of the Kazan Tatars, but were always met with refusal.

In March 1762, there was another turn in the longstanding opposition. Russian merchants and the Kazan magistrate that supported them forcibly 'sealed' 29 shops 'with goods and money', belonging to Kazan sloboda's Tatars and located at the Gostinyj dvor and 'other places'. The result of the trial lasting for over a year was summarised by the Senate report approved by Her Imperial Majesty of August 7, 1763, which ordered 'the magistrate to confirm that the Tatars will no longer face obstacles in trading' [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11888]. Whereas in the 17th century, it was common practice to grant the right of free trade to the service class people in place of money and bread salaries, in the 18th century, previous military achieve-

ments were not enough to keep this privilege. The argument of the Admiralty Board is also weak. Its core is that the sloboda's Tatars stored timber for the needs of the Russian fleet, thus fulfilling a state matter. The same duty was carried out by the Serving Tatars of other places, who did not have the rights of Kazan slobodas.

The reason for the 'kindness' of the tsarist government to this population group should be sought elsewhere. The monarchy was in need of staff from the non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga to carry out administrative functions in the multi-ethnic region. The residents of Old and New Tatar slobodas of Kazan were better suited than others for that. Living in an administrative, political and economic center of the territory, they were constantly monitored by the authorities, and were more closely associated with the governing bodies and the Russian population. They were, first of all, recruited as interpreters, dragomen, and lower service employees of the Kazan admiralty office [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, p. 235; vol. 94, p. 193]. They were used for diplomatic and intelligence functions in relations between Russia and Eastern countries. The opportunity to carry out free trade played an important role here. With the help of the sloboda's Tatars and their longstanding relations with merchants from Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the monarchy was eagerly setting the stage for entering these regions.

However, the privileged status of Old and New sloboda residents in Kazan soon started turning into an anachronism, although the edicts giving them the benefits were valid as late as the early 1820s. Legally, the privileges of Old and New Tatar slobodas residents in Kazan were abolished on January 31, 1821 by the edict of the Senate 'On extending the provision on the trading peasants to the Kazan Serving Tatars who were paid as state country people' [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 37, No. 28314, pp. 576–577]. At the time Catherine II ascended the throne, the state of Russia's finances and economy was deplorable. The material resources of the country were undermined by the war against Prussia, almost all branches of trade were turned over to a monopoly, and customs duties were

in hands of private tax farmers [Isabel, 2002, p. 745]. That is why the young Empress was extremely interested in eliminating economic, social and other barriers blocking the development of entrepreneurship in the country. A month ascending the throne, by the edict of July 31, 1762, she declared the abolition of all state monopolies and the opening of free trade with China, Persia, Khiva and Bukhara [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 15, No. 11630]. The edict clearly specified the principle of freedom and entrepreneurship ('to permit everyone without hindrance'), and trade was highlighted [Kamensky, 2001, p. 379]. This legislative act became a turning point towards a gradual liberalisation of the Russian economy in the area of production and in internal and foreign trade.

The views of Catherine II on commercial policy were publicly expressed in the 'Injunction' of 1767. She agreed with the need for state regulation in this area and saw the task of the state to pave the way for trading and entrepreneurship, although constantly mindful of national income [Isabel, 2002, p. 744]. However, the practical steps in this direction were stopped by the Russian-Turkish war of 1768–1774. Moreover, due to large military expenses, the edict of October 30, 1769 obliged the merchants to pay additional taxes. In particular, an extra 80 kopecks were added to the previous tax of 1 ruble 20 kopecks per person. This measure was also extended to the trading Tatars from Seitov sloboda in Orenburg [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 18, No. 13375].

The end of the war and the suppression of the Pugachev Rebellion allowed Catherine II to return to her previous plans. In the Proclamation of March 17, 1775 'On the perquisites imperially granted to different classes after concluding peace with the Ottoman Porte', the Empress again, and more clearly than before, spoke out on establishing free entrepreneurship and decreasing state control over it: 'Everyone is permitted and confirmed to obtain different machinery and do handiwork without asking for permission from any higher or lower office' [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14275]. A completely new status

was given by the Proclamation to Russian merchants, which also separated the urban population into a special corporation based solely on material wealth [Kamensky, 2001, p. 418]. Getting into this corporation was possible only for those who had capital of at least 500 rubles [Complete Code of Laws of Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14275]. The document did not stipulate any confessional or class restrictions.

The consequences of this approach were quickly felt by the Tatar merchants. On November 22, 1776, the Senate introduced the edict 'On permitting the Meshchera and Bashkir leader and other Tatars to carry out trading activities' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14540]. The edict was aimed at encouraging a group of Muslims from the Volga-Ural Region, who had distinguished themselves in suppressing the Pugachev rebellion. There were different forms of rewards: officer titles, money, gold and silver medal, granting clothes and swords, permitting them to move from guberniya to guberniya and from uyezd to uyezd, and exemption from paying head tax. Special attention was given to the trading rights demanded by those who had distinguished themselves. The requests were different; therefore, it is reasonable to give the entire list: 'on trading throughout Russia', 'on permission to trade in all Russian towns', 'on permission...to carry out trading activities in Russia', 'on permission to carry out trading activities', 'on permission to carry out trading activities without restriction and to peddle in Ufa province, 'on allowing him...as well as his brother...and their descendants to trade', 'on permission...to carry out merchant trade in Kazan', 'on allowing...to carry out trading throughout Russia...releasing merchants from any military duty', 'on permission to profit by trading without sending the merchants to serve'.

The character of the wishes contained in the edict of 1776 is evidence of the complicated situation in Tatar trade at the time of its publication as well as the different level of the claims from different Tatar groups. Some Tatar merchants were willing to obtain quite a vague right from the authorities 'to carry out trading', while others insisted on 'unrestricted' trading. The claims of some were widespread

throughout Russia, while for others Kazan was enough. Hearth's desire of serving Tatars of Kazan uyezd was free trade without need to serve merchant duties granting them the rights enjoyed by the Tatars from the both Old and New Tatar slobodas in Kazan.

Despite all the various requests, all together they show that by the mid-1770s the opportunities of the Tatars for trading were limited. Legislative acts aimed at liberalising trade did not affect the Tatar majority. However, the edict of 1776 shows some roots of the new economic reality. In particular, the Chelyabinsk Tatar Yakub Akbiyev requested the authorities 'to admit his sons as merchants', the Meshchera leader Saltanmrat Yanyshiev and his assistant Bakhtiyar Yanyshiev asked for permission to build tanneries and lard plants; the Kazan Serving Tatar and manufacturer Ibray Yusupov requested 'unrestricted use of the goods from his factories in trading' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14540].

The aforementioned changes the entrenched opinion that the edict of November 22, 1776 granted the Tatars with the right to carry out business activities. In reality, this right was declared by the previous legislative acts of Catherine II, and the most enterprising people made use of it and obtained the factories. The importance of the edict of 1776 is that it demonstrated to the Tatars the adherence of the state to unified trading rules. The Tatars were allowed to carry out free trade in the state, but on the principles determined by general laws; that is, they had to be registered as merchants, to declare their capital and to fulfill all the duties of this social class. Thus, the economic principle was raised above class, religious or other principles. The state defined clear rules. If a person had enough capital to be registered as a merchant, he could easily enter the corporation and make use of all the provided rights and opportunities. If the capital was insufficient, there was an opportunity to amass it by trading on the conditions determined in the laws for the meshhanins and peasants.

The edict of November 22, 1776 determined the Tatar vector of business development. They started actively registering in the

merchant class. In 1792, in Seitov sloboda (the ancient name was Kargala sloboda, Kargala) near Orenburg, the largest center of Tatar trading, there were 1,820 merchants, 168 lower middle class and 686 peasants [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 23, No. 17050]. According to data from 1796, there were 595 Tatar merchants in Kazan [History of Kazan, 1988, p. 126]. This concentration of traders led to the establishment of Tatar self-government bodies. By the royal edict of November 7, 1784, Seitov sloboda was transformed into a posad with a Town Hall [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16089]. A similar self-governing body was formed in 1781 among the residents of both Old and New Tatar slobodas in Kazan [Izmaylov, 2010, p. 88]. By the end of the 18th century, the Kazan Town Hall achieved the right to register the Tatar population under their jurisdiction as merchants without the Kazan governor's resolution, as previously required.

On April 2, 1785, Catherine II signed the 'Charter of rights and benefits for the towns of the Russian Empire' (it is better known in the literature as the Grant Charter to the towns of 1785), which regulated in detail the rights and responsibilities of different categories of the population earning income from trading [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16187]. The document opened up wide opportunities for the Tatar merchants. For example, the 1st guild merchants, who declared capital of 10,000–50,000 rubles, had the right to carry out wholesale and retail trade throughout the Russian Empire and abroad, and to acquire factories, plants and sea vessels; the 2nd guild merchants with capital of 5,000–10,000 rubles could carry out wholesale and retail trade in towns and fairs throughout the country, and to acquire factories, plants and river vessels; the 3rd guild merchants with capital of 1,000–5,000 rubles were allowed to peddle in the towns and uyezds as well as 'to have machinery, to do handiwork and to have and keep small river vessels'. Article 138 declared that 'no one is forbidden to be registered in the town's posad'. State peasants registered in a posad, had the right 'to obtain machinery of different types and to make use of them to

do handiwork...to keep and have taverns, commercial bath houses, eateries and inns, to have a shop in their own house with their own handiwork or trinkets... to conclude state agreements and farm-outs... to sell fruit, vegetables and various other trifles'.

It should be noted that the Zhalovannaja gramota of 1785 legislatively confirmed the generally existing rights of merchants from different classes. This is evidence by the edict of the Senate of September 30 1785, which specifies the procedure for registering different classes of residents in the Kazan Treasury Chamber [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16269]. Among the merchants and meshhanins, registered in the cover lists, 539 people belonged to the peasant class, 510 of which were registered as belonging to urban society before the census of 1782. There were also Tatars among former peasants settled in Kazan.

Thus, the main legislative acts were passed in the latter half of the 1770s to the first half of the 1780s. They determined the development of domestic and foreign policy in the Russian State for decades. They objectively helped to increase business activities among the Tatar population, as they did not contain any religious or ethnic restrictions. The edicts of the 1780s repeatedly stressed that 'the faith of the merchants must not be a reason for any difference' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15462, 15625]. It was extremely important to Tatar society and it increased Catherine's personal authority. Moreover, the liberal economic legislation encouraged a painless inclusion of the rising Tatar bourgeoisie into the Russian state system.

The government's legislative activities in the last third of the 18th century towards the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions are not limited only to the above-mentioned topics. It was extremely multifaceted and intensive. The Empress inherited many urgent legal issues from her predecessors. Thus, Catherine II completed the work started by Elizabeth I for legal support of process of land division. By the mid-18th century, an enormous number of boundary disputes, often lasting for decades, filled the Russian courts and force the supreme

power deal with this issue fully. In 1765–1766, there were a series of legislative acts aimed at legitimising the historically formed borders of private and state lands, as well as providing a detailed cartographic survey of the country 'to obtain precise information on all the lands in the state and on their situation...' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol.17, No. 12474, pp. 329–339; No. 12570, pp. 560–580; No. 12659, pp. 716–794)].

The land ownership of non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga region is recorded in the separate 22nd chapter 'On the lands owned by the adherents of different faiths in lower towns' in the 'Instruction on provincial survey registries' of May 22, 1766. It includes 15 articles, the content of which also shows the influence of Catherine's liberal ideas on land legislation. For the first time in Russian legislative practice, Article 1 declared an unique approach of the State to all landowners and land users of the Empire, regardless of their ethnic affiliation: '1. The lands of the murzas and Tatars, the Mordvin, the Chuvash, the Cheremis and other non-Christians shall be confirmed in accordance with the scribes' and division books on the same principle as with all the lands belonging to the settlements are obliged...' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 17, No. 12659]. To carry out the order and to protect the non-Russian peoples from the abuse of 'their neighbouring owners, avaricious and greedy to obtain the lands unfairly', along with the surveyors, the land division process was carried out by special officers. The similar declarations and practical steps with respect to the non-Russian population fully correspond to the main principles of the internal policy of Cath-

erine II, which was aimed at making the state stable and taking the interests of the peoples living there into account.

The fact that the Instruction of 1766 actually abolished the prohibition on selling the lands of unbaptised Tatars to Russian landlords stands out. It was spelled out by the Council Code of 1649 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 80–81] and up to the mid-1750s, it was repeatedly confirmed by the legislators (the most recent is in the 'Instruction to Surveyors' of May 13, 1754 [ibid., vol.14, No. 10237, p. 136]). This decision was hardly a concession to Russian landlords. Most likely, it was a consequence of declaring the equality principle in landowning rights. In this situation, the Tatars both acquired something and inevitably lost something.

One more notable direction of Catherine's legislative activities was settling the issues related to the duty of the serving Murzas and Tatars to store and deliver ship timber for the needs of the Admiralty.

In concluding the overview of legislative policy of the last third of the 18th century, we note that this century gave Russia two monarchs, the activities of whom made significant changes in the life of the country and greatly influenced its international position. Emperor Peter I introduced Russia to the circle of the European states, he 'europeanised' it (although by barbaric methods). Empress Catherine II was also a great reformer. However, Peter I built a new Russia, and Catherine II developed Russia. Visible traces of this development can be found in her legislative policy with respect to the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions.

CHAPTER 4

The Social Structure of Tatar Society

§1. The Tatar Peasantry

Iskander Gilyazov

In the 18th century, Tatar peasants did not pay *yasak* (tribute) as a form of tax-in-kind. After the accession of the Kazan Khanate to the Russian state, peasants who previously paid *yasak* remained *yasak* people. In the 16–17th centuries, *yasak* as a tribute underwent a certain evolution. It became both a state tax and a tribute-paying unit, a feudal rent collected in money and bread from the total area of cultivated land. [Ayplatov, 1975, pp. 95–111; Safargaliev, 1956, pp. 119–127; Chernyshev, 1963, p. 179]. In the 16–18th centuries the peasants of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions not only paid *yasak*, but also were charged to pay other duties consisted of transport duties, postal delivery, *polonyanichnyi* tax (collected for a ransom of captives) and other duties [Dimitriev, 1956, pp. 113, 115].

In 1724, a poll tax was introduced for the *yasak* people of the region. They were actually not *yasak* anymore, but in the 18th century right up to the second quarter of the 19th century they were still called this. This name has been preserved purely traditionally and nominally. In their economic position and social standing in real life they did not differ from state peasants of Russian origin.

The social and legal status of the *yasak* Tatar peasants was legally registered at the beginning of the 18th century. Legislatively, the Tatar peasants differed little from other state peasants who were the owners of state lands and were obliged to pay poll tax and a tribute. The state was the supreme land owner for them. It endowed communities of *yasak* peasants with lands, which in turn were distributed among the peasants.

By the edicts of Peter I dated 1719–1724, the serving and *yasak* Tatars became a consti-

uent part of the class of state peasants. But in the opinion of N. Druzhinin, these edicts did not make any fundamental changes in the situation: 'They authorised, confirmed and further increased the feudal dependency of the social classes of agricultural population on the almighty power of the noble state' [Druzhinin, 1946, p. 30].

We will address the particular rights and responsibilities of the Tatar state peasants and at the same time underline the common features for the whole class and specific features of the legislation on the Tatar peasants.

According to the law, the basic rights of state peasants including those of Tatar origin, was the right to own land, to use it for their economic needs, and the right to trade and to free movement. It is clear that all these legislative rights, especially the right to land, underwent a significant evolution. We will also take into account that the lands of the state peasants were considered to be the property of the Treasury but 'the property right of the Treasury to the lands owned by state peasants did not have the same strong economic basis and absolute legal force that the right of private landlords to landed property had' [Ibid]. From this we can see multiple contracts for purchase and sale of lands and on land rent made by the state peasants, including those of Tatar origin, throughout the 18th century. Making trade deals on lands between unbaptised Tatar landowners and Russians was strictly forbidden by law. This was a characteristic feature of the right to dispose of lands for all the Tatar population of the Volga region. This is clearly seen in the edict of the Senate dated March 30, 1761 'On permission to purchase and sell lands only to baptised foreigners and to Russian owners' [Complete

Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 16, No. 11231]. The law forbade Tatar landowners from 'selling their lands to Russian landlords and landowners under any circumstances'. A similar interdiction is found in the Instructions to the Ordnance Survey for surveyors, which whereas signed on February 13, 1765. [Ibid, vol. 17, No. 12570]. Although the laws provided a number of measures to prevent fictitious sale of land to Russian landowners by the *yasak* and serving Tatars (especially with the participation of newly baptised Tatars): newly baptised who sold the land had to appear before deeds registry offices to make purchases with certificates confirming their acceptance of Christianity, but forgeries of these certificates were common. Thus, the edict of 1761 mentions the fact that Priklnsky landlords had purchased land from the Tatar peasants of Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod guberniyas. Similarly, landlord I. Strakhov and the *yasak* Tatar peasants from the village of Bikeyevo of Sviyazhsk uyezd illegally made a contract in 1765. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1312, inv. 2, file 723, p. 1 reverse]. In 1786 the same landlord purchased lands from the newly baptised Tatars of the village of Bolshiye Burtasy, which were purchased earlier from Sagit Mansurov, a serving Tatar from the same village [Ibid, file 725. p. 38].

The *yasak* peasants interpreted the laws on trade and free movement within the Empire just as freely.

The development of exchange relationships, and increasingly active participation of the peasantry in trade led this class to push for even freer movement within the Empire. That is why seasonal work was quite common in the 18th century, including work related to trade, salt and bread supply and delivery of other goods. Seasonal work as a form of debt bondage and also as a change of residence took place as well.

All Russian state peasants, in contrast to manor peasants, for example, had a certain freedom of movement in order to meet their economic needs. Seasonal work could be officially registered with the local authorities. Migrant workers were issued travel documents, so-called 'passports' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 19, inv. 1, file 205,

pp. 4–5]. Tatar peasants with passports left for neighbouring guberniyas, uyezds or settlements and were hired for various kinds of work and traded. There is sufficient evidence of this in the sources.

The adopted seasonal work procedure with passports did not always satisfy the peasants, and sometimes they left for different districts without any official permits. In 1787, 43 baptised and unbaptised *yasak* Tatars from the village of Kaban Bastryk of Menzelinsk uyezd did exactly this. In a period of two and a half years, the amount of uncollected tax was 324 rubles and 56 kopecks. So when the collectors came to the village to recover the money from them, only 5 people out of 43 were present. The rest of them had left for jobs in 'unauthorised absence'. Seven people were hired to work in Kargala (Seitov) sloboda near Orenburg, one in the town of Orenburg, two were in different villages of Bugulma uyezd, and three of them worked in factories. The collectors did not find out anything about their place of residence [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund, 1241, inv. 2, file 1, p. 317, reverse].

Peasants leaving for neighbouring settlements for economic needs did not obtain any documents. For example, during court proceedings between Russian *yasak* peasants from the village of Timbayevo and Tatar peasants from the village of Chetkas of Simbirsky uyezd in 1766–1767 there was a need to find out where the residents were on a certain day, on June 18, 1766. Numerous testimonies confirmed by the signatures of peasants showed that one Tatar peasant was in the village of Malaya Chelna at the mill and another was at the abyz's home in the village of Sorok Sadak engaged in carpentry, a third had left for the village of Uteyevo to buy salt, several peasants had left for the village of Chetkas Verkhniy to repair plowshares and other metal tools in the forge, and two of them were building log frames in the village of Dolgiy Ostrov [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 443, inv. 2, file 163, p. 1, 4, 4 reverse, 7, 7 reverse]. If the peasants had each obtained 'passports', it would have been enough to submit these documents to the court during the fact-finding procedure.

In the 18th century, multiple migrations of the Tatar peasantry from the Middle Volga region to the Cis-Ural region, Bashkortostan and Orenburg region were common. These migrations may also be considered as seasonal work, leaving for new places of residence in search of better economic conditions. There were enough fertile lands, sometimes empty lands, in the Cis-Ural Region, but which were becoming less and less in the Volga region [Rubinstein, 1957, p. 21].

The migrations were an inconvenience for the authorities during tax collection. This fact is always expressed in the texts of the corresponding laws. Peasants leaving Kazan guberniya often settled in Orenburg governorate and did not pay any tributes. Thus their former fellow villagers had to pay for them. It was not often that taxes were collected twice. The fellow villagers paid for the migrants, and the migrant paid their taxes in their new places of residence. All this explains the constant attention of the authorities to migration processes. In 1761, 1765 and 1768 laws on migrants of different nationalities who relocated from Kazan guberniya to Orenburg guberniya were enacted [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 15, No. 11214; vol. 17, No. 12437; vol. 18, No. 13126]. The law provided severe punishment for unauthorised resettlemented peasants. It prescribed their return to the previous places of residence (except those who according to the third census were registered in their new places of residence). The latter, of course, were not released from paying tributes and recruitment duty. Nevertheless, the migrations continued.

In 1762, the law once again prohibited unauthorised migration of peasants from one guberniya to another [Ibid, vol. 21, No. 15497]. That year, 747 yasak peasants, and newly baptised, yasak and serving Tatars were registered as those who resettled from Simbirsk uyezd to Orenburg guberniya, and 94 of them did not pay tributes. Entire villages moved: 207 villagers from three villages of Simbirsk uyezd (Sary Tukshum, Osinovka and Belyj Gremyachij Klyuch) left for new settlements. That same year, the administration had to release 2,730 people in Kazan guberniya from paying poll tax due to their resettlement to Orenburg guberniya.

All these facts are evidence that in the 18th century, especially in the latter half, the persistent search of peasants for more freedom of economic activity led them to the east to develop new lands. This was heavily influenced by the increased feudal exploitation of state peasantry in the Middle Volga region and throughout Russia as well. In the end, the law had to respect ongoing life events. It is obvious that the texts of laws, by recording resettled peasants in new places of residence, often formally duplicate the order prohibiting migrations of state peasants, including yasak and serving Tatars; that is, they just state the current situation.

Even though the law sometimes granted peasants some exemptions when considering the issues of migration and other specific life events, an increase in feudal exploitation of the working population of the whole country can be seen in the 18th century. This becomes evident when studying the tributes of the Tatar state peasantry.

The poll tax system adopted during the reign of Peter I was not significantly changed during the 18th century. Only the quantitative aspect of taxation changed, especially in the latter half of the century. According to the data of 1782, state taxes and other duties included 52 estate and 65 non-estate taxes and duties (poll tax, drink tax, salt tax, stamp duty, state property, land and mill taxes and others.) [Konyayev 1959, pp. 41, 42; Chechulin, 1906, pp. 255–257]. The non-estate taxes were also quite high. For example, 1785 in Kazan guberniya 1,197,108 rubles and 75 kopecks of estate taxes and 373,455 rubles and 25 kopecks of non-estate taxes were collected. [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 3 reverse].

The yasak and serving Tatars are mentioned in all laws dedicated to increasing tributes collected from the state peasantry of the country.

The yasak Tatars, like all state peasants, paid poll tax of seven grivnas and tribute of 4 grivnas, that is 1 ruble and 10 kopecks per year for every male. This duty was increased in 1760 to 1 ruble and 70 kopecks, in 1768 to 2 rubles and kopecks, and in the latter half of 1783 to 3 rubles and 70 kopecks for every male [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Em-

pire-1, vol. 7, No. 4533; vol. 15, No. 11120; vol. 18, No. 13194; vol. 21, No. 15723]. We note that after the third census up to 1768, less tribute was collected from Serving Tatars than yasaks, that is 1 ruble and 10 kopecks for every male, for example 37,620 rubles per 34, 206 males in Kazan province. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund of State Archive XVI, file 720, p. 23 reverse]. However, under the edict of 1768, the duties collected from the Serving Tatar population equaled to those from yasaks. In 1794, for the needs of army certain kinds of duties in kind, that is one garnetz (3.28 liters) of grain and one chetverik (26.24 liters) of rye per per male were collected from state peasants over and above the poll taxes payable. [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 23, No. 17222].

The exact numbers of the taxable population and of state tributes paid by them were usually determined during the all-Russian censuses. The results of the calculations were recorded in summary documents by guberniya. For example, in 1767 (after the third census) 58,916 rubles and 90 kopecks were collected from 34,657 males among the yasak Tatars of Kazan province [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund of State Archive XVI, file 720, p. 23 reverse]; in 1783 (after the fourth census) 106,949 rubles and 70 kopecks and overheads of 2 kopecks per ruble equaling 1,346 rubles and 77 kopecks and a half were collected from 39,611 yasak males. In the latter half of 1783, according to the edict dated May 3, 1783, state peasants were obliged to pay 3 rubles and 70 kopecks per head, which added another 19,809 rubles and 50 kopecks of tributes to be paid by the yasak Tatars. If we assume that the number of yasak Tatars in the governorate according to the fourth census was equal to that of Kazan province according to the third census, we see that 34, 657 males would have paid tributes of 93,573 rubles and 90 kopecks by 1783.

Thus we can see that in the latter half of the 18th century, the poll tax collected from state peasants, including the Tatars, increased sharply. This in turn is evidence of increased feudal exploitation of working people by the state.

Although the number of taxable population and the tributes to be collected were prescribed

by law, the collection of tributes in local bodies was delayed due to abuses by the authorities or certain collectors (they included heads of villages, sotniks or elders in Tatar villages), and due to bankruptcy of separate groups of the Tatar population. Thus, the uncollected amount of taxes owing by peasants was increasing, which worsened their economic situation, and in certain years increased the amount of the duties even more. This is evidenced by the sources. In 1763, residents of the villages of Shigayevo, Eltimirovo, Anyakovo and Kozeyevo of Kazan uyezd lodged a complaint against their sotnik, Yagofer Murzakayev, declaring that he always collected excess money from them, supposedly for different 'human needs' [Ibid, fund 529, inv. 1, file 1725, pp. 1, 3]. A similar complaint was lodged by the elders of the Tatar and Chuvash villages of Sviyazhsk uyezd in 1767. They described the behavior of the sotnik of the volost', newly baptised Andrey Mikhaylov. He did not give the treasury the money collected from the people. He forced everybody to pay him an extra kopeck over the poll taxes under the pretext of collecting some amount of unpaid taxes. Therefore, the elders asked for the dismissal A.Mikhaylov from that position and to appoint yasak Tatar Ishmet Ishtudin instead [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 428, p. 217].

The amount of money uncollected from peasants grew year by year, and the amounts of these uncollected taxes were demanded from the local authorities. We will give only one example, although many more of them can be found in the sources.

By 1787, uncollected taxes from yasak Tatars from the villages of Sarmanaevo, Mustafino, Yuzeyevo, Dyusmetevo and from other seven villages of Ufa guberniya amounted to 5,767 roubles and 17 kopecks (on 1,167 males) [St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, f. 35, series 1, c. 495, s. 187-191]. Furthermore, seven residents of the village of Mustafino had not paid tributes for seven years, and some newly baptised yasak Tatars of the village of Bugulchan had not paid for eight years (since 1776), which directly reflects their economic situation.

A specific feature of collecting tribute from the whole Tatar population was that unbaptised peasants had to pay tributes for their baptised neighbors, who were released from that duty for a certain period [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, v.16, No. 12126]. This obviously increased payments and uncollected amounts of taxes from the Tatar peasantry; for example, in 1755, the amount of uncollected taxes in Kazan province equaled 29,998 rubles and 30 kopecks [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 695, p. 17]. In addition, tributes were collected from all peasants for the deceased, since tax collection was carried out according to the population registered in the census records.

Along with the aforementioned duties collected from the Tatar peasantry, taxes for keeping hop-growing lands, bee-tree lands, mills and fishing were also collected, as from other state peasants. Starting in 1768, a tax of one-tenth of the annual revenue was collected for keeping mills.

Recruitment duty was imposed both on all peasants of the country and on the yasak and serving Tatars. Representatives of the people from the Volga Region, especially the Tatars, Maris and the Mordvin, had been recruited since 1722 [Beskrovny, 1958, p. 28]. In the latter half of the 18th century, when 25 years of military service was prescribed for soldiers and sailors, this duty was mandatory for the representatives of the Volga Region as well.

Serving and yasak Tatars were recruited in the 18th century according to the same procedure as in the whole state: one recruit with a full kit and a horse for a certain number of males.

For example, 33 national recruitments were carried out in the latter half of the 18th century. Varying numbers of soldiers were recruited according to the international and the internal situation in the country. During the Peasant War of 1773–1775, there was no recruitment at all. After the suppression of the peasant rebellions of 1776–1781, recruitment for military service decreased to one recruit per 500 males who paid poll tax, whereas in the 1750s one recruit was taken per 100, 135, 116 and 128 males [Ibid, pp. 294–297].

When the recruitments were carried out, documents were compiled which listed the number of recruited men and the taxes collected from the remaining villagers. For instance, 16,203 yasak men and 1,585 serving Tatar men lived in Menzelinsk uyezd in 1782. Among the former, 1 man was recruited from each 500 men from 16,000 people, and 3 men were recruited from 1500 men among the serving peasants. The number of remaining non-recruited people was 203 men among the yasak Tatars and 85 men among the serving Tatars. These people were subject to the so-called joint recruit duties of 24 kopecks per head. Thus, a total of 48 rubles and 72 kopecks was collected from the yasak peasants and 20 rubles and 40 kopecks was collected from the serving people [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 2, file 90, p. 19].

The recruitment duty became a heavy burden for the peasantry, as it took young men into service, who were the most capable workers. Sources point to the difficulties related to the fulfillment of this duty, such as the request of the Tatar peasantry to substitute recruitment with payment to the Treasury, documents on the abuse of power during recruitment, and on assigning false people instead of real recruits.

In 1747, the Tatar peasants of the village of Kady'movo of Kazan uyezd agreed with the yasak Tatar Syunchiley Davydov of the village of Buzayevo, to pay him 50 rubles to assign his son Urush as a recruit from their village [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 441, pp. 1, 3]. In 1799, the yasak Tatars of the village of Tyuby' of Menzlinsk uyezd, also under the condition of paying money, took Bikmamet Dusmetov, who worked for merchant I. Krasnov, as a recruit from their village [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 1, file 143, p. 182].

State recruitment was designed for the entire taxable population. However, the authorities often granted exemptions to certain groups in the population, allowing them to substitute recruitment with payments to the Treasury. For this reason, the recruitment norm was short by 5–10% every year [Beskrovny, 1958, p. 298]. Some of the groups came from the Tatar pop-

ulation. For instance, in 1759, Tatar peasants from three villages in Kungur uyezd of Kazan guberniya requested to substitute the recruitment duty with a payment duty, reasoning that they had single-handedly supplied copper ore to the metallurgic plants since 1723 (in total, from 1723 to 1747 they supplied 1,252,800 poods of copper ore). Considering the fact that the peasants had done important work, the authorities acceded to their request in March 1760 and let them pay 100 rubles instead one recruit meant for service [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 439, inv. 1, file 139, pp. 1, 4, 7 reverse].

The peasants constantly searched for ways to avoid recruitment and military service, including those who had already been in the army for a long time. For instance, a similar case was considered in the garrison of Saint-Petersburg in 1763–1764, at the request of yasak Tatar soldiers from the Kazan guberniya: Mukhamet Saparov, Bikbay Kuglin, Ishey Abdurukhmanov and Ibray Aleyev. Each of them had served for 16 or 17 (!) years in the army, but they all expressed their interest in becoming attendants in the Kazan Admiralty Office. The garrison authorities, having discussed the issue with the Collegium of the Navy, concluded that there was a need for people for this work in Kazan, and that it was preferable that they were former soldiers. The request submitted by the yasak Tatars was satisfied; they were released from their service in order to perform other service in Kazan [Russian State Archive of the Navy, fund 212, inv. 1764, file 28, pp. 28–32]. It is noteworthy that in this case only the type of duty had changed.

For many Tatar peasants, baptism was one way to improve their situation and free themselves from recruitment duty. In the latter half of the 18th century, the recruitment duty was imposed on newly baptised representatives of the peoples of the Volga region in a peculiar way. This can be traced in the legislation.

In 1756, a decree was enacted to avoid discontent among non-baptised people which prescribed that recruits would not be drawn from among them to make up for baptised villagers [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 14, No. 10666].

In 1760, representatives of the newly-baptised villages of the Nogai, Arsk and Zyurey roads of Kazan uyezd addressed the Senate with a petition calling to release them from recruitment duty as it was prescribed for the newly-baptised by law. The Senate rejected the request of the peasants, basing their rejection on the fact that the mentioned newly-baptised people had been baptised long ago and were recorded in the last census under Russian names and thus could not be 'considered as newly-baptised'. Thus, recruits would be drawn from them just like from other state peasants. Recently baptised people and those who would be baptised in the future would be released from recruitment entirely and from making recruitment payments for a period of three years [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol.15, No. 11099].

In 1764, the decree was refined [Ibid, vol. 16, No. 12126]. From that day, baptised representatives of the peoples of the Volga region were released from making all payments for a period of three years. But they were only released from recruitment for the following three recruitment cycles.

The application of the law exempting baptised people from recruitment can be seen in several examples.

Thus in 1747, when recruits were drawn from the villages of Yanbukhtino and Malye Chirki of Sviyazhsk uyezd, they started their military service and then underwent baptism, so formally they had to be released from recruitment duty for a certain period of time. In this case recruits were then drawn from their villages one more time. Thus six or more people were recruited from one village. Such scenarios were prohibited after multiple petitions in protest. From that day men who were baptised during their service were not released, and there were no double recruitments held in one village [Russian State Archive of the Navy, fund 212, inv. Ukazy' Otd. II, file 17, sheets 78–82].

The problem of billeting was closely connected with that of recruitment. Both yasak Tatars and state peasants were not exempt from billeting during the period of study. Regiments were quartered in their houses, and peasants were required to provide them with carts and

fodder for horses, as well as serve as guides for groups of soldiers.

When speaking about the yasak Tatar peasantry it is also necessary to pay attention to their leadership. A general administrative state village system was implemented in the Tatar settlements [Druzhinin, 1946, pp. 52–56]. The peasants were directly ruled by the governorate, provincial and voivode offices. Foremen, heads of villages, sotniks, desyatniks and the elected were responsible as local authorities. In the 18th century the relative size of Tatar settlements was small; most of them included less than 50 households. According to the law, if a settlement consisted of 200 to 500 households, the local authorities were represented by a foreman, a head of community, two elected officials and a tax collector. If it consisted of 50 to 200 households, the local authorities were represented by a foreman, a head of community, an elected official and a tax collector. If it included from 15 to 50 households then it was ruled by a foreman, and settlements consisting of less than 15 households were ruled by officials from larger settlements, as well as by desyatniks. Thus the main authorities in most of the Tatar villages were heads who were elected once in three years by the peasants themselves and subsequently appointed to their role in the district centre. Elected officials and tax collectors were replaced annually [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16603]. As I. Lepekhin noted when passing through multiple Tatar villages in the Middle Volga region in 1768–1769, the heads and desyatniks had a small number of functions: 'To meet the needs of those passing by, to arrange general meetings, to collect money, and to settle small arguments' [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 140]. The heads of villages and sotniks were also chosen from among the locals every three years, but they were not in every village and had more power; they could solicit for their villagers within the village, transfer collected poll taxes and choose peasants for recruitment. The peasants paid their joint poll taxes for them, helped them carry out field works and provided them with carts if needed [Ibid].

Lastly, let us note the few private rights of the Tatar peasants. They had the right to be ap-

pointed as small officials in district and volost' authorities, for example in lower zemsky and uyezds courts, where they participated in making decisions on different cases. Additionally they had the right to address their complaints to other institutions, which was vividly demonstrated when the Tatar state peasants composed orders for the Ulozhennaya Komissiya of 1776 [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 304–328, 330–344, 358–354, 371–379, 393–406]. These orders characterise both the economic and legal situation of this class of the population [Artamonova, 1981, pp. 80–85].

Thus, we can say that the yasak Tatar peasants in the 18th century were an organic part of the state peasantry of Russia. They lived as subjects of the laws which regulated the life of their class in general, determined their duties, and specified their rights and obligations. When examining legislation in the 18th century and its application to real life, one can observe an increasing number of legal obligations and a worsening of the situation for the entire peasantry, including the Tatar peasantry. The exploitation of the peasants did not reduce during this time, which is why their aspiration for greater economic freedom is evident when studying the period. The state in turn pursued its interests in the development of new lands, trade and household industries, and the defensive service, and was often open towards making exemptions from the strict provision of the law. We can see that during certain periods of time, real life factors interfered with the law and it was not rare for the law to take the shape of the situation at hand (in particular, for instance, considering the purchase and sale of lands by peasants, and the question of their migration to new places of residence). During the studied time period, there were not any exceptional measures that were taken in regard to the Tatar peasantry as a social class. The specific character of the application of certain laws in relation to Tatar peasants can be explained by their belonging to the Islamic religion on the one hand, and their fulfillment of certain official duties that other state peasants of the country did not have on the other.

§2. Formation of the Tatar Noble Class

Ramil' Khajrutdinov

The last quarter of the 18th century is characterised by the well-known liberal position of Catherine II towards privileged layers of the Tatar population in the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions. The events of the Peasant War of 1773–1775, the necessity to search for an anchor in the region, and the far-sighted foreign-policy plans to colonise the Eastern outskirts of the state required that the government shift emphasis in national policy-making and the religious sphere, as well as adopt measures directed towards consolidation of the Tatar feudal elite.

The most significant measure for the Muslim part of the Tatar feudal nobility was the decree passed on February 22, 1784. "On the permission given to Tatar princes and murzas to use all advantages of the Russian nobility" [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, volume 21, No. 15936], released a year before the publication on 21 April 1785 of the 'Charter to the nobility of the Russian Empire' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 16187].

The 'Zhalovannaya gramota' was the first document which largely formulated the legal, political and social status of the noble class, membership in which 'is the consequence of the quality and righteousness of men who commanded in former times, who distinguished themselves through their merits, thus turning service itself into a merit, and who obtained a noble designation for their posterity. The noble are considered to be those who originated from noble ancestors, or were granted it through the monarch's mercy'.

Let us only outline the main points of legislation concerning the Russian nobility, which relate to the principles and procedures for acquiring the rights of the higher class. There were three ways to reach noble status: a) it could be granted by the monarch, b) it could be achieved via military or civil service, c) via receiving a Russian military medal.

The nobility was subdivided into two parts: hereditary (which was inherited) and personal

(life-long). Nobles by birth belonged to one of six ranks: 1) granted or inherent nobility, 2) military nobility, 3) nobility obtained after serving in a certain rank for a set period of time or by being awarded an order, 4) foreign noble families, 5) the titular nobility, 6) ancient honourable bloodlines whose representatives had proved their noble origin 100 years before the 'Zhalovannaya gramota' was passed.

Therefore, only the last three ranks gave the right of the highest position as a result of noble birth. Up to 1917, Russian legislation regarding the nobility was repeatedly modified and supplemented, toughening the procedure for obtaining the status of nobleman by birth (hereditary nobility). The threshold for class ranks and order statuses allowing one to become a noble was constantly raised [Blosfeldt, 1901].

Part of the Tatar noble families which entered into the Russian service in the 16–17th centuries and were granted honourable nobility, also received the right to use the title 'Tatar princes'. They entered into the Russian nobility in accordance at the 5th and 6th rank. All titles were subdivided by degree into: princely, count and baronial. Researchers note that the title of Tatar prince, as well as Kalmyk and Mordvin prince, did not possess all the merits of the general Russian princely title and was considered to be below that of count and baron [Korelin, 1971, p. 102].

At the beginning of the 20th century, copies of the Heraldic Office contained 34 princely surnames of Tatar and Kalmyk origin, which were affirmed in the status by designations of the Governing Senate from the 1830s to 1908. The titles were granted to the families of the following princely families: Akchurins, Bayushevs, Devletkildeyevs, Diveevs, Donduk-Korsakovs, three generations of Yengalychevs, Enikeevs, Kekuatoys (Kejkuatoys), Kil'dishevs, Kugushevs, two generations of Kudashevs, Kulunchakovs, Kutkins, Kuty'evs, Maksutovs, Maksyutovs, Mametovs, Mamatkozins-Sakaevs, Mamins, Mansy'revs, Mustafins, Stokasimovs, two generations of Tenishevs,

Shirinskij-Shikhmatovs, Yaushevs, Begildeevs, Isheevs and Shakhaevs. The majority of the successors of these noble families were russified Tatars, however, some branches in several kins preserved the native Tatar language, and the families of Mamatkozin-Sakaev and Mamin preserved the Islamic faith.

Without describing how each of them was elevated into the Russian-granted nobility, let us note that their inclusion into the 5th and 6th ranks of the pedigree books became the documentary proof of their princely titles.

The law of 1784 was not limited to any one locality and applied to all princes and murzas of Tatar origin who adhered to 'the Moham-medan law'. The preamble stated that among them 'there are those whose ancestors were granted charters to manorial dachas [summer houses] for their loyal service to the All-Russian throne and other undeniable evidence that their service and other conditions at the time were equal to those of other nobles'.

Along with recognising the right of princely and murza kins to acquire noble status, the decree also established tough requirements for the documents required for proving their origin. By the letter of the law, it was obligatory to present state charters to private estates and other written documents proving nobility with 'clear evidence'. The condition of providing such 'undeniable evidence' consequently became the reason for multiple rejections from the side of county assemblies of the nobility, as well as the Senate's Heraldic Office, to grant the Tatar Muslims noble status. The dispositive part of the decree explicated the mechanism and process for examining the documents. The Senate obliged Governor-Generals and officials occupying similar positions in the guberniyas 'where such princes and murzas live', to initiate examinations of evidence. Documents listing the evidence of noble origin were to be presented to the Senate for consideration and approval. Then, after the Heraldic Office compiled a special list of Tatar-Muslims with approved noble birth, the privileges of the noble class could be extended to them.

In the meantime, the decree of 1784 deprived Tatar princes of one of the most essen-

tial rights of the Russian nobility—the right 'to buy, acquire and possess serf peasants or servants of the Christian confession' which constituted the basis of the political and economic power of the noble class, as well as its special position within the mechanism of state power [Korelin, 1979, p. 23]. Undoubtedly, the reasons for obtaining noble status were thus narrowed for Tatar princes. However, in our opinion, exemption from the capitation tax was not the most significant privilege provided by the decree [Nogmanov, 1994, p. 112]. Admission to the ranks of inherited nobility also came with a range of important personal privileges. Besides ceasing to belong to the tribute-paying class, those attaining this status were exempted from military duty and corporal punishment; they were able to join state service and their children receive educational benefits. The moral factor was also of great importance.

Moreover, we cannot deny that among 'non-Russian' nobles, who were formally regarded as equals to their Russian counterparts, even in the post-reform period there were many who, 'due to multiple factors—bankruptcy, illiteracy, lack of knowledge of the Russian language or cultural inadequacies—could not take advantage of the rights given to them' [Korelin, 1979, p. 48].

Even before the decree of 1784 was passed, representatives of princely and Murza clans had attempted to gain recognition of their noble origins. Thus, at the beginning of the 1780s, inhabitants of Novotatarskaya [New Tatar] sloboda in Kazan, 'serving Tatars from among the murza', Ibray' Aseev, Asan Ermakov, and Murtaza and Iskhak Salimov, children of the princes Yakushev, presented a zhalovannaya gramota granted to their ancestors by Grand Prince Michail Fyodorovich to the local administration as proof of their noble lineage. With the decree of 11 July, 1782, the administration ordered Tatar City Hall to record those taking part in the fourth census as bearers of princely title. In July 1795, they again appealed to Tatar City Hall requesting that they approve their right to princely title so that their names could be included in the new fifth census. On 12 July, 1795, a copy of the decree issued by the Kazan local administration and confirmed by

the seals of supervisor Yusup Abdulov, ratman Amir Iskhakov, as well as signatures of ratmans Musa Yakupov, Gubay'dulla Rakhmatullin and Galey' Yakupov, was sent to the commissioner of Novotatarskaya [New Tatar] sloboda [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 830, pp. 1–2].

According to the data contained in the fifth census (1795) in Kazan guberniya, there were 128 'murza princes', 1566 murzas, 'including serving Tatars from among the murza' (57 of which were baptised), and 18 'yasak murzas'—overall 1712 males [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, files 404, 411, 412, 419, 425, 428, 433, 441, 446, 450, 453]. According to other data, at the end of the 18th century their number amounted to 1639, and they possessed a considerable number of peasants and house serfs: instead of 169 heads, 226 were registered in the census [Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, No. 8231c].

The bulk of noble descendants, 524 males, lived in Chistopol uyezd; in Laishevo uyezd there were 519, and 341 in Kazan. Moreover, only those princely families who lived in the latter uyezd were recorded in the census documents. Thus, seven representatives of the Nurushev family, according to the Ordinance Survey of 1793–1803, owned part of the village of Ursek located in Kazan uyezd [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 402, p. 465]. It had been their family estate for several centuries. As stated in Ivan Boltin's *Piscovaja kniga* of 1602–1603, half of Ursek belonged to prince Bakshand Nurushev. The other half of the village, which 'was in the estate belonging to prince Bakshand, grandson of Ursek, then belonged to his father Nurush, and after his father to Mikita Fyodor Kozlin'; at the beginning of the 17th century it was owned by Kamay Smilenev [*Piscovaja kniga* of Kazan uyezd, 1978, p. 116]. B. Nurushev also owned the village, 'which was known as Krasnaya wasteland'. He was considered one of the wealthiest Tatar landowners of the uyezd. He owned 237 quarters of ploughed land, 1350 haycocks, and 15 desyatinas of forest. The prince's monetary salary amounted to 20 rubles [Ibid, 15, 116–117].

At the end of the 18th century, 121 males lived in the village of Koshar in Kazan uyezd. This village, which had earlier belonged to prince Ivanaj Kady'shev was transferred according to the zhalovannaja gramota of 1600–1601, into his uncle prince Bagish Yakushev's estate. He possessed two other villages, Tamgachi and Shigay, 262 quarters of ploughed land, 5450 haycocks and 50 desyatinas of forest. Instead of a salary, he was granted Ter'sya volost near the Kama River, which generated revenue of around 12 rubles [Ibid, 15, 39–41, 153]. Let us note that B. Nurushev, 'as they did in olden days', collected yasak from the Mari volost of Nali Kukmor: 'a silk tax' amounting to 14 rubles 55 kopecks, and a 'kunyash wedding tribute' from weddings. The source of all of their privileges, according to Ye. Chernyshev, S. Muhamedyarov and I. Ermolaev, can be traced back to the time of the Kazan khanate.

Princes and murzas in Kazan guberniya mentioned in the census documents were recorded as state peasants, and were thus also subject to poll taxes. According to the Edict of 1784, there is a significant discrepancy in the number of Tatar feudal lords who were included among the Russian nobility and exempted from paying personal tributes. The most complete data can be found in the works of I. Gilyazov and S. Alishev. According to Gilyazov, in 1796, 235 people in Orenburg guberniya were granted noble rights, and during the following year 4811 murzas in seven counties in central Russia were included in the genealogical record [Gilyazov, 1982, p. 100]. S. Alishev, in his article devoted to the social evolution of Tatars in official service in the latter half of the 15–18th centuries in Orenburg guberniya, noted that even before 1796 those murzas from the Davletshins, Bikchurins, Ajtovs, Akhmatovs, Kuklyashevs, Kuvatovs and Kajsarovs families, among others, bore noble title [Alishev, 1984, p. 57].

Later in his monograph he pointed out that in 1797, 5646 people from 177 noble Tatar families were able to verify and receive confirmation of noble status. In the same monograph there is a table entitled 'The Social Structure of Non-Russian Peoples of the Middle Volga Region in the Middle of the 19th Century', in

which Alishev gives yet another number—5700 noble Tatars [Alishev, 1990, pp. 115, 126].

The number of noble Muslims of Tatar origin was determined from two principle sources. The first of them, a report by the Orenburg Treasury to the Governing Senate, informs us of a Royal Decree issued by Paul I on 29 November, 1796, in which noble rank is bestowed upon the Yanbulatov, Yakushev, Akchurin, Chany'shev, Diveev, Mamin, Mamatkozin, Biglov, Enikeev and Teregulov princes. They were thus exempted from paying poll taxes to the Ufa namestnichestvo. On 25 August 1797, the Treasury Chamber reported to the Senate that, according to evidence provided by the lower, zemskij district police court and verified in the census records, there were 235 princes and murzas from families in the namestnichestvo, including those born after the fourth census, who should be 'disqualified' from receiving salaries [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 6, inv. 1, file 56, pp. 1–7]. Besides this, the Senate was informed that the families of Princes Chany'shev and Teregulov, approximately 12 people in Orenburg guberniya, departed to their former place of residence in Tambov guberniya, where they should have been excluded from the peasant class. The lower zemsky courts in Sterlitamak and Ufa provided no data on 9 more people.

The second source is the correspondence between princes El'murza Urusov and Semerxan Bulaev concerning a petition to the highest authorities. In 1797 they requested permission to 'form a regiment of Tatar princes and murzas in order to defend Orenburg guberniya from raids by the Kirghiz-Kajsak'. A precedent for this was set in the very same year when Paul I issued an Edict creating a Tatar regiment led by Major-General Baranovsky. It was made up entirely of Polish-Lithuanian Muslims [Grishin, 1995, p. 42].

Of all the documents on this case, the most interesting one is the 'Note on Tatar clans attempting to prove noble origins and thus request exemption from poll taxes'. By 1797, according to this document, 350 people of noble birth were confirmed by official decree: 231 in Orenburg guberniya, 8 in Tambov, 15 in Saratov and 96 in Penza.

Among pending documents were those of 1008 people belonging to 17 princely and murza families in Saratov guberniya; 32 clans living in Ryazan guberniya (388 people), 2 clans (61 people) in Orenburg guberniya, 7 clans (282 people) in Simbirsk, 22 clans (524 people) in Penza and 1 clan (55 people) in Nizhny Novgorod guberniya. In Kazan guberniya 96 clans consisting of 2493 family members laid claim to noble title. In general, 4811 people representing 177 noble Tatar families appealed for withdrawal from the tax paying class in seven guberniya throughout Russia [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1374, inv. 1, file 62, pp. 40, 40 reverse]. Thus, in 1797, the general number of princes and murzas who had filed the necessary documents, together with those already granted noble status, amounted to 5161 people.

Without calling into question the noble pedigree of the clans that had petitioned for noble status, there is not enough evidence to prove the State recognised their noble birth and included them in the birth registers of all of these families. This document directly states that in accordance with the Senate resolution of 11 October, 1795, the administration of Kazan guberniya, due to 'doubts and even open forgeries discovered in some of the evidence presented by these Tatar families, directed these cases to the administration for reexamination and confirmation of their authenticity based upon archive materials and other undeniable evidence' [Ibid, sheet 40 turnover].

The documents discovered in the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan to a great extent changed the previous idea as to how the Kazan guberniya fulfilled the conditions of the Edict of 1784. At the end of the 80—the beginning of the 90s, the Kazan Assembly of the Nobility started receiving requests for confirmation of noble status among the descendants of Tatar princely and murza families. These descendants asked the Assembly 'not to deprive them of high monarchical favor'. They based their rationale for reexamination of their assertions upon Paragraph 7, Article 92 of the 'Zhalovannaja gramota': they pointed to the section entitled 'The Granting of Estates Based Upon Noble Service' as evidence of their noble

lineage. Besides documents verifying possession of their lands, the Tatars also presented excerpts from family genealogies. As a result, deputies of the Kazan Assembly of the Nobility elected to compile genealogy records, deemed documents presented by over 50 Tatar clans as 'sufficient' for recognition of noble birth. Thus, as stated in documents dating from the end of the 18th century, 52 families of noble birth had been recognised by the Assembly. This number was verified in 1815, and the surnames of Kasimovs and Mansurovs added to the list.

After comparing genealogy records with those of current family members, the names of the aspirants were written down in the assembly list, which was forwarded to the Governor-General of the Kazan *namestnichestvo* Prince P. Meshchersky, as well as to the head of the *namestnichestvo*, Prince S. Borataev. The list was sent to the Senate for confirmation upon their request only.

However, in 1795 the county procurator V. Chemesov sent a report to the General Prosecutor A. Samoylov in St. Petersburg, in which he expressed doubts about the authenticity of the documents presented, and mentioned an 'outright forgery' in some of the proof 'Tatars present to convince us of their noble origins'. According to the Senate decree of 17 December, 1796, the administration of Kazan guberniya established a special commission to review decisions previously adopted by the Assembly of the Nobility. The commission was to examine the documents in district archives, which would then be copied and given out to princes and murzas. The documents presented by Tatars as proof of their noble lineage had to be verified on the basis of genuine evidence. In order to do this, the governorate archivist was responsible, according to the government, for bringing all necessary documents to the commission. Throughout 1796 and 1797, 87 bundles of charters and other papers relating to twenty five princely and murza clans in Kazan guberniya were found in the archive.

On April 25, 1797 the commission reported its conclusion to the guberniya administration: the evidence presented by these families was immaterial. This list included the families of princes Yanbulatov, Timbyakov, Bulaev, Bur-

nashev, Zamanov, Mamyashev, Timyashev, Mansurov, murzas Shashev (?), Baryshev, Burundukov, Syundukov; Syundukov living in Yelabuga district of Vyatka *namestnichestvo*, Baybekov, Kireev, Nuraev, again Syundukov, Tinsarin, Plyashev, Tajtulin, Urmanceev, again Urmanceev, Urazgildeev and Chepkeneev. There was no data in the archive on 29 other clans. The commission noted that although the archivist had presented to them 'a stack of ancient bundles rolled in paper that had been torn to shreds, they couldn't make hide nor hair out of them: it was impossible to make out when, from whom, and to whom they had been given' [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 14, inv. 4, file 14, p. 8 reverse].

Having completed their work, the commission was dissolved. In April 1798, the county administration obliged the Assembly of the Nobility to deliver information about those Tatar families who had presented evidence of their noble origin 'without borrowing it from the county administration'. On the Assembly's request, the archivist had to gather genuine documents relating to people aspiring to obtain a noble title and report who had been given copies of these documents. The county head of the nobility, together with three deputies of the Kazan Assembly then verified the documents. They sent the county administration a register with a list of 52 confirmed Tatar families, and indicated the documents which approved their right to noble status. Together with the register, they sent 15 newly discovered genuine charters and certificates, and 10 copies. In total, by 1802 they had collected 29 rolls with documents on 6 families: princes Bogdanovs, Yaushevs, and Kil'dishevs, and murzas Derby'shevs, Iseneevs, and Iseevs (?). However, the archives did not contain any evidence of the noble origin of a further 23 families: princes Asanovs, Khozeseyutovs, Mametevs, again Mametevs, Nurushevs, Kugeevs, Devyat'yarovs, Nurseitovs, Timeevs, again Yambulatovs, Kasimovs, murzas Michenevs (?), Urekeevs, Uteevs, Karaevs, Bureevs, Sarkeevs, Danaev-Tzyashevs (?), Bogdanovs, Enikeevs, long-baptised murzas Kolchurins and Kharitonovs.

In September 1802, the county administration examined the newly presented papers and again found them "irrelevant". On 18 September a decree was adopted, which gave a summary of the commission's activities between 1795 and 1797 and its work on the examination of the evidence on the families' presumably noble origin. In particular, it noted that, according with the commission's conclusion, some of the documents had been 'completely falsely compiled...other uncorrected copies had been rewritten in an ancient style when it had been deemed necessary, and they had nothing but false countersignatures and seals'. Without taking the trouble to request evidence that the acts had indeed been forged, the administration accepted the commission's conclusion and admitted that the evidence of the Tatar families was 'illegal and thus could not serve as the grounds for granting them a noble title'. On September 22, 1802, the administration hurriedly presented its report to the Senate, attaching to it genuine books of the commission which 'destroyed the considered evidence'.

Here we should mention that in May 1800, the government of Paul I extended the smallholders' right for returning of the lost noble title to Tatar murzas and Lithuanian Tatars. 'Pursuing a title of nobility' could only be accomplished through military service. The aspirants, after being granted proof of their noble birth by Assembly of the Nobility, which had to be supported by 'clear and undeniable evidence', were to enroll in the army as volunteers and serve until they achieved the rank of officer.

From 1840, the noble origin of muslims had to be proved by evidence from the parish register of the Muslim Spiritual Assembly (since the time of its introduction) or by a pedigree based upon 'reliable evidence' signed by the head of the nobility and by the aspirants' closest noble relatives or, as a last resort, it could be based on documents proving their ownership of noble estates inherited from their ancestors. The aspirants were asked to supply these documents together with a certificate, approved by the head of the nobility and by no less than 12 nobles, which would prove that an aspirant's education and conduct 'corresponds to the noble rank, as well as the authorisation document issued by

the local institutions' which emphasised that 'neither the aspirants themselves, nor their fathers and grandfathers had payed the capitation tax and had never lost their noble rights by law' [Yablokov, 1876, p. 571]. All these conditions made it impossible for the Tatars of the county of Kazan to obtain the noble rank.

Unfortunately, most documents on Tatar families collected at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries by the Assembly of the Nobility and the county administration are now irretrievably lost. This is mostly due to the fires in public offices in 1815 and 1842, which destroyed a significant part of their archives. We can also assume that after the documents and acts of Tatar murzas and princes had been declared invalid, they lost all value in the eyes of office workers and clerks and thus could have been destroyed. The gist of the county report does not exclude such an interpretation. Let us now attempt to authenticate the documents submitted by certain Tatar families by comparing the titles of the acts they presented to the Assembly of the Nobility with sources which are demonstrably accurate.

Thus, on February 10, 1793, the Assembly originally recognised the noble rights of the murza clan of the Kolchurins. As evidence of their noble birth, the old-baptised Kolchurin murzas presented the import charter of 1613, signed by dyak Fyodor Likhachev and 'verified by scribe Avramka Kurin' which had been granted to the newly-baptised serving Tatar Semyonka Ivanov, of the Zyurey daruga in the village of Cheremshan, 'for an analogous land in the village of Kashkoldeev, behind the Ushta River in the village of Cheremy'sh on the Yagodnaya meadow, adjacent to the father's estate by 35 chets on 10 quarters of the field, and also possessing two hayfields...with 100 haycocks' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 14, inv. 4, file 14, p. 8]. The Cheremysh village's Piscovaja kniga of 1602 to 1603 contains information on a person by the name of Semyonka Ivanov, son of Kochyurin, with a salary of 6 rubles, and who was presumably one of the newly-baptised serving Tatars. It also mentions that he 'inherited a stallion from his father...35 quarters of tillage and grassland and hay amounting to two fields, remote plots

of arable land and also 100 haycocks along the Ushta River, beyond the brook, behind the Yagodnaya meadow' [Piscovaja kniga of Kazan uyezd, 1978, p. 71].

As we can see, the content of both documents is very similar. S. Veselovsky and V. Dimitriev describe the service of dyak Fyodor Fyodorovich Likhachev in Kazan between 1613 and 1615 [Veselovsky, 1975, p. 296; Dimitriev, 1974, p. 287]. The Piscovaja kniga of the village of Cheremy'sh mentions one more document which was drafted in 1613 by F. Lixachev. Similar parallels can be seen in two further documents presented by the Kolchurins: extracts from various charters of 7123 (1614) and 1701.

With its final and irrevocable order, the guberniya administration rejected the legal right which had been adopted by the decree of 1784 to change the status of the ancient Tatar princely and murza families of the Kazan guberniya. None of the numerous submitted documents—charters, acts on possession of manorial lands, pedigrees or other evidence of belonging to the feudal class—was taken into consideration. Representatives of other branches of the Tatar nobility of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions appeared to officially belong to different strata of the social hierarchy, which was reflected in the pedigrees (shejere) of certain families. All these factors led to the protests by those in the Kazan guberniya whose demands to have their families awarded noble rights had not been satisfied.

Prejudice and the absence of any objectivity prevented the Kazan princes and murzas from benefiting from their noble rank. At the same time, the administrations of Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas continued to confirm the noble status of the Tatar families. Thus, in 1814, the Ufa Noble Parliamentary Assembly confirmed the nobility of 64 Tatar murzas, including murzas Asan Mamotov, Abdulla Zebeirov and prince Timbekov [Yablokov, 1876, p. 570].

These tactics, aimed at increasing pressure on the Tatar population of the Middle Volga Region and providing certain concessions to the Ural guberniyas, were also widely used by the government in the religious sphere. This policy of 'double standards' was conditioned by

the role and position of the Orenburg and Ufa guberniyas within the autocratic Russian state colonial strategy.

The general state of the Kazan guberniya local authorities at the turn of the 19th century also contributed to the reluctance of the Russian state to make the Muslim Tatars equal to the Russian nobility. The local state and class institutions now mirrored the negative traits which were typical of the entire tsarist apparatus: bureaucracy, neglect of the sense of national dignity and of religious feelings of the 'non-Russians'. From 1797 to 1823, 10 people lost their positions in the ranks of the Kazan military and civil government. Five of them were dismissed for various forms of misconduct. It is no coincidence that, in the first quarter of the 19th century, there were five senatorial revisions in the Kazan guberniya. As a result of the revision, between 1819 and 1829 over 1300 people were brought to justice, and around 800 of them were officials of different ranks serving in the institutions of the local administration. This was one of the largest campaigns of this kind carried out in the pre-reform Russia [Khayrutdinov, 1993, pp. 131–134].

It was only once the period of the administrative upheavals in Kazan guberniya had come to an end that the state began to assert effective control over the activities of the guberniya institutions, including class elective agencies. Thus, the surnames included in the genealogy book of the nobility of Kazan guberniya before 1829 were later examined by special commission founded by the edict of Nicholas I [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, file 350, inv. 2, file 9, p. 27].

After a significant part of the archive of the Kazan Nobility Assembly had been destroyed in 1815, many noble representatives of the guberniya faced the necessity of approving the submitted documents. There was no possibility for a new review of the evidences of the Muslim Tatars princely and murzin families' noble birth. However, they persisted in using these titles together with their names. Back in 1815, in his report to Minister of Justice D. Troshchinsky, Kazan guberniya Prosecutor Ovtsin stated that, despite the refusal to grant them the noble status, 'many of those 52 Tatar families

make use of the same rights... and even have people secured for them in accordance with the revisions. In all the acts they submit, they name themselves princes or murzas, while the local government accept such titles without checking whether they are being used legally or not' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 14, inv. 4, file 14, pp. 15–15 reverse].

Among the Muslim Tatars who were conferred hereditary nobility and included in the genealogy book of the nobility of the Kazan guberniya, there is not a single surname approved on the basis of the noble origin. The Muslim Tatars who were noble by birth are only present in the second and third parts of the book, which included people who earned a noble title for reaching the officer rank or for serving at a certain civil position for a set period of time, or as a result of being awarded the Russian medal.

Thus, in the last quarter of the 18th century, the Russian autocracy adopted a range of measures to strengthen its support within the Tatar society. One of such steps was giving the no-

ble Muslim Tatars the opportunity to become a part of the Russian nobility.

The adoption of the edict of 1784 illustrated the ambiguous character of the the tsarist government policy in relation to the Tatar feudal leaders of the Middle Volga Region and to the neighbouring Ural guberniyas. Bureaucratic obstacles and an openly anti-Muslim character of the Kazan guberniya local authorities actions almost destroyed the legal rights of the noble Tatar families.

The main way for the Muslim Tatars to enter the Russian nobility at the turn of the 19th century was not by virtue of their noble birth, but by serving for a set period of time in military or civil service in a certain position. With the changes in socio-economic conditions which began to take place from the middle of the 19th century, the process of stratification of the Tatar feudal nobility came to its end, causing a polarisation of the interests of its diverse groups. By the end of the 19th century, the fact of belonging to the nobility lost its relevance in the Tatar society.

§3. Socio-Economic Factors of the Formation of the Tatar Merchant Class

Bakhtiyar Izmaylov

The commercial and industrial activities of the merchant class were under the constant supervision of the state, and promoting the development of the national industries and trade was among the most important functions of the state authorities. The American historian Richard Pipes justly noted, 'the Russian government had begun, for the first time, to be concerned with the prosperity of its business class in the middle of the 17th century, and since then it was encouraging private entrepreneurship and supporting the local bourgeoisie' (quoted by: [Startsev, Goncharov, 1999, p. 16]).

The ethnic diversity and multi-confessional structure of the Russian Empire were variously reflected in the peculiar features of its entrepreneurial culture. The representatives of the diverse ethnic and confessional groups became involved in the development of the imperial economy [Ananyich, Dalmann, 2010, p. 3]. At

the same time many of these groups were defending their right to free trade throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

The socio-political and economic conditions which had emerged in the 18th century greatly influenced the Tatar trade, together with the socio-legal development of the Tatar merchant class. In the absence of the national aristocracy or the property base of the clergy, the bourgeoisie grew to occupy the vacant position of the elite within the Tatar communities, especially in the urban sphere. In the 18th century, trade among the Tatar population acquired a mass character, which is vividly represented in the example of Kazan Tatar slobodas. For instance, M. Laptev in the mid-19th century described the Tatar population of Kazan guberniya as follows, 'a Tatarian is a dignified heir of the ancient Bulgars: his habitat is trading' [Laptev, 1861, p. 220].

A whole range of historical factors encouraged the dynamic trading activities. Firstly, the new historical reality meant that trading was the only way for the Tatars to make a fortune without violating Sharia laws. Secondly, the absence of any opportunities to enter the civil service incited the Tatars to focus their aspirations on other fields, in particular, on entrepreneurship. Thirdly, the social base of the trading bourgeoisie included almost all layers of the Tatar society: the feudal aristocracy, and both serving and yasak Tatars. The Russian policy of repressions also played a significant role in the emergence of the Tatar trading class. As I. Gilyazov rightly noted, 'the transition towards a new status did not occur voluntarily, but rather under the pressure of the current circumstances' [Gilyazov, 1997, p. 19]. The toughening of Russian legislation in the 17th century in relation to the Tatar feudal landowners led to their bankruptcy and loss of lands. In particular, the Tatar historian G. Gubaydullin related the mass transition of the Tatars into the merchant class since the 17th century to the destruction of the Tatar feudalism [Gaziz, 1994, p. 134]. Apart from being an opportunity to earn living, trade provided the Tatar population with an arena in which they could realise their social aspirations. Thus, under the influence of the external factors, an accelerated disintegration of feudal relations took place in the Tatar society, together with the development of a bourgeois social structure, in which an important role was played by the representatives of the merchant class.

The Tatar merchant class was formed on an inter-class basis, consisting of the serving Tatars and peasants. The class of the serving Tatars became the main contributor to the Tatar merchant class, having earned the right to trade for their service to the Russian state [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 81]. At the beginning of the 18th century, state documentation gradually adopted the term 'serving trading Tatar' which emphasised the trading privileges of this class.

Yet like the rest of the Tatar population, the serving Tatars suffered from the multiple disruptions of the Russian state domestic policy. In the first quarter of the 18th century, Peter the Great took measures to eliminate the class

of the serving Tatars, transferring them to the tyagloe (tax-paying) class. By Senate edict dated July 31, 1722 this part of the Tatar population had their representatives enumerated and 'placed equally among the others in the capitation' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 6, No. 4065, p. 754]. This edict leveled the status of serving and yasak Tatars. The latter had been made to pay the capitation tribute back in 1719. The difference between yasak and serving Tatars gradually disappeared, since the latter were assigned to perform ship-building. Senate edict dated May 22, 1724 relegated them to the level of state peasants. This shift in their legal status was accompanied by their submission to the requirements of their new position. From 1725, the serving Tatars were required to pay the capitation tribute, and from 1737 they could be conscripted into the army [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 87]. Their change of status to state peasants led to the loss of the trading privileges by most of the serving Tatars. The exception were Kazan sloboda Tatars (the inhabitants of the Tatar slobodas of the city of Kazan), who were granted a license in the form of a charter in 1685 which gave them trading rights. In the meantime, the trading activities of the rest of the Tatar population in the first quarter of the 18th century were regulated by the laws established for the trading peasants, which posed significant obstacles to trade.

The serving Tatars of Old and New Tatar slobodas of the city of Kazan had a privileged status compared with their fellow tribesmen. Unlike the majority of the representatives of the Tatar and Russian service class, for whom military service was the condition allowing them to own lands and peasant serfs, Kazan sloboda Tatars served in order to maintain the right to continue trading [Ibid., p. 82]. Throughout the 18th century, the Kazan sloboda Tatars maintained their privileges, while the bulk of tradesmen tended towards the unification of the trading activities.

The Tatar slobodas of Kazan became, in a certain way, the first attempt by the Tatars to become assimilated into the Russian space. The channels of their inclusion into the All-imperial system of values became the spreading of the city model and a shift in their way of

life. The Russian monarchy was in need of staff from the non-Russian peoples of the Middle Volga Region and the Urals to carry out administrative functions in the multi-ethnic region, and the population of the Tatar slobodas of the city of Kazan was perfectly suitable for this purpose. Living in an administrative, political and economic center of the territory, they were constantly monitored by the authorities, and were more closely associated with the governing bodies and the Russian population. Translators, tolmaches and low-class servants were hired from among them to serve at the Kazan Admiralty office. In addition, the Russian authorities sought to prepare the ground for further entering into Middle Asia and Kazakhstan with the assistance of these sloboda Tatars and their long-lasting connections with merchants from these regions.

The imperial authorities were willing to support the trade activities of the Tatar population insofar as it helped to further their own economic and political interests. In 1744, a special edict of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna ordered 200 families from Kazan guberniya to be resettled in Orenburg in order to establish a new trade sloboda [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 12, No. 8893, pp. 39–41]. As part of the Russian government plan, Orenburg was to become a powerful administrative and economic centre contributing to the establishment of strong trade and diplomatic relations with the East. Besides building the Orenburg fortress, empress Anna Ioannovna also allowed all tradesmen to settle in the city, regardless of their religion and citizenship. However, as Orenburg governor Ivan Neplyuev noted, 'once the news was spread, due to the remoteness of that place, only a tiny number of such volunteers came; besides, they were poor and unable to conduct trade' [Ibid., p. 40]. In this situation, there emerged a timely desire among 'thrifty and enterprising people' from among the Kazan Tatars to resettle and live in Orenburg. The Tatars laid down two conditions: their liberation from the burdensome conscription requirements and permission to build a mosque near the city. The Russian government consented to their request, limiting the number of resettled Tatars to two

hundred families and requiring that all of them be 'thrifty and capable of conducting trade activities' [Ibid., p. 41]. This resettlement appeared to have been forced and related to the increased Christianisation of non-Russians in the Volga Region, together with the spread of the conscription and lachman duties to the Tatars [Iskandarov, 2009, p. 14]. The author of the petition and founder of the sloboda was Tatar Seit Khayalin from the village of Bogatye Saby, of Mamadysh uyezd in Kazan guberniya.

Seitov (or Kargala) sloboda, founded at a distance of 18 versts from Orenburg, became the biggest centre of the transit trade between Russia and Middle Asia, while the Tatars soon accumulated up to three quarters of the total volume of trade between Russia and the East. As the Tatars of Seitov sloboda pointed out, 'we were called upon from various uyezds to settle here for a single reason: to spread the Orenburg commerce and to involve the Kirghiz-Kaisaks and other Asian peoples into it' [Kulbakhtin, 2005, p. 205]. The Seitov Tatars did their businesses in Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent and Persia through Astrakhan.

The mission of the serving Tatars in the Orenburg guberniya was not limited to trade. The Russian government continued using this class when defending its south-east borders and as part of diplomatic missions. In their mandate to Ulozhennaya Komissiya, the serving Tatars of Kargala sloboda noted that, 'they were often sent to the Khan and sultans of the Kirghiz-Kaisak orda with the letters', they also took part in the suppression of the 1755 rebellion [Ibid., p. 199]. Unlike the regular troops, the serving Tatars were not provided with food and had to find their own supplies during the military campaigns. The Russian government often noted the importance of the serving Tatars' service. For their diligence and loyalty, the Tatars from around all Kargala sloboda were awarded certificates of recognition, while those who distinguished themselves in military campaigns were granted award sabres [Ibid.].

The serving sloboda Tatars, above all those belonging to the Kazan and Orenburg nobility, kept their loyalty to the Russian government even during profound social upheavals, such as the rebellion led by Yemelyan Pugachev. Thus,

the serving Tatars Iskhak Zamanov and Ibrahim Akhmetov participated in the suppression of the 'pugachevshchina'. In his petition, Iskhak Zamanov stated that, 'during the evil rebellious attack of the villain Pugachev against Kazan, I and Her Imperial Majesty's troops were sent to fight him, and proceeding with my dutiful service and tireless protection of the city, I took one cannon from the adversary. And in doing so I suffered eight injuries' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 769, pp. 3–3 reverse]. Serving Tatar Ibrahim Akhmetov stayed in Orenburg together with the state troops when the city was besieged by Pugachev [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1341, inv. 1, file 481, pp. 3]. Hoping for recognition of their loyal service and appealing to their noble birth, Iskhak Zamanov and Ibrahim Akhmetov requested to be granted the Russian noble status, but both were rejected.

Islamic entrepreneurship received a massive incentive as a result of the reforms introduced by Catherine II. They included the development of a tolerant attitude towards non-Orthodox religions and the establishment of the principle of Imperial policy which placed political loyalty higher than the ethnic and religious uniformity.

The manifest dated March 17, 1775 divided the tradesmen into the privileged guild merchant class and *meshchanstvo*. Those whose capital amounted to less than 500 rubles were assigned to the latter group. Merchants of the first guild were required to have the capital over 10 000 rubles, those of the second guild, from 1000 to 10 000 rubles, and those of the third, from 500 to 1000 rubles [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14275]. 'Zhalovannaja gramota to the Towns' of 1785 approved the changes and expanded the feudal estate law of the merchant class. From then onwards, trading was ultimately recognised as a monopoly controlled by the merchants. Depending on their capital value, merchants were subdivided into three guilds. There was set an eligibility criterion in order to be included in one guild or another: it constituted 10 000 rubles for the first guild, 1000 rubles for the second one and 500 rubles for the third one.

On November 7, 1775, an edict titled 'Institutions of government of the All-Russian Empire guberniyas' was issued, becoming an important landmark in the history of city reform in Russia [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 20, No. 14392]. The main goal of the reform was to achieve uniformity in the system of governance throughout the territory of the Empire. The fact that its implementation continued up to the very end of the Empress's reign is testament to its vast scale.

The direct result of Catherine II's policy-making for the Tatar nation, apart from the adoption of the most significant legislative acts of the last quarter of the 18th century, was the opening of the Tatar City Hall in Kazan in 1781 and in Seitov sloboda, Orenburg guberniya, in 1784. The emergence of the institutions of self-administration in the Tatar slobodas of Kazan and Orenburg points to the fact that the Russian authorities saw these as highly important trade posts.

However, the increase of the Tatar share capital in the trade turnover of the Kazan guberniya clearly collided with the interests of the Russian merchants. In 1724 and 1742, Kazan merchants repeatedly attempted to obstruct trade performed by the sloboda Tatars. As a response, the serving Tatars appealed to the Senate and asked to protect them 'from the wrongful offenses and oppressions caused to them by the Kazan merchants' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 53, p. 12]. In their petition, they pointed out that they caused troubles towards 'their own brothers, though they live in the same uyezd and own croplands and hayfields and other acreages, while the sloboda Tatars have neither lands nor acreages, and without conducting trade and managing their businesses they would not be able to live and to earn their bread and to pay tributes and to provide for mast timber and various other services' [Ibid.]. At the same time, they justified their right to conduct trade 'by the power of charters given to their grandfathers and fathers and by other edicts adopted by the Senate and other places...' [Ibid.]. What is curious is that in such conflicts the Russian administration would always take the side of the sloboda Tatars.

The conflict reached its climax in March 1762, when the Russian merchants of Kazan 'blocked Tatars' assets, leased shops (29 altogether) in the trading arcade and other places, and did not let them trade' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 16, No. 11888, p. 322]. When explaining their position, the merchants pointed to the unclear legal status of the Tatar population inhabiting the city of Kazan. Technically, the Russian merchants were right: sloboda Tatars, as all state peasants, did not have the same right to conduct trade and own shops as the merchant class. Nevertheless, Catherine II took the side of the Tatars and prohibited the Russian merchants from interfering with their trade. The Admiralty office, which was located in Kazan and maintained control over the serving Tatars, sent a detachment of soldiers to 'unseal' the shops and to ensure their protection. However, their legal status was still undefined, which became especially evident during the work of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya in 1767–1768.

Not surprisingly, the mandates of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya deputies, elected by the Tatar population, demanded to eliminate trade restrictions. The demand put forward by the deputies from the murzas is also illustrative of this state of affairs. It demanded that, 'Her Imperial Majesty's non-Russian subjects who are in the trading business should be included into the merchant class and be equal to the merchants in everything, including taxes and services, and also benefit from all the rights of the merchants' [Gubaydullin, 1926, p. 55]. In another demand, deputy Rakhmatulla Alkin, representative of Kazan uyezd murzas, as evidence of the necessity to obtain the right to free trade, said, 'we, the serving murzas, have conducted various forms of trade since the ancient times' [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, Vol. 8, p. 141]. He went on to logically explain why the Kazan serving Tatars who inhabited the uyezds of Kazan guberniya possessed the same right to conduct trade as sloboda Tatars. The demands to be allowed to conduct trade came not only from the serving, but also from yasak Tatars, which contradicted the law. In the meantime, the majority of the serving Tatars refused to transfer into the mer-

chant class because of high taxes. Besides, this transfer would not liberate them from naval service and other duties.

After the opening of the Tatar City Halls in Kazan and Seitov posad, the serving Tatars, who used to represent a specific group of population, were given an opportunity to join the guild merchant class and meshchanstvo. This same period marks the formation of the Tatar entrepreneurial elite. With the building of the Kazan Tatar City Hall, the Kazan Tatar merchants and manufacturers gained a wide range of opportunities to realise their professional potential.

The Kazan Tatar City Hall was established in 1781 'at the behest of Her Supreme Imperial Majesty's verbal command to the gentleman General-Lieutenant acting as General-Governor of Kazan and Penza, Prince Platon Meshchersky' [Dokumenty, p. 25]. The City Hall members were its chief, the burgomaster and two ratmanns from among the wealthy representatives of the Tatar society who were elected by the merchants and meshchanstvo every three years.

The Russian authorities considered the Tatar City Halls of Kazan and Seitov sloboda as a means of control and a way to bring the Tatar population closer to the All-Russian principles. However, for the Tatars themselves, they were a tool for the consolidation of their community, as well as for communication with the Russian structures of power. In order to provide an effective transition to the new forms of organisation of the political space, the power structures demanded the Islamic traditions to obey the common Imperial legislation, but at the same time, in practice, they had to accept Islamic customs and cultural norms, as set out in the Quran and confirmed by Sharia law.

It appears that the Kazan Tatar City Hall did not have the right to include sloboda Tatars in the merchant class until the end of the 18th century. For the first time, the question of including the Kazan Tatars into the merchant class was raised in 1791, when part of wealthy families came under the patronage of the Kazan city magistrate. One of the most important reasons for this decision was the desire by these families to become members of the merchant class in order to obtain a range of privileges, in particular

exemption from the burdensome military conscription. The rest of the Tatars belonged to the service class, fulfilling all state duties as before. Since 1797, the Kazan Tatar City Hall repeatedly sent a petition to the guberniya administration to be allowed to include Tatar aspirants into the merchant class. As a result, after the Kazan governor gave his permission, 32 families obtained this opportunity and were able to join the second and third guilds. However, this issue was not entirely solved, since the decision of inclusion could only be approved by the governor's resolution. This issue was raised once again in 1799, when the Kazan Treasury Chamber did not accept interests on the fortunes of four families. When explaining this decision, the chamber stated that the record for 'peasants could only be made in case their chief was aware of this, as well as having the Senate's approval' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 1, file 1, p. 116] and demanded to attach the Kazan governor's order to it. The issue was that governor authorities continued to view serving Tatars as state peasants. It is unclear how this situation would have evolved, if it were not for the Senator revision of M. Spiridov and I. Lopukhin, held in the Kazan guberniya in 1800. The clerks of the Kazan Tatar City Hall sent senators a petition in which they asked for 'their supreme permission in favour of the City Hall' [Ibid.]. The petition was approved, and the Kazan Tatar City Hall was granted the right to include the Tatar population under its jurisdiction into the merchant class.

After founding the Islamic Spiritual Assembly in 1788, the Kazan City Hall was given the important mission of electing its members. The prerequisites for these positions were the knowledge of the Islamic law and the Muslim's political trustworthiness. Thus, the edict of 1793 ordered 'mullahs to elect and to continue to do so every three years, from among the Kazan Tatars, those who are reliable in their loyalty, determined by their righteous conduct and knowledgeable about the Islamic law' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 731, pp. 1–3].

By the edict of the Kazan namestnichestvo dated August 10, 1790, the serving Tatar Murtaza Kulmametov from Starotatarskaya

sloboda was accepted into the third guild of the Kazan merchant class. In September of the same year, the serving Tatar, Yusup Kitaev, from the same sloboda, also became a guild merchant. Some time later, Khalid Urazaev, Galim Ishmukhametov and other natives of the Starotatarskaya sloboda also joined the ranks of the guild merchants. By 1790, 15 families with a total of 54 members were accepted as merchants. The process of expanding the merchant class continued over the following years. By 1798, 32 Tatar families had been included in this class; 8 of them became merchants of the second guild, and the rest joined the third one [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 902, pp. 90–92]. In 1806 there were 40 families registered as the Kazan merchants: 3 in the first guild, 14 in the second one and 26 in the third one [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, file 22, inv. 2, file 902, pp. 243–244 reverse]. This trend continued until 1807, when, as a result of raising of the property requirements allowing new members to join a guild, the overall number of the Tatar merchants dropped [Khasanov, 1977, p. 87]. Among the first who became the largest official entrepreneurs of the city were M. Adamov, G. Ishmurov and Yu. Kitaev.

Part of the Tatars remained in the service class, with the less wealthy merchants assigned to the meshchanstvo. Formerly renowned businessmen such as Murtaza Ibrayev, Sagit Ibrayev, Musa Gaisin, Kazbulat Seinov, Mukhamet Musin, Abdrashit Abdulkarimov and others continued their trading activities, but did not manage to become guild traders, possibly because their fortunes were not large enough.

The late 18th and the early 19th centuries saw a progressive growth of the number of the Tatar slobodas in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Kasimov, Astrakhan, Tobolsk and other cities. By 1811, the Tatar sloboda of Moscow was inhabited by 260 Muslims, 225 of whom were the Tatars [Shatsillo, 2010, p. 296].

Thus, by the end of the 18th century, a fairly powerful Tatar merchant class had been formed and, as a result of Catherine II's reforms, it began to merge with the Russian entrepreneurial classes.

CHAPTER 5

The Socio-Economic Development of the Tatar Society in the 18th Century

§1. Agricultural Production

Iskander Gilyazov

The Tatar population of the Russian Empire—in the 18th century was predominantly rural, meaning that agriculture played a central role in the life of the population. The development of farming, cattle-breeding and the entire sphere of non-agrarian activities defined the socio-economic life of this part of the Russian peasantry. Land, the main form of material wealth, played a crucial role in the socio-economic development of the society as a whole. Land was the basis of social relations, a matter of disputes and the most significant source of wealth. Therefore, when describing Tatar agricultural production, it is essential to consider the main features of their agriculture and their use of land.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, yasak agriculture saw little changes in its content: as before, all of its lands were officially state property. The main feature of the land ownership of the serving Tatars, who in 1724 were classified as the state peasants, was its significant reduction in size and subdivision because of mass land sales by the service class in the 1720s, the conquest of land, its split into smaller units due to inheritance, etc. After the service Tatars were assigned the rank of the state peasants, many of their lands were considered state lands, though in accordance with customary law they were seen as manorial possessions. A noticeable difference among the Tatar peasants was that they tended to redistribute lands within the service class itself. Some of them lost their independent households and continued selling the land left at their disposal; others, by contrast, became richer and bought plots of land. Among the latter, the majority was represented by the merchants and traders who

were involved in agricultural production: they used lands to develop their own agricultural activities or rented them out. For example, in 1788, the traders Abdrashit Ibrayev, Ismail and Mukhamet Yusupovs bought from the serving Tatars, 277 quarters of land in the villages of Sredniye Alaty, Bolshoy Kuyuk, Malyi Kuyuk, Mukholy, Kumurgozy and Yepanchino in Kazan uyezd. In the same year, traders Bakey Abdulov and Adigul Razkhmatullin acquired 20 cherts of land in the village of Yanbakhtino, in Kazan uyezd, from the serving Tatar Suleyman Rishkin [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1238, inv. 1, file 1, p. 3 reverse; file 2, p. 10].

Fairly comprehensive data on the amount of land owned by the various social groups can be found in the General land survey from the end of the 18th century. Thus, for instance, according to data from the 'Economic notes on the General land survey' in Kazan uyezd, the Tatar population owned 198,378 desyatinas, 1439 square sazhen of the all land of the uyezd (about 44,5%), 38,5% in Tetyushi uyezd, 17,5% in Spass, 14,3% in Sviyazhsk uyezd, 49,7% in Mamadysh, 17,3% in Chistopol, 28,2% in Laishevo uyezd, 5,7% in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd, and 3,5% in Tsivilsk [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, files 402, 412, 416, 422, 431, 435, 443, 449]. If we compare these percentages with the ratio of the Tatars to other inhabitants of these uyezds, it appears that these figures roughly coincide only in Laishevo, Tetyushi and Sviyazhsk uyezds. In Laishevo uyezd, the Tatars represented only 28,5% of the population, while this figure was 40,9% in Tetyushi and 18,7% in Sviyazhsk (based on: [Perepisi naseleniya, 1972, p. 83]).

In other uyezds, the Tatar population owned a lower percentage of land. For example, in Spassky uyezd the Tatars amounted to 25%, in Chistopol 19,4%, while in Mamadysh uyezd it was 57,3%. This may be associated with the overall decrease in the Tatar land ownership

throughout the 18th century, as well as the existence of manorial land ownership in many uyezds.

Let us imagine how lands were distributed in certain uyezds of the Middle Volga Region (table 3.3).

Table 3.3

**Distribution of lands by acreages in the uyezds of the Middle Volga Region
(in desyatinas and square sazhen)**

Uyezds	By manor	Arable lands	Hay fields	Forests	Land unsuitable for farming
Kazan, the same in %	71803.184 1.52	199811.2006 39.06	35848.2209 7.01	3245628.595 48.02	22456.1946 4.39
Laishevo, the same in %	4206.2154 0.81	150532.1441 29.15	59869.1585 11.59	257379.1038 49.85	44354.515 8.60
Chistopol the same in %	6663.1575 0.81	3109117.223 37.54	121591.1615 14.72	344668.550 41.72	43123.1905 5.21
Spass, the same in %	5253.1889 0.97	205204.336 38.02	93174.2168 17.26	192621.252 35.69	43483.1054 8.05
Tetyushi the same in %	4154.1450 1.22	164511.2375 48.41	28539.1408 8.40	125021.1642 36.79	17623.1930 5.18
Mamadysh, the same in %	4067.1052 0.82	127810.282 25.61	44513.876 8.92	307102.876 61.55	15477.2045 3.10
Sviyazhsk, the same in %	2238.1909 1.29	87092.2308 50.31	10203.199 5.89	64014.628 36.98	9564.1229 5.53
Tsaryovokok- shaish, the same in %	3853.1446 0.54	97973.649 13.71	11738.2081 1.64	585160.1901 81.87	15947.1220 2.24
Tsivilsk, the same in %	5113.968 1.64	140301.507 44.91	11372.441 3.64	151210.1475 48.41	4385.1777 1.40
In Kazan guberniya, the same in %	58940.2161 1.06	1828014.1851 32.80	459410.155 8.24	2959977.653 53.10	267357.1913 4.80

Calculated in accordance with: [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, p. 109; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, files 402, 412, 416, 422, 427, 431, 435, 449].

Lands which were used (owned) by the serving Tatars and the Tatar yasak peasants were distributed by acreages in the following way (table 3.4).

Table 3.4

Proportion of land in dachas belonging to the Tatar peasantry in the uyezds of the Middle Volga Region (in %)

Uyezds	By manor	Arable lands	Hayfields	Forests	Land unsuitable for farming
Kazan	1.82	48.55	4.96	41.34	3.33
Laishevo	0.75	29.92	7.69	57.16	4.48
Chistopol	0.86	50.64	17.42	26.76	4.32
Spass	0.96	47.43	12.21	34.98	4.42
Tetyushi	1.09	49.21	9.02	37.88	2.80
Mamadysh	1.05	31.25	10.46	55.43	1.81
Sviyazhsk	1.38	45.58	5.86	43.49	3.69
Tsaryovokokshaisk	1.88	44.44	9.02	42.84	1.82
Tsivilsk	2.12	66.04	4.85	25.04	1.95
Sergach	1.06	73.85	18.98	4.19	1.92
Buinsk	2.37	73.32	7.97	13.95	2.39
Kurmysh	2.16	73.16	18.17	0.52	3.78
Belonging to the peasantry in the territory of Chuvashia	1.55	40.37	6.00	49.00	3.08

Calculated in accordance with: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, files 402, 412, 416, 422, 427, 431, 435, 449, 849, 1416, 1420; Dimitriev, 1966, p. 73].

The picture is identical in most uyezds: tillages occupied almost half of the lands owned by the peasants, and in some cases even spread beyond these lands, which shows a significant level of land tillage in the Sergach uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, as well as in Kurmysh and Buinsk uyezds of Simbirsk guberniya. Tillages also represented the largest part of all acreages in the fertile uyezds of Kazan guberniya: Chistopol and Spas. It is interesting that in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd, tillages amounted to only 13.7% of acreages, while the Tatar population possessed 44.44% of them, which shows the level of agricultural production in the uyezd, 84.11% of which was occupied by forests and land unsuitable for farming.

The amount of hayfields also varied across various uyezds. The clearest picture of this can be observed in Sergach, Kurmysh, Spassky and Chistopol uyezds. The most difficult environment regarding hayfields was experienced by the Tatar peasants of Kazan, Sviyazhsk and Tsivilsk uyezds. The amount of hayfields played an extremely important role for the development of agriculture, as emphasised by a renowned Russian academic A. Bolotov in 1779 [Bolotov, 1952, p. 56].

The large percentage of the forests in the Tatar dachas of Laishevo, Mamadysh and Sviyazhsk uyezds can hardly be seen as a marker of economic wealth, but rather as a reserve for the expansion of tillages and hay-

fields. In most cases these forests were state property and actively used to provide timber for shipbuilding.

The sources also provide an indication of the amount of arable land per male Tatar peasant (table 3.5).

Table 3.5

**Amount of arable land per male in the uyezds of the Middle Volga Region
(in desyatinas), based on the General Land Survey**

Uyezds	For the Tatar peasantry		For the entire population of the uyezd	
	arable lands	land in total	arable lands	land in total
Kazan	4.17	8.13	4.17	10.60
Laishevo	4.39	12.73	4.18	14.28
Chistopol	7.58	14.71	7.43	19.73
Mamadysh	4.72	11.75	4.23	16.72
Sviyazhsk	4.30	8.91	4.70	9.11
Spass	6.89	14.55	6.61	17.33
Tetyushi	4.65	9.20	4.53	9.29
Tsaryovokokshaisk	4.60	14.80	4.89	35.62
Tsivilsk	3.84	5.67	4.29	7.21
Sergach	5.95	8.06	4.47	7.21
Kurмыш	4.80	6.60	-	-
Buinsk	7.10	11.25	-	13.25

Calculated in accordance with: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, files 402, 412, 416, 422, 427, 431, 435, 449, 849, 1416, 1420].

As a comparison, throughout Kazan guberniya there were 7.2 desyatinas of tillage per male [Rubinstein, 1957, p. 56]; in Chuvashia, Chuvash state peasants had 4.49 arpents of arable land at their disposal, while state Tatar peasants had 5.27, and Mordvin state peasants 8.61 desyatinas [Dimitriev, 1966, p. 95]. The data shown in the table 3.5 shows that the most arable land per male among the Tatar peasants and the rest of the population was to be found in the uyezds of Kazan guberniya which were best suited to farming: Chistopol and Spassky, as well as Buinsk uyezd of Simbirsk guberniya. If we take into account the fact that on September

7, 1798 a royal edict was passed, 'provisioning' state inhabitants with a 15-desyatina 'proportion' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1312, inv. 2, file 713, p. 50–50 reverse], we can see that only in Chistopol, Spassky and Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezds does the average amount of land per male among the Tatars and other inhabitants compare to the 'proportion' stated in the edict. In Chistopol uyezd, among 53 measured dachas of the Tatar peasantry, 28 of them had an average size of over 15 desyatinas per male; out of the 35 dachas in Spassky uyezd, 16 exceeded this size, while in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd this number mostly included a large area

of forests. At the same time, Kazan uyezd only had 3 of these measured dachas, Tetyushi also had three and Sviyazhsk uyezd just 2.

Thus, the sources show that the amount of land per male did not coincide in most of the Tatar settlements, and was sometimes far from the entitled minimum of 15 desyatinas, so we can conclude that there was a shortage of land in the average Tatar village at the end of 18th century. Since different areas provided different conditions for agriculture, peasant farming was developing rather unevenly. This can be seen not only in the varying size of the allotments of arable land, but also in the fact that there were leasing operations aimed at increasing land tillage and for the provision of hayfields.

The sources allow us to clearly distinguish between leasing aimed at expanding a farm and leasing in order to provide the minimal conditions for its operation. These operations fairly widespread among the Tatar population of Kazan uyezd, with leases for haymaking being the most common. For example, the serving Tatars of the village of Bolshaya Shukota (8 farms) paid 37 kopecks a year to the Kazan Treasury Chamber for the lease of 4 arpents, 956 square sazhen of land [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 402, p. 261 reverse]. The serving and yasak Tatars of the villages of Chemertsy and Telengur took a lease of 218 arpents, 2267 square sazhen of land, paying for it by perebrochka [Ibid., p. 295]. The 'Economic remarks' of Kazan uyezd recorded that 9 dachas were leased from the Treasury by the Tatar inhabitants: their total area amounted to over 910 desyatinas. The Tatar peasants also leased lands from neighbouring landlords and Tatar tenants. Thus, the landlords V. Kupriyanov and M. Matyunin owned lands in the dachas of the Tatar villages of Kazyevo and Atabayevo, in Tetyushi uyezd. The latter landlord, who did not have the serf peasants in these settlements, leased his lands to the Tatar peasants at a high price: 2 rubles a desyatina per year [Ibid., act 431, p. 79 reverse]. In the village of Enikeevo of the same uyezd, there were also lands belonging to serving Tatars from the villages of Bolshie and Malye Klyari, which were leased to various people at a price of 70 kopecks a

desyatina per year [Ibid., p. 86 reverse]. In general, the leasing of lands by Tatars, especially serving Tatars, was fairly commonplace among the Middle Volga Region peasantry. For example, the dachas of the villages of Romashkino and Biktimirovo of Chistopol uyezd included lands owned by serving murza Ait Ablyazov from the Kamkino village of Knyaginsk uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, as well as the lands of Sebukhan Enaleev, a serving Tatar from the Griban village of Sergach uyezd. Neighbouring landlords included serving Tatar Abdulmazit Shaveev, of Bugulma uyezd of Ufa guberniya, and murza Batyrshi Adelshin from the village of Starye Tigany, as well as some serving Tatars from other villages of Chistopol uyezd. It is clear that these landowners, who lived far from these lands, did not personally work the lands but leased them [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 449, p. 14].

Croplands, hay fields, forests and other lands belonging to communities of Tatar yasak peasants or to individual landowners were often located far away from peasants' settlements. How did they appear?

First of all, since ancient times, these lands, tillages and hayfields had been given to Tatar peasants as farmlands, and they could be located even in other uyezds. For example, the serving Tatars of the village of Verezi of Kazan uyezd possessed 377 desyatinas 939 square sazhen of land in Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd [Ibid., file 435, p. 64 reverse]. After the passing of the law on the 15-desyatina proportion, the central government sometimes gave land to the most land-poor peasant communities. Thus, at the end of the 18th century, the Tatar and Russian peasants of the villages of Tashkirmen, Sarali, Agaybash and Singaly of Laishev uyezd received 838 desyatinas 1113 square sazhen of hayfields [Ibid., file 412, p. 52 reverse].

Secondly, 'otkhozhy' lands (lands which owners were not taxed for) appeared as a result of purchase by richer peasants or murzas, as well as grants from the government to various landowners. For example, in Chistopol uyezd, near the Tolkish river, there were 'granted lands' amounting to 109 desyatinas 1562 square sazhen, which belonged to Shafey Urman-

cheev [Ibid., file 449, p. 37]. In the same uyezd, on the Chelna river, there were 'lands granted specifically' to murza Umer Baybekov from the village of Bakirovo with a total area of 24 desyatinas 2200 square sazhen, which were cultivated by people hired by Baybekov [Ibid., pp. 39 reverse–40]. In Kazan uyezd, near the high road from Kazan to Urzhum, there were lands, 99 desyatinas 1131 square sazhen in extension, which were bought by Mustay Iseenev and Ibray Yusupov—serving Tatars who had grown rich [Ibid., file 402, pp. 307–307 reverse].

Serving Tatars living in suburban slobodas of the city of Kazan also possessed a certain amount of land holdings in different uyezds of the guberniya. For example, in the village of Kaban, in Laishevo uyezd, a number of plots of land belonged to the following inhabitants of the sloboda: Kutly Urazlin; Abdrafik, Abdulvagap and Abdrashit Abdusalyamovs; Musa Kutushev and Bikkula Aisov, amounting to 410 desyatinas 1940 square sazhen in size [Ibid., file 403, p. 16]. The same type of 'otkhozhny' lands was found in the village of Tashkirmen in Laishevo uyezd, belonging to Bikbov Iskha-kov, an inhabitant of Old Tatar Sloboda [Ibid., file 412, p. 44]; in the village of Chertushkino, Chistopol uyezd, belonging to serving Tatar Ibrahim Mustafin [Ibid., file 449, p. 33]; and in the village of Kain Ilga of Mamadysh uyezd, as the property of serving Tatar Musa Yakupov, amounting to 3927 desyatinas 32 square sazhen in size [Ibid., file 416, p. 86 reverse]. Lands belonging to the inhabitants of the Tatar slobodas of Kazan city were cultivated either by their owners themselves or by hired men.

Since we are talking about the land ownership of the Tatar peasantry, it is also necessary to mention the trading operations in the period under consideration. In the latter half of the 18th century, serving Tatars did not sell lands as intensely as they had done, for instance, in the 1720s [Alishiev, 1973, pp. 21–22]. This does not mean that it no longer happened: sales and purchases of land continued in order to improve the economic situation of the farmers. Especially numerous materials on such deals are contained in the so-called 'controversial cases' of the General Land Survey for the late

18th century and earlier periods [Dimitriev, 1981, pp. 44–47]. The authorities were usually strict regarding buying and selling and were vigilant to ensure no deals were struck between the Tatar and Russian landlords. Deals and trade among the Tatar peasants-landlords were commonplace, and such agreements were often concluded between serving men. Here are a few examples: In May 1744, serving Tatar Mavlekey Ishmetev from the village of Ilkino of Kazan uyezd sold his part of land to service Tatarian Shafey Bikeev of the village of Kurkachi, Kazan uyezd [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 2, file 2, p. 29]. In 1786, serving Tatars Sagit, Abdrey and Mushtarey Mansurovs, together with Muradaley Murtazin, sold their lands in the village of Bolshoy Burtas of Tetyushi uyezd, 21 quarters in size, as well as their hayfields and mill, to a serving Tatar Bakey Sultanov and received 200 rubles for them. Documents usually determined the area of the land left in sellers' possession so that they could 'pay the poll tax and fulfill shipbuilding duties'. Baptised Tatar peasants and murzas sold their lands to Russian landlords, too: for example, in 1754, newly baptised serving Tatar Aleksey Anisimov sold his 'serf manorial tillage' and a mill near the village of Staroye Baryshevo of Sviyazhsk uyezd to F. Dryablov, the owner of the Kazan cloth factory. He outlined in the deed of purchase that he still had 12 quarters of land with all acreages,—enough to pay state tributes and for shipbuilding [Ibid., file 730, p. 4]—that is, 6 desyatinas in total, which is a clear example that serving Tatars' land ownership decreased during this period.

These and similar deals were concluded for a variety of reasons. For some, it was the only way to pay tax arrears or state tributes; for others, the sale of lands was the consequence of a lack of workforce for their cultivation; still others sold their lands to begin trading, which was seen as a more profitable business.

After addressing these questions of land ownership and land use among the Tatar peasants of the Middle Volga Region in the latter half of the 18th century, we can say that the differences in the size of land possessions between the yasak and serving Tatars were negligible.

There was only a small number of serving Tatars who owned individually measured dachas, obviously being in possession of the necessary documents. In the meantime, the bulk of serving Tatars' possessions were measured out as collective rural dachas, that is, they were made equal to the yasak peasants and the entire rank of Russian state peasants not only *de jure* but also *de facto*: in their real domestic life.

The rank of serving landowners experienced major shifts during the period in question. Although, in accordance with the law, land owners retained their rights if they produced the necessary documents, many serving Tatars could not aspire to that.

Land owners belonging to the yasak communities appeared to be less influenced by the qualitative and quantitative changes: both *de jure* and *de facto* yasak communities remained the holders of state lands. The documents provide scarce data on the selling of land by the yasak people.

Let us now take a look at the agricultural practices of the Tatars of the Middle Volga and Ural regions in the 18th century. In this period, the majority of the areas inhabited by the Tatars were dominated by either the three-field crop rotation or fallow systems of farming. In other regions, Tatar peasants made use of a slash-and-burn agriculture system to 'clear the land for tillage' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 21, file 1346, p. 1305]. There began the development of the three-field system in some areas, according to evidence by the renowned 18th century scholar P. Rychkov, who studied the peasant agricultural systems of the Kazan and Orenburg guberniyas: 'many Tatars and non-Christians do not make any divisions: they can sow spring grain crops in the same places where they seed winter grain'. P. Rychkov assumed that only 'hardworking farmers' kept three fields [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 375; Rychkov, 1767a]. The domination of the three-field rotation system in the 18th century among all peasants is proved by multiple documents on land deals and in particular by the formula a 'v dvu potomu zhe', which can be translated as 'and two in the same way'. Indeed, the three-field system was best suited for the conditions

of the 18th century. It had clear advantages over the more primitive fallow-shifting and slash-and-burn farming systems as it required less land and was less labour-intensive [Khalikov, 1978a, pp. 21–23], although it was directly related to cattle breeding and its conditions—a great source of manure—and was also dependent on the sophistication of sowing equipment. Swidden and fallow farming required a greater amount of land and substantial labour input, so these techniques were only rarely used by the Tatar population of the region although they were also found in some uyezds much later, in the first half of the 19th century [Khalikov, 1981, pp. 27–28].

The fallow system usually required manuring of the fallow ground. An analysis of the physical and geographical conditions of the areas of the Middle Volga Region reveals that there were diverse soil conditions for the development of agriculture, and as a rule, manuring was applied to the least fertile areas; besides, not all peasants had enough cattle for this. For instance, a traveller named N. Rychkov wrote about the soil of the southern uyezds Chistopol and Spassky of Kazan guberniya that their soil 'was so well-suited for arable farming that there is no need whatsoever to fertilise it' [Rychkov, 1770, p. 4]. I. Lepekhin noticed the same thing in his diary. He wrote that the experience of peasants from those areas had shown that applying manure to the soil was harmful for the harvest, 'for crops grow too quickly on this fertilised soil and, having thin stems, they wither before they are able to ripen and so the whole harvest is lost' [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 141].

The main means of fertilising the soil for the Tatar and non-Tatar population were the *toloka*—driving the cattle off to tillages in the autumn or winter—and burning the straw which remained in the fields. The crop was intentionally reaped higher so that the straw was left after reaping [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 375; Lepekhin, 1771, p. 141]. As outlined in the Topographic Description of Kazan guberniya, the practice of fertilising soil with manure began comparatively late, 'in recent times' [Russian State Historical Archive, fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 190 reverse].

The toloka involved grazing the cattle on the arable land for 10 or more days before safely driving the cattle off to fields sown with rye when the land was already freezing. Animals would eat the greenery but cause no particular harm [Rychkov, 1758, pp. 427–428]. However, since fodder was necessary in order to keep livestock, that is, a sufficient amount of hayfields were needed, and there was a lack of these in the region (see Wilson, 1869, p. 58), soil manuring was not common practice in the second half of the 18th century, although sources note that in some uyezds lands were 'deliberately fertilised' [Russian State Historical Archive, fund of Military Records Archive, file 18743, p. 9].

Moreover, during this period, farmers already began to observe the effectiveness of alternating between agricultural crops such as grain, technical and other garden crops, which were cultivated by peasants in the region. If one year they sowed peas, hemp or buckwheat, the next year 'even the worst soil turns into a good one' [Rychkov, 1758, p. 428].

The majority of sources also mention rye, wheat, oats, spelt, barley, millet, buckwheat, pea, flax, hemp and rutabaga among agricultural crops [Russian State Historical Archive,

fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 1 reverse; Saint Petersburg History Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, File 36, List 1, Act 488, Sheet 255; Russian State Historical Archive, File 91, List 1, Act 533, Sheets 15–23; National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, File 324, List 740, Sheet 11]. However, there are, unfortunately, not many sources providing information on one of the most important indicators of the level of development of agricultural crops: the ratio of acreages and yields. Documents contain either only fragmentary data or merely the superficial features of these indicators. Let us take a look at the numbers for 1767 and 1771 in Sviyazhsk uyezd, comparing areas of harvest in the whole uyezd in 1767 and in 37 randomly selected Tatar and mixed settlements for 1767, as well as in 45 such settlements in 1771 (table 3.6).

As a comparison, here is data on the ratio of Chuvash peasants' crops in the same uyezd in 1766: rye took up 49.9% of all farmland; oats, 17.7%; wheat, 6.9%; barley, 6.1%; spelt, 10.4%; peas, 3.5%; millet, 0.3%; hemp, 4.7%; and flax, 0.5% [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 81]. This data allow us to establish that Tatar peasants, just as peasants of other nationalities, grew rye across most of their land. Crops, such as

Table 3.6

Ratio of cultivated areas in Sviyazhsk uyezd in 1767 and 1771 (in desyatinas)

Crops	The whole uyezd 1767 (in%)	Tatar settlements	
		1767 (in%)	1771 (in%)
Rye	26716 (50.00)	1772 (49.97%)	3136 (59.13)
Wheat	7331 (13.72)	415 (11.70)	591 (11.14)
Oats	8080 (15.12)	392 (11.05)	1017 (19.17)
Spelt	5166 (9.67)	281 (7.92)	287 (5.41)
Barley	1599 (2.99)	291 (8.21)	28 (0.53)
Millet	88 (0.16)	55 (1.55)	1 (0.02)
Hemp	2522 (4.72)	209 (5.89)	120 (2.26)
Flax	220 (0.41)	25 (0.70)	
Peas	1637 (3.16)	106 (2.99)	124 (2.34)
Buckwheat	22 (0.04)		

wheat, oats and spelt, were sown in different ways in different years. However, we can also see that while areas of oats and spelt are more variable, the percentage of wheat is fairly stable, and that wheat had its own place among other agricultural crops. The ratio of areas of cultivation of one crop or another across all the Tatar settlements of the Volga and Ural regions of the 18th century is difficult to trace due to the scarcity of extant sources.

However, the general picture by the end of the 18th century is as follows:

Calculated in accordance with: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 455, p. 66; file 511, pp. 23–30 reverse; file 1000, pp. 23–37].

Rye appears to be the most common crop in almost every area. Different crops were sown in certain areas depending on their nature and soil conditions, not on to the religion or nationality of the farmers; this is why we come across such fluctuations in the areas of sowing of oat, wheat and spelt. There is also a fairly significant percentage of land dedicated to growing hemp, an important industrial crop. It was sown in almost every Tatar settlement in Sviyazhsk uyezd.

A distinctive feature of Tatar peasant households in certain uyezds, especially in the fertile southern uyezds of Kazan guberniya, Spassky and Chistopol, was the fact that their fields were sown with lentils rather than peas, lentils being a more drought-resistant crop but also vulnerable to frost. This is noted by well-known sources [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 145; Rychkov, 1758, p. 516].

While we are describing these systems of agriculture it is worth mentioning the elements of the farmers' labour: the methods used, the timing and features of soil preparation, sowing, harvest, threshing, storage of agricultural output and tools.

The sources do not often offer detailed descriptions of these elements, but they provide sufficient information for us to form a general picture of some of the specific features of the agriculture of Tatar peasants in this period.

The periods of agricultural production were directly dependent on the natural environment and quality of soil, but in general, they are

fairly accurately defined. The ploughing of the land for spring-planted crops usually began at the end of April, and seeds were sown in late April or early May. The tillage of the soil for autumn rye were done in the second half of June or at the beginning of July. The land was ploughed and harrowed a month later. How did the peasants of the region prepare the land for sowing? The main tools for this were the *saban*—a heavy plough with a metal blade—and the *sokha*—a wooden plough. The area of arable land was ploughed twice with a *sokha* and usually once with a *saban* before harrowing the land with the latter, usually twice.

The timing and sequence of the sowing of various crops have been described by P. Rychkov: Spring rye was the first to be sown in the spring, followed by peas and lentils, and then oats, wheat, spelt, barley, millet, flax, hemp and, finally, rutabaga, the last crop to be sown, around July 8. Around 23 April, once 'the birch-tree begins to show its first leaves', oats was sown, and wheat was sown from 9th to 30th May, depending on weather conditions. Rye was usually sown in the first half of August although sometimes this could be delayed until September. The land was first ploughed with a *sokha*, making furrows two *sazhens* apart from each other, and the field was then scattered with seeds while walking between these furrows. After this, the land was harrowed [Rychkov, 1758, pp. 484–485, 503, 506, 508, 513]. Tatar peasants had a particular way of sowing seeds in some regions: they usually ploughed the land first, then sowed the seeds and harrowed the soil after that. Other peasants tended to sow the seeds in the first place, before ploughing and harrowing the land [Manuscript Department of M. Saltykov-Shchedrin, fund 542, file 798, p. 16 reverse].

As mentioned earlier, the main ploughing equipment among the peasants consisted of the *saban*, *sokha* and *borona* [harrow]. The *saban* was the most widely used ploughing tool among Tatar peasants during this period. This is confirmed by the sources [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 9; Saint-Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Science, File 36, List 1, Act 488, Sheet 262

back side; Russian State Historical Archive, File 91, List 1, Act 381, Sheet 374 back side; Rychkov, 1758, pp. 415–417]. These tools are described in detail in the literature [Khalikov, 1981, pp. 55–59], so we will only mention that the depth of saban ploughing was one quarter or more (17–20 cm), while the sokha, which was more common among the Russian population, could plough the land at a depth of 3 vershoks [measure of length equivalent to 1.75 inches] or 1 quarter (14–17 cm) [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 374 reverse]. The saban was effective when developing virgin or long-unused lands, but since such types of land became much rarer in the Middle Volga Region during this period, peasants everywhere began to switch to the lighter sokha. Moreover, the saban was usually dragged by 3–4 horses, and not every peasant had them. Nevertheless, the saban, seen by I. Lepekhin in the Mordovian village of Besovka, was still common in many regions and was successfully used by many peoples such as the Chuvash peasants [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 85]. With the decline in the amount of virgin lands, Tatar peasants gradually stopped using the saban [Rychkov, 1758, p. 419; Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 374 reverse]. This is evident, for example, in the property inventories of the Tatar villages of Kazan uyezd compiled during a judicial ruling in 1768. Iron ploughshares (parts of the sokha) were listed as present in many households of yasak and serving Tatar peasants of the villages of Menger, Shemordan, Kushkat, Nurmabash, Kuperly [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 529, inv. 1, file 1540, pp. 2 reverse, 4 reverse, 5–7].

The following example provides evidence that the sokha was widely used: in 1768, during an inquiry at the Simbirsk provincial chancery, peasants Kaley Kadyrmetov and Ait Davydov, from the villages of Verkhniy and Chetkas Nizhniy, said that they had been at the blacksmith's in a neighbouring village in order to 'fix ploughshares and other ploughing tools' [Ibid., fund 443, inv. 2, file 163, p. 7 reverse]. The basic tool for harrowing, among the Tatars and other peasants of the region, was the braided borona (harrow) [Rychkov, 1758, p. 420], not

to be confused with an earlier type known as borona-smyk [a primitive harrow consisting of the trunk of a fir tree with outward knots] or the borona-sukovatka [Khalikov, 1981, p. 67]. These harrows had wooden tines though there were also iron ones [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 9].

The land was usually very thoroughly prepared prior to sowing the seeds. P. Rychkov described Tatar peasants' way of doing it as follows: 'some Tatar peasants sow seeds into the land which is so well ploughed by the saban that they do not need to plough it again the following time. After seeding crops, they harrow the land and sometimes the crop grows really well. But farmers who are more diligent and careful, after the land gets burnt by the sun, always harrow it perpendicularly to the direction of ploughing before they start seeding. The next time, they plough it with the same saban so as to break clay or slabs of turf...and after breaking them and softening the land, they sow the seeds and then harrow the land' [Rychkov, 1758, p. 418].

The timing of the harvest depended in many ways on the weather conditions, but harvests usually began in the first two weeks of August. The main tool used for reaping was the sickle. Scythes such as the gorbusha [a scythe with a short bent handle] and the litovka [a scythe with a long straight handle] were usually used for trimming grass, while buckwheat and sometimes peas were cut with sickles. Industrial crops, such as flax and hemp, were pulled out by hand [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 376 reverse].

We will mention only the most distinctive features of the harvest and processing of crops among Tatar peasants, since the main elements of these types of agricultural work were traditional and common to all the peoples in the region; moreover, the literature provides detailed descriptions of these activities [Khalikov, 1981, pp. 72–100].

1) After the harvest, crops were arranged into klads (oblong stacks) and odyonyas (round stacks of bundles); Tatar peasants also built a type of raised platforms on poles, which protected the grain from dampness and rodents.

These raised platforms were built at a height of 2–3 quarters above ground (around 50–60 cm) [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 377]. This fact is mentioned in all sources as an evidence of the prudent and methodical attitude of the peasants towards the harvest.

2) An everyday tool used by Tatar and Chuvash peasants to dry leaves was the ovin-shish, which consisted of an elongated pit, covered with a conical skeleton-like structure of poles. Sheaves were placed on this pole structure, and a fire was made in the pit [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, pp. 40 reverse, 42 reverse; Lepekhin, 1771, pp. 146–147]. The drying of sheaves in ovin-shishas was only possible when the weather was dry and clear, which is why Kazan governor A. Kvashnin-Samarin justly considered them to be a disadvantage of the Tatar farming [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 113, file 1651, p. 326], although it had other advantages, such as portability and simplicity.

3) The threshing of grain had some peculiar features, too. There were three main ways to do this: a) with a manual beater; b) by spreading out the sheaves on an even surface; and c) using horses. The third method involved placing a pole in the threshing floor (*gumno*) and laying out several rows of sheaves around this pole. Three to five horses would be attached to this pole and made to walk over the sheaves [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 378]. It is clear that this method was not used when there was a need to have straw left.

Crop yields are an important indicator of the marketability of agricultural production. This data is fairly difficult to calculate for separate nations; therefore, we will use general information on the regions instead. Let us focus first on the seed rate for one *desyatina* of tillage: a single *desyatina* of land was sown with 2 quarters of rye, 3–4 quarters of oats, 2–3 quarters of barley and 2 quarters of wheat and buckwheat.

In the latter half of the 18th century the overall seeding rate appears to fall: rye was seeded at 1–2 quarters per *desyatina*, oats, up to 3 quarters; and other crops, up to 1–2. Research

conducted by E. Indova show that although the overall yield capacity across the entire state in the 18th century shows a growing trend in comparison with the 17th century; however, in the Middle Volga Region the yield capacity of some crops appears to fall throughout the century: rye falls from sam 4.1 to sam 3.9, wheat falls from sam 3.9 to sam 3.5, while oats rise up to sam 4 [Indova, 1970, p. 153] [a sam is a conditional measure of productivity, which determines how many times the yield exceeds the cost].

These are the seeding rates as described by the sources: rye was seeded at 1 to 1.5 quarters per *desyatina*, and produced yields of between 6 and 18 quarters; wheat was seeded at 2 quarters, with yields just over 5 or 6 quarters; oats were seeded at 3.5 to 4 quarters and gave yields of 10 to 23 quarters; spelt was seeded by 3 quarters and yielded 6 to 15 quarters.

Data on a number of Tatar villages of *Sviyazhsk uyezd*, describing the agricultural yields of 1767 and 1771, reveals that 1767 was an unfruitful year for the majority of Tatar settlements. Most of crops were reaped at the same level they were seeded, that is, the yield capacity was extremely low, from sam 1 to sam 1.5. Conditions improved in 1771, although that year the yield capacity remained low: sam 1.5 to sam 3 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 511, pp. 23–30 reverse; file 1000, reverse 23–37].

In 1792, Kazan governor S. Barataev described crop yields in *Arsk* and *Chistopol uyezds* as follows: 'grain in the two uyezds grew poorly, at just over one quarter of grain per person, but the population still have grain left from last year...' [Ibid., fund of State Archive XVI, file 727, p. 1 reverse]. 'Just over one quarter' is approximately 8.5 to 9 poods of grain (one pood being roughly equivalent to 16.38 kg), which is undoubtedly a poor yield.

It is interesting that people who came from the Middle Volga Region, such as the merchant Tatars of the *Seitov (Kargala) sloboda* near *Orenburg*, managed to raise agriculture to such a high level that sources described their successes in flattering terms: 'At *Seitov Sloboda*, they sow well, but almost all crops are those which are seeded in the springtime. Their wheat

is so good it compares well to *krupchataya* (the highest grade) flour in baking'. Their yields amounted to sam 6–7, although the lands were no more fertile than in the surrounding uyezds of Orenburg guberniya [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 364].

The sources thus present a rather uneven picture of the various crop yields across the territories inhabited by the Tatar population in this period. In the Middle Volga Region, due to its comparatively fertile soil, although yields decreased slightly by the end of the 18th century, they were still comparable with the output of the *chernozem* [black-earth] regions [Indova, 1970, p. 153]. The pattern of crop distribution shifted gradually along with the changing productivity and economic interests, as well as environmental conditions. In the Middle Volga Region, these factors mainly affected such crops as oats, spelt and wheat and only applied to rye production to a lesser extent as the areas where it was grown were fairly stable.

Bad harvests in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions were also frequent. For example, the worst consequences were those caused by the crop failures of 1766–1767, 1787–1788; for certain uyezds, in 1754, 1758, 1763, 1778, 1783, 1785, 1795 [Bezobrazov, 1893, pp. 48–73; Indova, 1970, p. 144; Slovtsov, 1858, pp. 470, 480].

Along with agriculture, Tatar peasants were also dedicated to vegetable gardening, horticulture and hop-growing. Contemporaries noted that the peasants of the region had vegetable gardens, while I. Lepekhin reported that beetroot, carrot, cabbage and cucumbers were grown in these gardens [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 147]. I. Georgi only mentions 'various greens' [Georgi, 1779, p. 14].

We can assume that Tatar settlements also had flower gardens. For example, documents from the 1760s mention apple trees and other 'vegetables' in Tatar and Chuvash villages of the Sviyazhsk uyezd [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 394, 413]. Strawberries were also seen in several Tatar villages [Manuscript Department of M. Saltykov-Shchedrin, fund 542, file 798, p. 23], along with guelder-rose and cherry [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 149], used by the women to make

sweets and various drinks. However, vegetable and flower gardens were rare among the Tatars, which can be attributed to the need to increase crop yields by maximising the use of the available land. They were also rare due to the family divisions of farmland and, to some extent, because these crops were not traditional for the Tatar population.

Growing hops was not as common among the Tatar peasants of the Volga and Ural regions as it was among the Chuvash. However, hop gardens were mentioned in the 18th century in some Tatar villages such as Urazlino, Ullya, Borisovsky Atar, etc. in the Tsaryovokokshaisk uyezd [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 435, pp. 62, 80 reverse, 83, 98, 103, 104 reverse].

As we can see, the agriculture of Tatar peasants in the Volga and Ural Regions developed along the same lines as that of the peasants of other nationalities. This does not exclude the existence of certain distinctive features in their agricultural methods, sowing and threshing techniques, and ploughing equipment, which were connected both with the traditional nature of these practices and with the diversity of the natural, soil and socio-economic conditions of the various areas. All these distinctive features were always transparent, and the most useful and necessary crafts were part of a common body of knowledge.

Cattle-breeding supported Tatar peasant agriculture; the sources even emphasise their 'special inclination to cattle-breeding' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund of Military Records, file 18743, p. 4; file 19026, p. 245; Georgi, 1779, p. 10]. Unfortunately, based just on the surviving sources, it is hard to form a detailed picture of the way cattle-breeding was done among Tatar peasants in the 18th century and, in particular, to make comparisons between the amount of cattle they possessed and the amount of land at their disposal. However, from various descriptions of farms, we can observe that the Tatars usually kept horses, cows, sheep, goats and domestic fowl: chickens, geese and ducks. The supply of cattle usually depended upon families' economic circumstances. Families with an average income usually kept 2 or 3 horses, the same number

of cows, 10 to 12 sheep or goats and 10 to 15 chickens or geese. In 1756, the properties of a number of yasak Tatar peasants in the villages of Kazan uyezd were seized for selling 'unlawful' salt. As part of the court proceedings, Abdulyaz Urazaev from the village of Menger is described as owning 2 horses, 2 cows, 2 sheep and 5 chickens; Ismail Almyakov possessed only one horse and 5 chickens; Mursalim Bikchurin from the village of Nizhny Samit had 2 horses and 10 chickens; Sagit Seitov owned 1 horse, 2 cows and chickens; Semen Kutlin had a horse, 2 sheep, a duck and 7 chickens; Ishmurat Ishmenev from the village of Shemordan owned a horse, a cow, 5 sheep, 5 chickens and a goose; a newly-baptised Tatar Ivan Yakovlev from the village of Kushkat owned a horse, a cow, 3 sheep, a goose, a duck and 10 chickens; Bikbov Abdurakhmanov from the village of Nurmabash possessed a horse, 4 cows, 3 sheep and 6 chickens; Subkhankul Kimekeev from the village of Kuperly owned 3 horses, a sheep, a goat and 7 chickens [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 529, inv. 1, file 1540, pp. 2–8 reverse].

In regions further to the east, cattle were kept in larger numbers although there was a starker level of inequality between the peasants. In 1797, when describing the personal items of a yasak Tatar Abzelil Suyargulov from the village of Kainly of Menzelinsk uyezd, he appeared to possess 2 horses, 5 cows, 15 sheep, 3 geese, 30 chickens; Teptyar Salikh Nadyrov from the village of Kaintyuba had 2 horses, 3 cows, 2 sheep and 15 chickens; tep-tyar Adnagula Syrtlanov, 6 horses, 2 cows, 4 sheep; Ishmukhamet Tokaev, 2 horses, 2 cows, 3 sheep; while an inhabitant of the village of Murtysh-Tamak Timergazi Timerlin only had one horse and two cows [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 1, file 138, pp. 149–149 reverse; file 139, p. 93; inv. 2, file 397, pp. 105 reverse, 153 reverse, 154]. Thus, we can see that the presence of domestic animals in households and their number shows, to some extent, that Tatar peasants had different household capacities—the quantity of livestock for the most part depended upon how large hayfields were. We should say that travellers of the 18th century noted the un-

even distribution of livestock among peasants. Rich peasants' herds usually grazed separately [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 149]. In Eastern regions of Kazan and Ufa guberniyas, an owner was considered to be poor if he had 15 horses and 5 cows (!) [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 98 reverse]. Besides, according to sources, the Meshcheryaks, yasak and serving Tatars 'had no shortage in horses, however, [they were] not as rich as the Bashkir or Kirghiz people, but among them, there could be found those possessing a hundred heads and more. They do not keep many sheep, but they have more cows in comparison with anyone living in Orenburg guberniya, and their cattle are far larger than the Russian ones' [Ibid., p. 371 reverse].

Tatar peasants were also noted to have had a lot of barnyard fowl; besides, 'they tend to keep geese. These cannot be found anywhere else in the summer, except for in Tatar dwellings', and by the autumn, Tatar families could have 30–40 geese.

Prices for cattle significantly differed in various regions, but the average price for a horse was 5–15 rubles and sometimes 25–40 rubles. A cow could be bought at the price of 3–6 rubles; a sheep, for 50 kopecks; a goose, for 10–15 kopecks; a chicken, for 5–6 kopecks.

Livestock was penned in especially built cattlesheds or black izbas; in the winter time they were kept in enclosures constructed near villages, and in the summertime, after the cattle were driven off to pastures, the places of their enclosures and cattlesheds were sown with gallow grass [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 149; Pallas, 1786, p. 8]. During wintertime, cattle were fed with hay or straw (spelt or wheat chop). Straw was finely crumbed and scalded. It is curious that they usually tried to feed sheep with straw, almost totally excluding hay from their ration, since according to folk sayings, those sheep who were subsisted on pure hay fell ill often and also gave poor wool [Lepekhin, 1771, p. 149].

Livestock products were used both for domestic use and for sale. Milk was used to produce butter, cheese-qurt, and the like. From the wool, Tatar rural women felted loden for onuchis [leg-wrappers] and kaftans [male over-

clothes] and also weaved broadcloth. Leather was used to produce fur coats, overcoats, boots, hats and horse harness [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 402, pp. 197 reverse, 362; file 412, p. 245; file 416, p. 104 reverse, 114 reverse, 116 reverse]. Raw leather was sometimes sold to tanneries operating in the area's uyezds [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, p. 52].

Beekeeping should be mentioned among other crafts. Sources note that Tatar peasants were 'extremely keen on bees', and beekeeping is mentioned in many villages of the Middle Volga Region as one of the people's crafts, for example, in the villages of Kazan, Laishevo, Chistopol and Mamadysh uyezds, while yasak Tatars of the village of Chebatyrev of Chistopol uyezd were involved into honey selling at 'nearby bazaars [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 449, p. 122].

Fishing and trapping among Tatar peasants in the period under consideration were left practically unmentioned. There are only a few mentions of them in documents: a reference to fishing in the 'Economic remarks' of Kazan uyezd and also to trapping among serving Tatars of the village of Yanbulatovo of Laishevo uyezd, as well as among yasak Tatars of the villages of Bakhtivrag, Dyurtyuly, Gorokhovoe Pole of Mamadysh uyezd [Ibid., file 402, p. 198; file 412, p. 233; file 416, p. 73].

Work equipment and necessary household tools were usually made by peasants themselves: 'almost every village has its own tanners, shoemakers, tailors, dyers, blacksmiths and carpenters. Hardworking rural women span and weave their own wool and flax, as well as hemp of their own production' [Georgi, 1779, p. 11]. There were made sledges, carts, equipment for ploughing (for example, wooden ploughs were made by cleaving growing trees towards their roots), as well as household equipment [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 412, pp. 240, 241 reverse; file 416, pp. 104 reverse, 114 reverse]. I. Lepekhin, unlike I. Georgi, did not notice blacksmiths in Tatar villages and wrote that only foreign ones frequented them [Georgi, 1779, p. 152].

Characteristics of household conditions and domestic activities of the peasantry would be incomplete without describing outbuildings and elements of everyday life. Here is a description of the property belonging to above mentioned Abzelil Suyargulov from the village of Kainly of Menzelinsk uyezd, who, judging by the number of cattle, belonged to the peasants of the average income: 'the house made of lime, and another opposite of it is of pine. Both of them have lopsided (that is, inclining.—I.G.) windows with a hall between them, which is enclosed with a linden fence. In the yard, there is one pine shed with an internal partition, which in turn has two doors, roofed with lath. Besides, there is an aspen barn, a shabby one, also roofed with lath. The barn's shed is aspen, its cattleshed has one calf crib and is covered by polubins (that is, lime bark.—I.G.), which is also shabby. Fencing near the yard is made of linden, there are field gates in the yard, and there are five linden fences near them, as well as a straw floor fenced by a curtain wall' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 1, file 138, p. 149]. A peasant Mursalim Bikchurin from the village of Nizhny Samit of Kazan uyezd had: 'two fir izbas and planked halls between them, and two fir pantries in the hall, two linden tables, a fir closet, a banya, stables with an internal partition, a cattleshed...' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 529, inv. 1, file 1540, p. 2 reverse]. Less diverse constructions belonged to a yasak Tatar Semen Kutlin from the same village: 'a fir izba and in front of it a hall with an internal partition, a fir banya, a fir closet, a cattleshed with stables inside' [Ibid., p. 4 reverse].

We can see that Tatar peasants used different kinds of timber—pine, fir, aspen, linden—for diverse household premises. The outbuildings themselves were used for various domestic needs and were, therefore, quite diverse. They are fairly clear indicators of the owners' prosperity. This is also evidenced by inventories of property belonging to Tatar peasants from certain villages. There were the following items in the house of Teptyar Salikh Nadirov from the village of Kainyube of Menzelinsk uyezd: 'two feather beds, two feather pillows, zipun [peas-

ant outerwear] made of blue simple cloth, two bent boxes of aspen, a cast iron boiler with a capacity of two buckets, five painted wooden cups, a painted wooden platter, a tanned leather kneading trough, a book in the Tatar language, male kotki and trousers, two axes, two adzes and draw-knives apiece, two flat chisels, an iron screwdriver, two scissors, a block for sharpening axes, a back band and girth, seven coopered tubs, a scythe, three sickles, threshers, two sieves, a wicker cart with front and rear wheels [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1241, inv. 2, file 397, pp. 105–105 reverse]. As we see, the belongings were quite diverse. Presence of multiple metal items is an evidence of their wide use in Tatar village trade as there were usually no local blacksmiths in the settlements, and peasants either used services of foreigners or travelled to other villages.

Summing up all the above described about agricultural production among the Tatar pop-

ulation of the Volga and Ural Regions, let us emphasise that it was, undoubtedly, based upon economic traditions which had been developed throughout centuries and, first of all, upon agricultural ones. It is beyond controversy that a great influence upon the development of agriculture came from the natural-geographic factor, and it continued to be dependent upon vagaries of nature. State policy-making, especially tax and tribute system, had a great impact upon the performance of agricultural production. It is obvious that peasants of different nationalities, who lived side by side over centuries, could not help sharing their agricultural experience. They imparted skills and exchanged the most effective tools and equipment, as well as means of managing their holdings. Tatar agriculture, like rural activities of other nations of the Empire, kept moving forward in the 18th century and continued its development. And, despite difficulties of various kinds, it achieved certain successes.

§2. Development of Small Forms of Production and Manufacture

Ilshat Fayzrahmanov

Becoming part of the Russian state in the mid-17th century determined the Tatar economic situation and affected the whole of their history. Trade was one of primary prerequisites for the emergence and development of small forms of production and their sectoral focus. The market determined what goods needed to be produced and in which quantity. Close, long-standing economic and trade ties with many cities and regions of Russia and abroad contributed to the development of the regional economy as a whole.

It became possible to create favourable economic conditions for the region's prosperity thanks largely to the activities of Tatar merchants. Describing a Tatar's activities, V. Ragozin noted that 'trade is his element. If he obtains the smallest capital, he immediately commences trading: buys apples and cherries in some Russian villages, exchanges eggs in other villages, finds lambskin, re-sells horses; and he sells it with great benefits for himself...

Due to sharp wits, quickness and roguery, many Tatars turn rich' [Ragozin, 1881, p. 171].

Changes in the life of the Tatar population, which occurred during the reign of Catherine II, also concerned trade. The Tatars received greater freedom to conduct economic activities in various regions of the empire; restrictions that prevented their entry into the merchant class were lifted. In 1782, a self-governing body of Kazan's Tatar settlements—the Tatar Hall—was created. As a result of these steps, the government hoped to increase budget revenues as well as win the favour of influential circles of Tatar society and thus bring them under their control. In many ways, this question was resolved to the removal of social and political tensions that had taken place among the non-Russian population of the region in the middle of the 18th century. Such tensions had, to a large extent, been caused by the Christianisation, which was pursued by the authorities in the preceding period.

Market-oriented industry based on hired labour was established during the reign of Catherine II. Later, it developed steadily and irreversibly, while the country's serfdom system was maintained.

A number of factors contributed to the successful development of the Tatar manufacturing industry: 1. Tatar entrepreneurs already had some skills and experience in managing such affairs, many of the types of production for them were traditional ones. 2. They tended to use hired labour—even in the era of serfdom—in their enterprises, and products tended to be liquidated via the market. 3. Under the conditions of free competition when big business had not yet monopolised production, their small enterprises with two or three or more workers could compete with Russian companies relatively easily. 4. Long-established trade relations with the Kazakhs and the East helped to obtain cheap raw materials in the form of leather, animal fat and so on. 5. In the Kazakh steppe and Middle Asia, they had an unlimited market for their own products as well as for those of Russian manufacture. 6. The incipient crisis of the serf manufacturing production offered great opportunities for profitable capital investments. 7. The state's economic policy was aimed at developing trade and industry in general, not only that of Russians.

The evolution of the mercantile economy in the first half of the 18th century was characterised by instability of merchant families and permanent changes in the composition of the merchant class in general. No Kazan merchant family of Peter I's era managed to retain its position into even the early 19th century. However, a lot of Kazan's eminent merchants and manufacturers of the 19th century and early 20th century were descendants of those who began at the rise of trade and manufacturing production in the second half of the 18th century. These include the names of Yunusov, Apanayev, Burnaev, Kvasnikov, Aitov, Khuzya-seitov, Mamatov and many others [Sverdlova, 1998, p. 8].

Skilled and Domestic Crafts. Skilled labour was developing in rural areas, including areas with a Tatar predominance in the population. They covered new settlements and new

categories of peasants, where they already existed. I. Georgi noted, 'Every village [of the Kazan and Orenburg Tatars] has its tanners, shoemakers, tailors, dyers, blacksmiths, carpenters...' [Istoriya, 1937, p. 222]. V. Sboev wrote in his study that 'almost all suburban villages of Kazan uyezd were composed of artisans, such as woodworkers, plumbers, carpenters and others. Some curried Morocco leather, Russian leather and other skins' [Sboev, 1856, p. 34]. As was noted in the description of the town of Yelabuga in 1784, 'crafts and artistry [are found] among them: icon painting, blacksmithing, cobbler's work, silver and copper works, lining'. These artisans left for Ufa, Perm, Kazan, Simbirsk *namestnichestvos* to work as 'tailors, cobblers, sheepskin dressers' [Grishkina, 1977, pp. 77–78].

Woodworking crafts were successfully developing. Crafts of weaving products from bark and bast (bast weaving, footwear manufacturing, bast shoe making, rope making), carpentry, sawing, woodworking, cooperage, charcoal burning and potash production, sledges, and others were especially widespread. Carpentry was particularly developed among the Tatars. It is no accident that K. Fuchs noted, '...I used to see Tatar men engaged in building wooden houses in Russian villages' (quoted by [Khalikov, 1998, p. 41]). Woodworking included production of textile machinery: shuttles, looms, spindles. In addition, carpenters made furniture, windows and doors, shovels, kitchen utensils, etc.

Barrels were made in the cold season indoors; in the summer, outdoors, under a canopy, where necessary materials and tools were stored. Some barrel makers had a separate premise—a small log house, located among the outbuildings. Products supplied by barrel makers covered the needs of the local population and residents of other areas. Most of the staves were sent to the lower reaches of the Volga to make fish barrels [Busygin, 1966, p. 149]. Barrels with iron hoops were becoming widespread as well. They started to manufacture them on an industrial scale in the Kazan Admiralty back in Peter I's era.

The population in rural areas were engaged in processing agricultural raw materials and

manufacturing various leather products, wool, etc. Crafts were mostly widespread among the Russian and Tatar population. Certain types of crafts were characteristic of a certain ethnicity. The most common crafts among the Tatars were weaving and processing leather; among the Russians, metal work.

Weaving was one of traditional crafts for the Tatars. Advances in producing calico fabrics were possible due to the Tatar tradition of weaving, that had already spanned several centuries. Many peasants were engaged in manufacturing broadcloth and woven cloth. I. Lepekhin noted that 'the Tatars made coarse cloth kaftans and onuchi (leggings)'. I. Georgi wrote, 'hard-working rural women spin, weave their own wool or flax or hemp that they have purchased' (quoted by [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 191]).

Tannery became developed the most among the Tatars as it was traditional for them. This included leather processing (production of Russian leather), as well as work with sheepskin and goatskin (furs, Morocco leather) and sewing products from them. The bulk of skins processed by leather artisans went on making shoes. National Tatar shoes—ichigi and green Morocco leather shoes—were made of leather. Thus, in the 1790s, a Kazan-based cobbler Mustafa Fayzullin undertook a business trip to the Seitov sloboda of Orenburg guberniya, where he bought a sample of men's ichigi, made in Bukhara. Returning to Kazan, he used it as a model to manufacture men's and women's shoes on his own. Others followed his lead [Obzor, 1896, p. 55]. The quality of the manufactured skin was very high. In his 'Travels...', the Englishman John Bell noted that the best Russian leather was manufactured in Kazan; it was exported to Italy (Livorno) and other European countries [Znamenity'e lyudi, 1990, p. 28]. The main production centre of ichigi was Kazan and neighbouring villages and settlements. The villages of Alaty and Atnya in the Kazan uyezd became major centres of the leather industry. This craft was widespread in Chistopol, Spassky, Mamadysh and Tetyushi uyezds. High-quality products of Morocco leather, especially ichigi, were in great demand among locals, in-

cluding the Russians. An inventory list for the property of a Kazan merchant, G. Kamenev, deceased in 1803, contains the following: 'a pair of ichetki (soft, tooled boots) and green Morocco slippers, embroidered with gold' (quoted by [Busygin, 1966, p. 169]). Most of the population of Middle Asia wore leather shoes that had been made by Kazan's craftsmen. Also, they manufactured calf leather, hard and soft soles, glazed calfskin, rawhide and other types of leather. These products were used to make boots, leather overshoes, gloves, harnesses, etc. Skins were processed in numerous tanneries, some without much industrially-suitable space: tanning was performed in a tank, that stood in courtyard; finishing took place in a craftsman's izba. The enterprise was usually headed by the owner, whose family members helped in the process. Usually, every village had a common tannery, where residents manufactured skins from all farms. The popularity of manufacturing leather products contributed to the production of ash, potash alum and other materials required for processing leather.

Sheepskin dressing was of great importance in the economic life of the population as well. There was a furrier almost in every village. These traditions continued into the 19th century. For example, a lot of families in the village of Baychuga of Atnya volost (Kazan uyezd) were engaged in the manufacture of sheepskin. In winter, almost the entire male population of the village worked in leather 'factories' in Kazan. Teenagers over 10 years of age were hired at these factories as well [Materialy, 1887, pp. 184–185]. The village of Karaduli in Kazan uyezd was famous for making sheepskins. There were a lot of furriers in the villages of the Kazan and Mamadysh uyezds, and they were almost exclusively Tatars'. Felting was widespread in Kukmor.

A lot of residents were engaged in tailoring. Tailors usually worked at home. They sewed dresses, coats, kaftans, hats and other clothing from material supplied by the customer. A large number of orders came from officials, landlords, villagers. Customers travelled to a well-known tailor even from distant villages. Some tailors went from village to village in search of work. Tailoring was a trade usually

done in the autumn and winter periods. With the onset of frost, tailors dispersed across local villages in pairs (mostly a male adult with a teenager); they stopped where there was work for them. Most of tailors were the Tatars. About 90% of all tailors in the Laishevo, Mamadysh and Kazan uyezds were Tatars. At the end of the 18th century, a Kasimov-based merchant Davletkildeev in the settlement of Shemordan and the village of Yadyger established a sheepskin and tailoring business,—crafts well-established in the area—specialising in the manufacture of sheepskin coats, coats, hats, and mittens [Khalikov, 1998, p. 72]. Tailoring was well-developed in the villages of Bolshiye and Verkhnie Kibyak-Kozi, Maksabash, Pochinok Uyut, Bolshiye Meteski in Laishevo uyezd and others [Materialy, 1887, p. 256]. E. Busygin notes that sometimes Tatar tailors would live in Russian villages for several years [Busygin, 1966, p. 303]. Tatar tailors from the Trans-Kazan area were particularly famous for their skills in making sheepskin coats; they served not only local customers but also those in the Kama region, the Cis-Urals and the Urals. A lot of tailors engaged in the manufacturing of robes, heavy cloth coats, sheepskins etc. lived in Buinsk uyezd of Simbirsk guberniya.

In terms of the development of crafts and trades, Kazan, Mamadysh, Tsaryovokokshaisk and Laishevo uyezds of Kazan guberniya gained a particular prominence. N. Khalikov points out several features of the area: high concentration of the population in general and the Tatars in particular, resulting in significant losses of manpower in rural areas; old craft traditions of the population, including ones that dated back to the Tatar urban culture; proximity to Kazan; developed transportation system of the Volga-Kama-Vyatka region. Since the middle of the 18th century, the quantity of craftsmen in the area was failing to correspond to the capabilities of local resource bases and markets [Khalikov, 1998, p. 71]. Small entrepreneurial and large commercial and industrial national capitals took advantage of the favourable economic situation. As a result, a craft and production centre, large in terms of its area and scale, was formed in the areas around Kazan in the 18th century [Ibid.].

Thus, in the 18th century, there were certain changes in the development of handicraft production—it became marked by a quantitative increase in arts and crafts; products were spread farther from their place of production. The leading trend in small-scale production was to further strengthen market orientation. The specialisation of areas was getting deeper. An original industrial culture was developing. Workshops, skills and business connections were passed from generation to generation.

Manufacture. From the beginning of the reign of Peter I, Russian industry had entered the 'manufacturing' stage of its history. Authorities directed their efforts primarily toward the development of large-scale manufacturing in metallurgy, woolen manufacturing, shipbuilding, etc. The operation of the Admiralty in Kazan, of iron and steel plants in the Ural regions was maintained mainly through exploitation of peasants, assigned to them, mainly from the Tatars.

Thus, by the end of the 18th century, there were from 2,930 to 3,167 people working at 9 copper smelting plants in the territory of modern Tatarstan (Bemysh, Bersut, Bogoslovsky, Korinsky, Ishteryaksky, Meshinsky, Taishevka, Shilva and Varzya-Alekseyev plants). There worked 1,140 craftsmen, 901 serfs and from 889 to 1,126 free workers. The latter were mainly engaged in the extraction and transportation of copper ore to factories.

An important role in ensuring the availability of labour force for metallurgical enterprises in the Ural region played the assigning peasants to these enterprises. Peasants from areas where plants operated were drawn in large numbers to work at them. However, by the end of the 18th century, there was a relatively low population density in the Ural and Cis-Ural regions, where most of smelters were opened. Therefore, peasants from nearby governorates, where the population density was higher, were sent to work at those enterprises. For example, more than 25,000 of serf peasants from the Laishevo, Chistopol, Mamadysh and Kazan uyezds were assigned to Votkinsk, Izhevsk, Avzyan-Petr's, Voznesensk, Rozhdestvensky, Taishevka, Shilva and other plants. For example, in 1767 only Votkinsk and Izhevsk plants

had 18,971 peasants assigned to them [Chulkov, 1786, p. 553]. There were 2,592 peasants assigned to Avzyan-Petr's plants [German, 1808, p. 553]. As for local companies, in 1757, the number of serf peasants assigned to Korinsky, Taishevka and Shilva plants reached 789; by the end of the century, only Taishevka plant had such workers (130) [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki, 1956, p. 343]. It shows that the labour of serf peasants was used less and less in the smelting industry in the second half of the 18th century. At the same time, the number of civilian employees in the mining industry was growing.

The rate of assigning state peasants to copper smelting plants was up to 50 households (four working persons per household) for each thousand poods (approximately 16,000 kg) of melted copper. Each bonded peasant was obliged to work a certain number of days at the plant annually: 17 days for a mounted peasant in the winter, 28 days in the summer; 42 days for an unmounted peasant in the winter, 34 days in the summer (excluding the time spent getting to the mill and back). However, owners of plants used to pay the poll tax for those peasants, which resulted in the fact that bonded peasants were forced to work from 80 to 160 days at the plant annually. In fact, terms were frequently prolonged.

Mandates from Kazan uyezd show what a difficult situation was observed when it came to peasants assigned to the Votkinsk, Izhevsk and Voznesensky plants. Peasants were often assigned to plants by whole villages. But not all of them could work: the healthy had to do it for themselves, as well as for the sick, the elderly, the young and the dead [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 254–259, 260–264].

Assigned serf peasants were sent to plants in three batches, 500 people each. The first was sent to gather firewood and had to start working on March 1. Every cutter was responsible for 18 sazhen. Cutting a sazhen was scheduled to take 5 working days. The road would take up to 40 days. Thus, bonded peasants were working at the plants for almost half a year, during the most important season, and

they had no opportunity to make winter hay for their horses.

The second batch would leave for making coal piles in August. They were required to stack, cover, burn and break 602 charcoal stacks of 20 sazhen each. Two workers with horses would make such a pile in about three weeks. The burning would take about 7 weeks. Peasants were engaged in this work until the cold weather set in; if they did not finish it, they had to return in the spring next year. To avoid coming 500–700 km once again, some would hire free men and pay them a sum three times bigger than the one established by law.

The third batch was sent in September to do the mining and transportation of ore. It had to extract 339,600 poods of ore, burn it and bring to mills. The work required a great number of horses; fodder for them was purchased at high market prices. Peasants complained that many of them were ruined, abandoning their plots and working all the time at the mills, where they also were hired on as free men, to make ends meet [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 251–254].

In their instructions, peasants specified that the work was hard but within their strength. However, the distance between villages and plants took about two months to cross, depriving them of the chance to use the summer days for field work. Copper mines were located about 200 versts away from mills. Peasants had to transport the ore along non-existent roads. Horses were killed by excessive loads; cart-wheels were breaking.

For their hardest work, peasants received miserly sums: 10 kopeck to a mounted peasant a day in the summer, 6 in the winter; 5 kopecks to an unmounted peasant in the summer, 4 in the winter. Money was usually paid in advance; peasants had to work for it and owed interest on the amount. The owner was obliged to provide his workers with food (mainly flour and salt) according to established standards, the cost of which was deducted from the workers' wages [History of Tatarstan ASSR, 1955, p. 197]. Peasants had to pay for everything with their own money: for bread and fodder, to rent tools and equipment (25 kopecks per set; repairs were paid for separately). As a re-

sult, all the money earned by hard labour was spent on food and payment of the costs associated with the labour service, with nothing left for poll taxes and tributes [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, pp. 254–259].

Red calico manufacturing. At the beginning of the 18th century, almost all of Russia's demand for cotton fabrics were met by products imported from Middle Asia and Iran. Given that Russia did not always have friendly relations with those countries, as well as the high cost of purchased fabrics, it was necessary to establish the country's own production. Tatar merchants and industrialists related to Middle Asian trade were the first to establish their own cotton production and moved ahead of Russian industrialists. A lot of Tatar red calico manufactures were opened in the second half of the 18th century. By the end of the century, there were 35 of them, of which more than 20 were located in the Kazan guberniya. Four, in Vyatka guberniya; 10, in Astrakhan guberniya [Khasanov, 1977, pp. 34, 296–297].

Red calico manufacturing was mainly concentrated in Tatar villages of Kazan uyezd, in the Trans-Kazan area. There were several red calico manufactories in the villages of Bereska, Urnashbash, Maskara. Three red calico manufactories operated in Kazan at different periods of time.

S. Alishev identified the following features in the development of the cotton industry in the Kazan guberniya. First, almost all of those enterprises were located in rural areas, mainly in the villages of Bereska, Ura and Urnashbash. Second, almost all of them were Tatar. Owners were serving Tatars and Tatar merchants; hired labourers were Tatar peasants from the same village or surrounding settlements. The Tatars were not allowed to hire Orthodox workers. Third, manufactories worked seasonally from September to May in weaving and from April or May to June in dyeing. Summer saw the workers engaging in agricultural activities. The fact of opening almost all red calico manufactories in rural areas can be explained by the fact that there were a lot of craftsmen among Tatar peasants, who were good at weaving. Those craftsmen became the main labour force

at opened manufactories; masters were summoned from Bukhara, where such a production had existed since ancient times [Alishev, 1990, p. 145].

The system of piecework and time-based remuneration was practiced at red calico manufactories. For example, weavers at red calico manufactories in Sluzhilaya Ura were paid 12 kopecks for 8 arshins of the fabric. Warp-ers, paper unstranders, dyers worked in shifts for certain periods of time. They were paid 20, 12 and 35 rubles a year respectively. Wages of masters in the manufacture of red calico amounted to 50 rubles; dyeing craftsmen, 250 rubles per year [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 435, p. 108 reverse].

The main instrument at red calico manufactories was a weaver's loom. In addition, workshops included a boiler to clean fabrics from adhesive elements, a dryer, a soap room, alkali tanks, vessels for bucking, boilers for dyeing and finishing work, and a press or vice. One piece of red calico was obtained from 1 pound (400 g—I.F.) of yarn. For example, manufactories of the village of Sluzhilaya Ura purchased 815 poods (32,600 pounds) of yarn a year. They produced approximately the same volume (32,600 pieces) of red calico a year [Ibid., pp. 107 reverse–108]. Red calico was made in the process of preparing cotton yarn and dyeing woven materials. Tatar red calico manufactories worked with imported raw materials. They purchased cotton yarn in Bukhara at quite low prices. Making yarn locally would entail high costs for owners as it required building and maintaining additional manufacturing facilities; besides, there was a lack of labour hands—only men were engaged in the work at manufactures; the Tatars believed it was a sin to employ women for such work [Istoriya, 1937, p. 225]. Dyes, madder root, Kizlyar grass, fish oil, oak gall, required in the production, were purchased in Astrakhan [Zinovyev, 1788, p. 48]. The finished products were sent for sale to the Makaryev and Irbit Fairs, to Moscow, Rostov, Simbirsk, and some abroad. According to the data for 1778, the sales of red calico and shawls amounted to 20,000 rubles just for Kazan [Alishev, 1973, p. 37].

Most of the buildings which hosted red calico manufactories were made of wood, but they started building them of stone as well. For example, in the village of Bereska of Kazan uyezd the merchants Burnaevs had two red calico manufactories located in stone buildings. One of the factories owned by the Khuzyaseitovs in the village of Sluzhilaya Ura was located in a stone building.

Many serving Tatars-manufactory workers who managed to earn enough became merchants. Owners of red calico manufactories in the uyezds were both Kazan and local serving Tatars and merchants. The sources refer to them as 'a service Tatar of the city of Kazan', 'second guild merchant of Arsk', etc. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 402; National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 37].

By the standards of that time, red calico manufactories, if measured by the number of looms and the workers, were medium-sized enterprises with 20–46 looms and 20–75 free workers (there were no large ones). The number of workers depended on the scale of the enterprise. Usually one loom accounted for two workers-weavers. The manufacturing process took place mainly in two workshops: in the first, workers wove white cotton yarn on the loom; in the second one, they painted it, mainly with red dyes, hence the name of the fabric, 'red' calico. They dyed either the finished fabric or the yarn. Thus, they obtained fabrics of a homogeneous color (red calico). The Tatars learned to dye fabrics in red with madder root from the Indians. The Tatars used multi-colored yarn to weave 'Alexandria pestryad' ['Northern Post', 1812, No. 26].

A dye workshop was sometimes located separately from the 'factory', often in another village. But, in our opinion, such workshops should not be considered as independent enterprises. A red calico manufactory and its dye workshop were always owned by the same owner; besides, they represented two cycles of a single production process. Sometimes they dyed purchased white cloth and sold it. For example, at the Burnaevs' calico 'factories' at Bereski, there was also a dyeing 'mill' for the calico processed at their factory, as well as

for up to 12,000 pieces of fabric that had been bought at the Nizhegorod market fair especially for dyeing [Gubernskie Vedomosti of Kazan, 1852, No. 52, p. 614].

In the second half of the 18th century, red calico manufactories of the Kazan area largely covered Russia's demand for cotton fabrics.

Leather manufacturing. The bulk of tanneries were located in Kazan and major slobodas, villages and settlements nearby. Kazan is one of the all-Russian centres for leather production—first of all, production of tanned hides (yuft) and morocco leather. Yuft was of the highest quality and in great demand domestically as well as in Middle Asia and Kazakhstan. The manufacturing of morocco leather in black, yellow, white and red colors from goatskin hides played an important role. I. Georgi noted that most of the morocco leather was manufactured in the village of Yagodnoe near Kazan, where there were 33 tanneries. Kazan goatskin was 'preferable to all other similar products'. Black leather was especially revered; glossy types of it were sent to trade with the Chinese in Kyakhta [Istoriya, 1937, p. 223].

In the first half of the 18th century, 40 tanneries in the Kazan area were in the hands of private owners. At the end of the 18th century, G. Storch reported about 39 leather manufactures in Kazan, which delivered Russian, calf leather, a number of red and yellow types of morocco leather [Ibid.]. In the mid-1790s, according to the inventory by the six-member дума, there were 36 tanneries and goatskin manufactures in Kazan (excluding tanneries in the suburban villages of Yagodnoe, Igumnovo, Bishbalta and Podmonastyrskaya Slobodka). Out of 36 leather 'factories' of the Kazan area, 19 (54%) were owned by Russians; 16 (46%) were in the hands of Tatar owners (excluding the pump factory). The type of production is not indicated for 5 companies, belonging to the Tatars. Most likely, they were leather or soap manufactories. Socially, 11 enterprises were in the possession of merchants and meshhanins; 6 belonged to serving Tatars; and 8 'factories' had different owners.

Data on the area, occupied by each enterprise, provide us with an approximate under-

standing of the size of these production sites. Tanning 'factories' of the majority of Russian owners occupied a larger area than that of the Tatars. Seven Russian companies took more than 2,000 sq. sazhen. These are leather manufactories owned by the merchants I. Kozhevnikov and P. Shapshinsky, the meshhanins V. Chernov and P. Tyapukhin, A. Muravtsev, I. Chechulin, M. Potnov, N. Petlyakov. Another 8 enterprises of Russian owners occupied an area of 1,000–2,000 sq. sazhen. An enterprise of a serving Tatar Yusup Izmaylov had the largest area among Tatar owners of manufactories. It should be noted that all these areas included not only the enterprise but also other outbuildings and yards.

Most of enterprises above seemed to be small. The number of employees rarely exceeded 5–7 people, and owners frequently worked as masters. Owners of more or less significant leather manufactures were wealthy merchants, but establishing a tannery was available to people with small capital as well, since it involved purchasing simple, low-cost equipment. Most of leather manufactories produced 500–1,000 skins a year. However, there were also rather large enterprises. In fact, there were 13 tanneries and 4 goatskin manufactories in the Old and New Tatar Slobodas. They were owned by Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs. Among them, the production sites owned by Mukhamet Gabbasov, Iskhak Galeev, Abdrashit Galansky and others operated at a major scale. So, 30 people worked at Gabbasov's factory on the manufacture of goatskins; the output reached at least 3,000 hides a year [National Archive of Tatarstan Republic, fund 22, inv. 2, file 965, p. 7].

A goatskin manufacture owned by a second guild merchant Iskhak Galeev ranked second among the tanneries. The equipment consisted of one dyeing boiler, two tanks and a few other tools. The average annual output reached 15,000 goatskins, sent in batches to national and foreign markets. A 'factory' on the manufacture of goatskins owned by a Kazan-based merchant Abdrashit Galansky was quite large: it produced over 2,000 skins a year [Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 17, 18].

At the end of the 18th century, various types of leather manufactories near Kazan an-

nually produced up to 73,650 Russian leather pieces and goatskins; and up to 3,575 leather soles. Those products were sold at between 10,000 and 15,000 rubles [Maksimovich, 1788, pp. 108–109]. The Statement on Manufactures in Russia for 1812 provides a better picture of the development of the leather industry [Istoriya, 1937, pp. 284–287]. The data shows that there were 91 leather manufactories in the Kazan guberniya, that was more than 11% of Russia's total number of tanneries. Those enterprises had 528 tanks (5.79% of the total number in Russia) and 811 free workers (12.86%). The total output of all leather manufactories reached 375,593 various skins (13.22%). The Tatars owned 21 (23%) tanneries out of 91; 142 (26.9%) tanks out of 528; 287 (34.5%) workers out of 811. 'Factories' owned by the Tatars delivered 116,470 skins, and that amounted to 31% of the governorate's total output. Kazan and the villages of Yagodnoe and Igumnovo nearby accounted for 55 enterprises out of 91 (13 in Yagodnoe; 7 in Igumnovo; 35 in Kazan). There were another 4 tanneries in Kazan uyezd; 16 in Mamadysh uyezd (12 in the village of Krasnaya Gorka); 13 in Cheboksary. Three more enterprises owned by the Tatars were located in the Vyatka guberniya. If we compare the output of production, 55 leather manufactories of Kazan and the villages of Yagodnoe and Igumnovo accounted for 343,823 skins (91.54%) [Istoriya, 1937, pp. 284–287; Zyablovsky, 1808, p. 17].

Thus, the Tatars' leather manufacturing was mainly represented by small and medium-sized enterprises. The establishment of large manufactories proved to be disadvantageous as it required substantial investments; the leather manufacturing took a long time, and that greatly limited and slowed down the turnover of capital. The Tatar leather industry was primarily developing on the basis of imported raw hides, as local cattle breeding remained at a very low level of development.

Soap manufacturing. Almost all soap mills were located either in Kazan or villages and slobodas nearby (in Pleteni, Yagodnoe and others). Many of them were located between the Old and New Tatar Slobodas at the site designated by Kazan's Governor P. Meshch-

ersky in 1779. Most of soap factories started operating from the 1780s. In 1788, there were 18 enterprises in Kazan; there was a total of 55 boilers, and every year they produced 100,000–125,000 poods of soap considered to be the best in Russia. Manufacturing so many soap products required about 102,000 poods of lard, 1,280 cubic sazhen of firewood, 240,000 quarters of ash and 250,000 poods of salt [Is-toriya, 1937, p. 228].

By the end of the 18th century, there were over 30 soap-making enterprises in Kazan. Of all 33 enterprises, 22 belonged to Tatars; the remaining 11 to Russians. 20 soap making factories were owned by merchants; 6 by trading Tatars of Service class; 4 by serving Tatars; the remaining 3 'factories' had different owners. Looking at the data on the area occupied by one company, we can see that soap making factories of the Russian merchants Peter Shvyrev and Maksim Shingarev were the largest. Eighteen enterprises occupied from 1,000 to 2,000 sq. sazhen.

Most of these manufactories, that yielded between 1,000 and 5,000 poods of soap per year, had from 2 to 10 boilers and 5 to 20 free workers. For example, 'factories' owned by the merchants Daut and Iskhak Aitovs, Yusuf Subaev, Mukhametrakhim Khalfin, Adelsha Gumerov, Abdulla Rakhmatullin, Akhmet Mukhametov had 8 to 10 boilers, 11 tanks and as many chests necessary for making soap. They manufactured between 3,000 and 5,000 poods of grain and boxed soap. The total annual output of 11 'factories' in the New and Old Tatar Slobodas was about 20,000 poods (320 tons) of soap.

Soap making did not require a large number of workers. The operation of 4 boilers was maintained by 5 workers, that is, some 2 to 3 people per boiler [Ibid., p. 228]. Ordinary workers received from 80 to 140 rubles per year. The quality of soap depended on the skills of craftsmen, so they were paid 3 to 4 times more than ordinary workers—from 200 to 400 rubles per year ['Kazan News', 1812, No. 32, pp. 6–7].

Soap from Kazan 'factories' was one of the main commodities. Kazan soap was believed to have a better quality than products of oth-

er manufacturers, and it was in demand across the country. Large batches of this soap were shipped to Moscow and St. Petersburg, Astrakhan and Arkhangelsk, Siberia and the Crimea, even abroad through Kronstadt, and it did not cost much due to the fact that the manufacture involved using inexpensive materials [Pribavlenie, 1829, p. 32].

Kazan accounted for up to 50% of the soap manufacturing in Russia. Soap companies belonged to the Russians and the Tatars. A significant part of the products was sent to Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities of Russia, as well as exported abroad. Through the use of cheap raw materials, owners generated more revenues from sales.

The Milling Industry. This sector was the largest both in the volume of processed grain and production output and the number of enterprises (mills). Mills were located all across the region. Almost all of them were small. Most of those mills were 'bread', or 'flour' mills. Most of the flour coming to the market was produced at merchants' and landlords' mills. They usually dealt with local grain.

Flour mills were of two types: wind-powered and water-powered. At the end of the 18th to the early 19th centuries, Kazan guberniya included 1,266 state-owned flour mills and 556 private ones [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, p. 31]. Water mills were placed near large rivers with a sufficient flow rate during most of the year. Some rivers remained full-flowing for the entire summer. Mills located on such rivers operated almost all year round. Mills on small rivers usually stopped working in the second half of the summer, and making flour turned into an urgent problem. In dry years, grain was brought to mills tens of miles away, which took several days just to reach. Peasants could not do without a mill; thus, every village, every settlement, made efforts to get their own mill.

Water mills generally consisted of a water wheel set into a horizontal shaft which had cogs that attached to the grindstones. Water wheels were driven by water power and were called 'in-flowing' if they rotated counter-clockwise and 'out-flowing' if they rotated clockwise. Water mills were of two types: 'a big wheel mill'

was mostly used by the Russians, while a 'kolotovka', a small wheel mill, was common among the Tatars [Volkov, 1993, p. 132].

Windmills were built where watermills could not be built—on the steppe and in dry areas: in Chistopol, Menzelinsk and Spassky uyezds. However, there were few of them in the 18th century. Such mills became widespread already in the 19th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were 29 wind mills in Kazan guberniya [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, p. 31]. Such mills with huge sails were installed on higher ground. On windmills, sails were the main driving force. They could be rotated in the direction of the wind to maximise rotation. Such smock-type mills were called 'tent mills'.

Processing huge amounts of grain, mills played a crucial role in providing the population with flour, part of which was sold on the market.

The Tatars also had a couple of stationery and potash 'plants', not remarkable among the total mass of enterprises.

In general, small-scale forms of production (crafts and trades) and the Tatar manu-

facture as part of the Russian economy were developing in accordance with national laws but had their own peculiarities. One of those features is that a lot of businesses of the capitalist type were opened by the Tatars originating from merchants, service class people and burghers. That most Tatar enterprises were located in rural areas is easy to explain—almost all the Tatar population lived in rural areas. The second half of the 18th century was a turning point in the manufacturing industry for the Tatars, who began to combine trade with entrepreneurial activities. The role of the Tatars in Kazan's trade and industry increased significantly after the Senate's decree of 1763, that confirmed the right of the Kazan serving Tatars to conduct unimpeded trade [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 16, No. 11856]. This period defined the main branches of manufacturing that became traditional for the Tatars. Such manufactures as tanning, soap making and red calico manufactures were developing successfully. Leather and soap were the key industrial products sold at Russian fairs and abroad. They were of the highest quality and were in great demand.

§3. The Tatars of the Middle Volga Region in the Shipbuilding

Aydar Nogmanov

The transformations in the first quarter of 18th century Russia were accompanied by the introduction of a number of state-mandated labour duties, among which the admiralty duty (also known as the laschmann duty, or forest duty, or ship duty) played a special role. One of the first who had to face it were the land-owning peasants of the Voronezh Krai in connection with the so-called 'Azov shipbuilding' effort when Peter I the Great was making extremely urgent preparations for his Azov campaign. From 1697, local settlements and villages were constantly receiving assignments for the provision of people supplied with horses and tools to cut, hew and remove the shipbuilding timber, as well as to work at the Voronezh shipyard [Kleyankin, 1978, p. 46]. As a result, within

just five–six years, Voronezh villages lost almost all of their population and stood desolate, and the haphazard and chaotic cutting of the forest caused its material destruction.

When the Great Northern War (1700–1721) started, the Russian shipbuilding industry entered a new stage. It was centred around Saint Petersburg. Due to the increasing demand for timber (mostly hardwood was designated for cutting: oak, ash, elm, maple, as well as mast pine), the search started for a new lumbering base. The Middle Volga Region in general, and Kazan guberniya in particular, thanks to its immense forested areas, was favourably different from the Voronezh Krai and its neighbouring semi-steppe territories. The branched river system ensured the delivery of pre-prepared

lumber to the dockyards of Saint Petersburg and Astrakhan. The active wood-felling for shipbuilding needs in Kazan guberniya commenced in 1710 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 2647], even though similar attempts had already been made at the turn of the 17th century. In 1697–1698 and 1701–1702, in order to stock up the timber and build ships in Kazan, the yasak-paying Chuvash and Mari people were assigned [Dimitriev, 1959, pp. 179–180; Ivanov, 1995, p. 160]. The state-sponsored lumbering operations were supervised by the Superintendent, later, Vice-Governor of Kazan, N. Kudryavtsev, who became the head of the Kazan Forest Office (called the Admiralty Office from 1722). The lack of workforce was the most urgent problem he faced. During the initial period of the procurement (1710–1711), the same methods were employed as had been in the Voronezh Krai, namely, the forced removal of the local people (peasants) to perform work. Starting from 1712, attempts were made to stock up lumber using volunteer effort. Edicts of the period prescribed to 'drive the logs using spring flows up to Tver, and rather to have the timber cut and hauled by hired people ...and not take workers out of the numbers of peasants... and for hiring those working people, to take money from the income of Kazan guberniya' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 2522].

However, soon this method of procurement was no longer satisfactory to the Marine Office. After the Battle of Poltava (1709) and major successes of the Russian Army in the Baltic Region (1711–1715), the theatre of military operations moved to the sea, where Russia confronted the strongest maritime power of the period,—England—that had formed a military alliance with Sweden. In these circumstances, the Government needed a stable supply of the fleet with shipbuilding materials, that could not be guaranteed by hired suppliers. Due to the lack of labour, the authorities were forced to return to the former, 'Voronezh', method, where all lumbering works were performed based on assignments by the local residents. On 31 January 1718, Peter I the Great issued an edict, stating that 'cutting, hewing and removal of

ship timber and other auxiliary works are to be performed without pay by the serving murzas, Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvashes from Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod and Voronezh guberniyas as well as from Simbirsk uyezd (at the moment of issue of the Edict, Simbirsk uyezd was a part of Astrakhan guberniya.—*A.N.*) instead of those who were sent from there to work in Peterhof...' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3149]. This legislative act became a starting point in the history of laschmannen (see the etymology of the term 'laschmann' in [Brockhaus, Efron, 1896, p. 409]). In the 19th century, this was the name used for people working at government-sponsored lumbering operations. In the 18th century, this designation was not yet widely spread, and in official documents the forestry employees are known as those 'assigned to harvesting ship timber' or simply as 'assigned to the Admiralty'. The start of use of the term 'laschmann' is connected with the publication on August 25, 1817, of 'The Royally Approved Creation of the Administration of Ship Timber', a part of which was the 'Provision for Laschmannen' [Semevsky, 1903, p. 591; Senyutkin, 2001, p. 193].

A characteristic feature of the Admiralty duty was the very subpopulation of workers, who had to conform to three conditions: to reside at the territory of the above-mentioned governorates, to be of the service class origin, and to be Tatars, Chuvashes or Mordvins. This gathering principle was based on a number of reasons. Apart from living in places where ship-worthy timber grew, the possession of skills in forestry work, acquired from wild beekeeping, was taken into account with respect to the serving Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvashes [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 5, No. 3195; Vol. 8, Nos. 5696, 5867]. The lack of intermediate links in their relations with the central authorities was also of significant importance. As a result, there was no threat of repeating the situation in Voronezh krai, where the landlords, who had acted as intermediaries between the state and peasants, had objected to removal of the dependent people from the bonded households.

However, the main cause of such selection was the attempt of the Government to eliminate

the privileges of the feudal elite of non-Russian people and through them complement the tax-paying population of Russia, that was servicing the constantly increasing needs of the state. The serving Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvashes were involved in the process of elimination of numerous intermediate groups between the tax-paying and service class people, initiated by Peter I, and the transformation of this heterogeneous mass into a uniform tax-paying class [Pipes, 1993, p. 162].

The norms and rules regulating the lives and labour of *laschmannen* were generated gradually and with time comprised a large section of the Russian law. Some of them were borrowed by the authorities from the experience of regulating other labour duties. The principal portion of legal prescriptions was based on instructions of the leadership of the Kazan Admiralty Office, later formalised as laws. The official legislative enactment of individual norms took place years later, after their inclusion in the historical legal practice. The Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire comprises about 34 legislative acts that regulated the lives of those assigned to the Admiralty in the 18th century. In the first half of the 19th century, the government paid less attention to those matters, and the occasional edicts were rather like administrative directives issued on a case-by-case basis. The 1817 Provision on the *Laschmannen*, that had accumulated the legal practice of the previous century, was an exception [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27023]. The aggregate of available legislative sources is of extreme interest for scholars. Apart from information on legal norms proper, they offer data on the ethnicity and numbers of *laschmannen*, the conditions and nature of their labour, characteristics of management, etc. Combined with data from other sources, this provided the necessary factual basis for the preparation of this essay, devoted to the history of the Admiralty duty in the 18th century and the Tatar population's participation in it.

The importance of any legislative act, as compared to a number of similar documents, is determined by its impact on the processes taking place in the state and society. When assessing the Edict of 31 January 1718 on these

grounds, one cannot but recognise its exceptional importance in the history of peoples of the Middle Volga Region. By the time of publication of the Edict, the state had already possessed the experience of involving non-Russian service class people in offering duties in kind. Gangs of them were sent to construction of Saint Petersburg on numerous occasions [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 4, No. 2488; vol. 5, No. 3149]. For their work, the assigned workers received monetary and bread stipends. Their assignments thus were treated as a kind of service to Russian monarchs [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, p. 236]. The edict of 1718 radically changed this custom and introduced a number of important socio-legal and economic changes in the lives of service class Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvashes. Since the state no longer needed their military services, the government found another use for this part of the population. The edict of 1718 turned the non-Russian service class people into a special, 'bound', class of lumbermen, which became an important step on the road of involving them in the sphere of the state's taxable population. While remaining formally subordinate to the military authority, namely, the Admiralty, they, in fact, not served but worked on the state.

Functionally, this legal act legalised, primarily, the nature of obligations imposed on the service class *murzas*, Tatars, Mordvins and Chuvashes—cutting, hewing and removing the ship timber and performing other auxiliary work. An important innovation was that the above works were performed without pay. They were introduced as a feudal labour tax (*corvée*) to the benefit of the state budget. Other important consequences were brought about by the lack of provisions establishing the length of the new duty in the Edict. In fact, it was declared indefinite.

Immediately after the issue of the Edict in 1718, steps were taken to account for the potential workers. They were expressed in performing a special departmental census, that took place a year before the publication of the edict of the First State Revision on January 22, 1719 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3287]. The Admiralty offi-

cials sent to the governorates included everyone, 'from the elderly to babes', in their record books, based on which the Kazan guberniya had 4,915 households with 23,750 males residing there. Astrakhan guberniya had 3,137 households and 15,076 males; Nizhny Novgorod guberniya, 1,186 households and 6,736 males; Voronezh guberniya, 1,969 households and 10,551 males. All in all, 11,207 households and 56,113 males were covered in the 4 guberniyas in 1718–1719 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9861]. Implementation of the 1718 Edict required resolution of a number of organisational issues related to performance of shipbuilding work. It was necessary to determine the age composition of the people involved in the lumbering works, the number of mounted and unmounted workers provided during a specific season, periods of working in the forest; to resolve the issue of equipment, accommodation, etc. All these technical matters were mostly resolved in the 1720s. The key role in this process was played by the Vice Governor of Kazan N. Kudryavtsev, whose numerous decisions were later turned into laws by personal or Senate edicts [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 179].

The age of workers ranged from 15 to 60 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9861]. It was identical to the age limits used in Russia in the 17th century to call upon the service class people. Two working seasons were established by the legislation: summer, from April 1 to October 1; and winter, from October 1 to April 1. These lines were borrowed from 'Plakat', dated 26 June 1724, regulating the 'duties of zemsky inhabitants' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 7, No. 4533]. They were officially applied to those assigned to the Admiralty by the Senate Edict of 12 March 1729 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 8, No. 5379].

Principal works for log preparation and removal were performed during the winter season. During the period, the number of mounted and unmounted workers was approximately equal. On the other hand, during the summer, the need for unmounted workers was higher

since the removal of logs during the summer period was practically not performed due to extreme difficulty of the work. Mostly, during the summer, the duty was performed by those who had been unable to do so in winter or those who did not have enough recorded days, as well as escapees caught and forcefully brought to Kazan. The required days were worked at the Kazan Shipyard at the construction of transportation vessels [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 180].

Even in the first years of existence of the duty, the following proportion of workers assigned during each season resulted: 'from autumn and during winter, for six months, for every 9 people, one mounted and one unmounted, and annually, for every 25 people, one mounted and two unmounted' [Ibid., p. 179]. The total number of those fit for work was determined anew every year. The service class people of Voronezh guberniya were instantly excluded from this number since, due to the distance, the Edict of 1718 allowed them, instead of working in kind, to pay an established amount 'so that other workers could be hired to perform the work using the money' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 5, No. 3149]. This duty amounted to 2 rubles and 30 kopecks per person [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9861]. Moreover, when compiling assignments for logging, the 'elderly due to their old age and the young due to their young age', the infirm, the disabled and 'those unfit to work' were immediately removed from the number of workers [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, Vol. 94, p. 179]. For example, during the period from 1720 to 1726, 'at the request of non-Christians and at the discretion of Vice-Governor Kudryavtsev,' 276 people above the age of 60 were excused from shipbuilding work [Ibid., p. 186].

At the turn of the 1720s, the powers of the Admiralty officials as applied to making assignments were expanded. The Senate Edict, dated March 12, 1729, allowed them to take workers 'whenever and however many they required those fit to work, taken as a share of the total number of people, counting the young, the elderly and the dead' [Complete Code of

Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 8, No. 5379]. When assessing this decision, N. Firsov remarked that it placed the labour of non-Russian service class people '...at the complete, unconditional disposal of the authority in charge of ship timber. This authority, that had previously been allowed to only take a certain percentage of adults, was now able to take as many of them to the work as it wished' [Firsov, 1869, p. 31].

The equipment of those assigned to the Admiralty was quite primitive and remained unchanged until, in 1817, the Provision for Laschmannen was issued, applying to it the following requirements: 'the unmounted laschmannen must have winter clothing, footwear, hatchets and sufficient means to feed themselves; the mounted workers must be equipped the same as the unmounted ones, and additionally, have the horses and harness in a good state of repair' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, Vol. 34, No. 27023]. The feed for horses and frequently a pair of them, the acquisition and repair of harness and carts were the responsibility of the worker.

As far as the process of lumbering is concerned, it likely was little different from the lumber work performed for personal needs. The difference was in the volume of timber prepared and the work's mandatory nature. An extract from the instruction to the 'ship journeyman and commissar', dated 30 September 1760 and published by V. Zalessky, offers some idea of what, in fact took place: '...to cut oaks at the root... without leaving a large stump, making it as low as possible, for which purpose during the winter period the snow near the oaks is to be cleared to the ground so that the prepared logs are long, and the oak wood is not wasted on the stumps, and so that there are no unsuitable ones at the dock during removal' [Zalessky, 1916, p. 255].

During the entire 18th century, the question of production levels for logging workers remained open. The heads of the Kazan Admiralty Office had the decisive word there. Having the average statistical rates for many years at hand, they adjusted them annually based on the annual assignment sent from the top. At the state level, this matter was first regulated by

the Edict of Paul I dated 16 December 1799, legalising the system of lessons proposed by Admiral De Ribas. According to it, the following rates were established for certain types of work: 'each fourth unmounted person prepares oak trees within the following period: a large tree with a root within 11/2 days; a small knee-piece (a wooden part designated for connecting two wooden beams at an angle.—*A.N.*) with a root from 7 to 10 feet within 1 day, a large tree without a root, straight, and all beams, from 12 to 35 feet within 1 day, the same oversized tree from 35 to 52 feet within 11/2 days. If a beam or a tree due to a fault (a defect or damage of the tree trunk.—*A.N.*) is not suitable for the purpose, then generally 2 boards can be made from it at least 3 inch thick, then for processing these 2 boards 11/2 days are given. And the 4 sazhen logs are to be cut and peeled by 2 people, 14 per day' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 25, No. 19224]. Each team of mounted laschmannen working on timber removal was to make 25–30 versts per day; at the same time, a condition was made 'that each horse was to weigh at least 15 poods' [Ibid.]. Those who did not fulfill the rate were fined.

The above extracts give an idea of not only the output rates for the laschmannen but also of the nature of the work performed by them. It is easy to imagine that the laschmann's work was difficult for the non-Russian service class people, who had only the primitive tools, their own hands and horses available to them. The authorities themselves acknowledge that the shipbuilding works were 'incomparably more difficult than those performed at plants' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 21, No. 15494]. The privations suffered by those assigned by the Admiralty were also aggravated by the abuse of power on behalf of the Admiralty officials. It was a common occurrence that, contrary to the established rules, 'those older than 60 as well as the crippled and infirm' were forced into ship-building work. The terms of removal of pre-cut materials were broken. In the missives to the Ulozhennaya Komissiya in 1767–1768, the laschmannen complained that the Admiralty officials in spring, 'during the very high water, on black earth, force us use sleighs to remove

the timber, and beat us and the horses without mercy, and so many horses fell for the effort' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, Vol. 84, p. 236]. The correspondence of the periods of commencement and completion of forestry works with the periods of ice formation and drift on the rivers brought about material inconvenience and losses [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, p. 236].

The woodsmen who spent their provisions and horse feed and returned home before the established time of work completion were counted by the officials as escapees and forced to cover the works in summer, 'during the busiest time'. There were many complaints about the runners of the Admiralty Registry who 'in every village took carts by force without paying for them' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, p. 236].

The picture of misfortunes of the *laschmannen* is accompanied by the fact that the Tatars and other peoples of the Middle Volga Region who spent half of the year at the state-mandated lumbering works, could not cut a single tree for their own needs. The 18th century is characterised by numerous edicts prohibiting the cutting of reserved forests [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 5, No. 3057; No. 3149; No. 3194; vol. 8, No. 5378; No. 6032]. One of the documents of Peter I period prescribed '...in the entire country, the reserved forests suitable for shipbuilding, namely: oak, elm, ash and thick pine that, when cut, is 12 *vershoks* long or longer, at the distance of 50 *versts* from large rivers and at the distance of 20 *versts* from small rivers that connect with large rivers and offer smooth transportation, cannot be cut for any purposes, and the brushwood must not be taken' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 6, No. 3593]. Persons caught on the site of tree felling were heavily penalised. They were charged 15 rubles per oak tree, even for brushwood, and 10 rubles for other kinds of trees. Those charged with multiple offenses were sentenced to hard labour after having their nostrils cut out.

If one takes into account that the list of rivers, around which protection areas were created, included the Volga, Sura, Sviyaga, Kubnya,

Arya, Barysh and other large and small rivers of the Volga basin, one can imagine the difficulties experienced by the local population. In the reserved forests, the cutting could only be performed for 'utmost needs' that comprised a separate list: 'for runners, axles and for hoops of large tubs, and for such miller's needs as cogs and gears, and even then those must be used that are unsuitable for shipbuilding' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 6, No. 3593]. All fellings were performed only with the knowledge of the Admiralty officials, and the prohibition for cutting oaks also extended beyond protection zones. Moreover, pasturing domestic animals in reserved forests was prohibited, which limited the feed base for development of animal husbandry [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, pp. 692–693]. Another negative consequence of the prohibition was the impoverishment of peasants' land plots due to the inability to clear new portions to sow bread and plant garden crops.

Oppression on behalf of the authorities, difficult labour conditions, obstacles to the cultivation of personal plots, the need to pay other duties apart from that of the Admiralty, forced the non-Russian service class people to seek help through various channels. Many of their difficulties were caused by the underdevelopment of the legal system which offered ample opportunities for abuse at the local level. Therefore, objectively, the *laschmannen* were interested in the systematisation and detailed development of legal norms that regulated their lives and labour. The flow of petitions and complaints from non-Russian service-class people forced the supreme authorities to resolve the issues.

The results of these activities were represented by legislative acts that, in most cases, introduced amendments to the decrees of the first years of the Admiralty duty's existence and—on much rarer occasions—implemented new norms and regulations. One of such exceptions was the edict of the Emperor Peter II dated 5 August 1727. It prescribed counting the per-capita money collected from those assigned to the Admiralty in lieu of workdays spent doing lumbering works. The money

earned above the required amount had to be paid to them 'with a receipt issued' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 182–183]. This eliminated the former free nature of shipbuilding works established by the edict of 31 January 1718. According to the Bill dated 26 June 1724 that covered the *laschmannen*, a price was assigned to each day worked by them: during the winter period, 6 kopeks per mounted male person and 4 kopeks per unmounted male person. During the summer period, the labour of a mounted worker was evaluated at 10 kopecks, and that of an unmounted one—at 5 kopecks [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 7, No. 4533]. Such set-offs were effective during the entire period of existence of the Admiralty duty.

Materially speaking, such innovation did little to ease the position of non-Russian service-class people. The money earned by them did not reach them since they were immediately transferred to the Admiralty as capitation tribute. Moreover, the cost of the forestry workers' labour as assessed by the state was much lower than the market one. By 1729, a craftsman from the town of Balakhna, I. Utyatnikov, contracted to supply timber to the marine authorities for two galleys and one frigate. At that, he intended to pay his hired woodsmen 8 kopecks to the unmounted ones and 16 kopecks to the mounted ones [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 101, p. 169], which exceeded the official rates by 2–2.5 times. This pay corresponded to the money paid to the contract workers by the assigned labourers if they were unable to personally discharge the Admiralty duty due to an illness, old age or other reasons. As a rule, the contract workers amounted to *laschmannen* who were free of assignments. It is worth mentioning that the state exploiting the cheap forced labour of the *laschmannen* not only prevented their use of hired labour but frequently forced them to do so. Probably, as early as in 1720s and 1730s, this practice was legalised, if not by edicts of the supreme authorities, then by departmental bylaws.

The edict of 5 August 1727 was the first of a number of documents regulating the labour of workers assigned to the Admiralty. In the course of the 18th century, it was increased

on numerous occasions. In 1757, the pay to woodcutters during the winter period was established as 8 kopecks per day to the mounted *laschmannen* and 5 kopecks to the unmounted ones. From 1766, the mounted workers were paid 16 kopecks and 10 kopecks to the unmounted ones [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 19, No. 14166]. In 1782, the pay level was raised to 20 kopecks and 10 kopecks, respectively [Ibid., vol. 21, No. 15494], and in 1797 to 40 and 20 kopecks, respectively [Ibid., vol. 24, No. 17772]. In 1799, the same money was used to measure the cost of the daily lesson fulfilled by woodsmen [Ibid., vol. 25, No. 19224]. And finally, the Provision for *Laschmannen* dated 25 August 1817 established the pay for their labour as 80 kopecks per day to a mounted worker and 40 kopecks to an unmounted worker [Ibid., vol. 34, No. 27023]. Moreover, in 1774, the Senate prescribed to pay for the time spent by the *laschmannen* to travel from their homes to the places of lumbering operations and back, at the rate of '3 kopecks per day to the unmounted workers, based on 25 versts travelled in a day, and 6 kopecks per day to the mounted workers, based on 50 versts travelled in a day' [Ibid., vol. 19, No. 14166]. These funds were also counted as payment of the poll tax. In 1787, it was allowed to also pay for the trips made during the working period itself [Ibid., vol. 22, No. 16518]. However, the increase of the pay and compensation of labour costs had no effect on the position of *laschmannen*, since they took place in the conditions of continuous devaluation of the ruble and increase of taxes and duties collected from them.

All in all, the Government's activities for improvement of the position of labourers assigned to the Admiralty in the 18th century were largely formal and did not go beyond the increase of the cost of a duty day. The abuse of power remained rampant, and the edicts aimed at its restriction were not implemented. It is notable that the complaints of *laschmannen* dating back to 1790s [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 24, No. 17772, p. 310] are practically identical to the contents of documents of 1720s. Only at the turn of the century, during the short reign of Paul I, were

material changes made in the practice of ship duty. In particular, the edict of 30 January 1797 considered it expedient to change the age range of the assigned woodsmen 'to further the success of works'. Instead of 15 to 60 years old, as it had been for 80 years, the range of 18 to 55 years old was prescribed [Ibid., vol. 24, No. 17772]. By the same legal act, the Admiralty authorities were prohibited to force the *laschmannen* to use their own money to hire workers to replace the sick and the dead, etc. The edict dated 16 December 1799 regulated the period of lumber work. From that time, the working season for unmounted woodsmen lasted from October 1 to December 18, out of which period 60 days were working days and the rest were Sundays and holidays. Mounted workers were sent to remove the logs as and when they were cut and the sleigh roads were ready. If the assigned lessons were completed, they were allowed to return home before the prescribed time [Ibid., vol. 25, No. 19224]. These rates were also practiced later and were included almost unchanged in the Provision for *Laschmannen* of 1817.

When studying the history of the Admiralty duty, one of the key issues is determining the ethnic composition and quantity of *laschmannen*. A prominent pre-revolutionary researcher, N. Firsov, remarked that 'the assigned workers of this category were exclusively non-Russian-born' [Firsov, 1869, p. 23]. The edict of January 31, 1718 sharply defined their composition: service-class Tatar, Mordovians, and Chuvashes. At the same time, the reference books mention the occurrences of involvement of representatives of other peoples of the Middle Volga Region in the shipbuilding works: the Mari [Ivanov, 1995, pp. 164–165], Besermyan and Udmurt people [Istoriya Udmurtii, 2004, p. 110], and even the Russians [Semenovsky, 1901, p. 585]. The analysis of sources indicates that a mix of different phenomena took place there. During the periods of large amounts of work at the Kazan Shipyard, the state involved the workforce, especially carpenters, from the entire territory to fulfill their labour duty. Ethnic origin there did not play the defining role. At the time, mostly service-class Tatars, Mordvinians and Chu-

vash were engaged in lumber operations. In quantitative terms, the Tatars were dominant among the *laschmannen*, as confirmed by the conceptual structures of laws and other regulatory acts governing the Admiralty duty. In the official documents, concepts, such as 'assigned to cutting the ship timber', 'assigned to the shipbuilding', 'assigned to the Admiralty', used to denote the forestry workers, were without exception supplemented by specifying definitions. In most cases, they comprised such phrases as 'assigned to... service murzas and Tatars', 'service murzas, Tatars, and other non-Christians, assigned to...', 'Serving Tatars assigned to...', etc. In the first years of implementation of the duty, the expressions related to the identity of the head of the Kazan Admiralty Office were generally used: '...apart from the murzas and Tatars who are with Kudryavtsev', '...Serving Tatars who were assigned to Vice Governor Kudryavtsev to work on ship timber', '...from the murzas and Tatars who are engaged to prepare the ship timber under the guidance of Kudryavtsev' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 7, No. 4495; No. 4512; vol. 8, No. 5772; vol. 11, No. 8793; vol. 13, No. 9861].

According to the assessment of the Chuvash scholar, V. Dimitriev, out of 56,113 *laschmannen* accounted for during the census of 1718–1719, the number of service Chuvash people did not exceed 4,000–5,000 males [Dimitriev, 1959, p. 186]. The number of the Mordovian service class people assigned to the Admiralty was even smaller. Over time, the share of the Tatars in the total number of the assigned workers was increased due to their assimilation of other peoples. These processes had always taken place in the multinational Middle Volga Region and were generally peaceful. However, during the middle third of the 18th century, their natural course was disturbed. The Russianising policy of the absolute monarchy that, during the reign of Empress Elizabeth found expression in the campaign of forced mass Christianisation, gave a push for conversion into Islam of a portion of heathen population of the territory which, in its turn, became the foundation for ethnic convergence with the Tatars.

According to V. Kabuzan, the process of 'Tatarisation' largely involved the service Chuvash [Kabuzan, 1990, p. 142]. Since the Chuvash people had common ethnic and linguistic roots with the Tatars, lived on the same land, performed military service and later worked along with them at timber operations, it is not surprising that they were affected by their religious influence. The reality of the period was that the confessional identity in fact had replaced ethnic identity, so the change of faith caused affiliation to a new ethnic community. The last mention of the service Chuvash as a separate ethnic class was made in the Senate Edict dated December 7, 1748 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 12, No. 9556]. It reported the discovery in the village Kalmykova 'on the trans-Kama side of Bakhmetyev's Aleykina sotny in the Kazan guberniya of 47 children of service Chuvashes hidden from the census of 1743. Two of them were baptised in 1746. As a result of the trial, the Senate prescribed to assign the previously hidden children 'along with the others to the Admiralty to dress oak ship timbers'. With respect to the baptised ones, the following was stated: 'excuse them from shipbuilding works and do not assign them to the Admiralty'. The same rule would further be applied to other non-Christians who wished to converted to the Orthodox faith [Ibid.].

This decision created an importance precedent: the Russian laws now included a norm that opened a legal way for the laschmannen to relieve themselves from the loathsome duty. The edict of 1748 as well as the Senate edict confirming its validity, dated 14 June 1751 [Ibid., Vol. 13, No. 9904], denoted the turning point for the service-class Tatar, Mordovian, and Chuvash people who had not yet been baptised. They had a choice between two versions of their future lives. The first, apart from other benefits offered to the newly-baptised, forever relieved them from shipbuilding works. The second bid ill for themselves and their descendants. In these conditions, the choice was largely determined by the degree of development of religious self-identification that was expressed more strongly among Tatars. The overwhelming majority of them remained faithful to Islam

while the bulk of service Chuvash and Mordovians converted to Christianity.

As a result, in 1750s the contingent of labourers assigned to the Admiralty, where even earlier the Tatars had prevailed numerically, became even more uniform from the ethnic point of view. The baptised Mordovians and Chuvashes were relieved of the ship duty, the unbaptised ones were assimilated by Tatars. Mentions of laschmannen of non-Tatar origin were present in the edicts of the latter half of the 18th century in expressions such as 'service murzas and Tatars as well as other service-class non-Christians'. However, the concept of 'other service-class non-Christians' was gradually turning into an anachronism, losing its connection to the reality. The indication of the assimilation processes taking place was the order to the Ulozhennaya Komissiya of 1767–1768 of the unbaptised Mordovian murzas of the village of Oskina of Zasursky Stan of Penza uyezd [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, Vol. 115, p. 329]. Their interests in the Commission were represented by the service-class Tatar, 'Ayup murza Semineev son of Enikey', and the order itself was signed by a Tatar mullah along with the trustee of the Mordovian service-class people, Yermey Tikayev. By the end of the century, the echoes of former subjection of the Mordovian and Chuvash people to the Admiralty duty could only be found in documents quoting the edict of 31 January 1718 or those containing references to it.

The conversion of the heathen portion of laschmannen to Orthodoxy reduced the total number of forestry laborers while the former scopes of lumber operations remained unchanged. As a result, in 1740s and 1750s, the service Tatars were persistently insisting that their yasak compatriots be assigned to Admiralty work. To substantiate this, the Senate edict dated 12 March 1729, was used that decreed that the yasak Tatars, Mordovians, Chuvash, Cheremis and Votyaks of Kazan guberniya be assigned to prepare ship timber instead of the service non-Christians of Voronezh guberniya who were not called to the work due to the remoteness of their residence [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8,

No. 5379]. However, for various reasons this edict was not enforced, and it was annulled by the decision of the Senate as of 17 July 1730 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5588].

The yasak Tatars were aware of the intentions of the service-class ones and did not wish to share their laschmann fate. In this connection, starting from the late 1740s, strife started between the two groups of the Tatar population, whose echoes had been reflected in the laws [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 13, No. 9861]. Probably, the yasak Tatars came off victorious in this struggle, since there is no decisive evidence that they ever were involved in logging operations in the latter half of the 18th century.

Therefore, starting from 1718, the ranks of labourers assigned to the Admiralty were supplemented mainly by means of natural reproduction. After regular censuses, people born during the interim period were allocated to the laschmann class [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 12, No. 9455]. The dynamics of population changes of forestry workers can be demonstrated by the following numbers: according to the first census (1722), there were 56,113 males, according to the second (1743), 64,920, the third (1762), 75,621, the fourth (1782), 99,337, the fifth (1795), 112,357 [Ibid., vol. 8, No. 98651; vol. 24, No. 17772]. At the turn of the 18th century, Emperor Paul I made the changes that had long been wished for by the Serving Tatars. The Senate report dated 16 December 1799, approved by the Emperor, ordered that 'the Admiralty works performed by the serving Tatars assigned to the Admiralty were to be extended to all Tatars, both service and yasak' [Ibid., vol. 25, No. 19224]. Since in the records of the fifth census the entire population of the Middle Volga Region was accounted for in totality, without regard to the ethnic affiliation, since 1800, the yasak-paying Chuvash, Votyaks, Mordovians, Chermis, in all amounting to 609,664 people, were charged with logging ship timber along with the yasak Tatars. By 1817, the total number of laschmannen reached 943,139 males who lived in 66 uyezds of seven guberniyas [Com-

plete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 34, No. 27023].

The difficulty of managing the vast body of people as well as the remoteness of many of the newly assigned volosts from the logging sites forced the government to again return to the problem of forming groups of labourers assigned to the Admiralty. The edict of 25 August 1817 prescribed:

'a) In order to relieve all Tatars residing far from forested areas from logging duty, out of 943,139 males... 823,000 are to be excused from the laschmann duty, and so that 8000 labourers perform the works per year, only 120,000 males are to be subjected to the duty, counting by the sixth census.

b) This number is to include 108,075 males from 25 uyezds that had previously performed the laschmann duties, while the remaining 11,925 males are to be taken from the following two uyezds: Spassky and Temnikov of Tambov guberniya, out of the number of yasak settlers close to the local shipbuilding operations, and familiar with forestry work' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 34, No. 27023].

Therefore, only during the first two decades of the 19th century the ship duty was nominally performed by representatives of the entire non-Russian population of the Middle Volga Region. During the rest of the time, both before 1800 and after 1817, the overwhelming majority of the loggers were descendants of the service Tatars assigned to perform the logging operations by the 31 January 1718 edict. According to the eighth census (1833), the total number of laschmannen amounted to 160,440 males, according to the ninth (1850), 146,798, the tenth (1857), 120,214 [Kleyankin, 1978, p. 53]. The number established in 1817—120,000 people—was considered sufficient to satisfy the demand of domestic admiralties for timber; therefore, the number of laschmannen was brought to this level from time to time according to the natural rate of growth. For example, in 1837, the extra 40,000 people were reassigned to the local authorities and included in the category of state peasants [Istoricheskoe, 1888, pp. 191–200]. One-time adjustments stipulated by the need to improve the management

of this category of population also took place (e.g., [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–2, Vol. 24, No. 23317, pp. 335–337]).

Due to the problem of manning the positions of loggers assigned to the Admiralty, cutting ship timber by hired workforce was considered on numerous occasions over the course of the 18th century. As it has already been mentioned, during the initial stage of lumbering operations in the Kazan guberniya, this method of had been employed. However, the issue of the edict of 31 January 1718 drew a line under attempts to build up the business based on economic principles. Methods of administrative enforcement came to the forefront, and logging took the form of state-mandated labour tax (*corvée*).

In late 1720s, under the influence of numerous complaints of the *laschmannen* concerning their precarious material position, the Government attempted to find contractors willing to undertake if not the entire, then at least a portion of the state demand for cutting and hauling timber. In March 1729, by the order of the Supreme Privy Council, the Kazan Admiralty Office started searching for people willing to cut and deliver to the docks enough timber for two galleys and a frigate. The contract was widely advertised in Kazan guberniya and other Volga regions; however, only one willing person responded to the call, a resident of the town of Balakhna, I. Utyatnikov, already mentioned before. 'For searching and cutting the trees at the root, and for removing them to the docks, and for hewing, and for placement of the logs on trestles at the docks, and for sawing and stacking at the docks, and for accommodation, and for purchase of tools', he requested 27,000 rubles [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 101, p. 169]. The above amount left no doubt about the final decision of the government, because in 1727 the state expenses for the same works amounted to 10,870 rubles 32 kopecks [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, Vol. 101, p. 176]. Such was the cost of hired labour.

The issue of relieving the service-class *murzas* and Tatars from the ship duty and performing the state-mandated logging operations using hired labour was repeatedly raised during the reign of Catherine II. The Empress

charged the Maritime Commission of the Admiralty, created on 17 October 1763 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 16, No. 11,970] with the resolution of this issue. On 20 December 1766, the Commission reported to Empress Catherine that 'no one was willing... to hire themselves out... based on edicts of the Commission of 1764', in which connection it proposed to leave the method of logging unchanged and limit itself to increasing the wages of workers. Otherwise, the naval authority would have been left without the necessary timber [Ibid., vol. 19, No. 14166]. From legislative documents it is clear that in 1774 the question of hiring 'willing' people was again raised in the Senate, though the result for *laschmannen* was the same [Ibid.].

Still, individual experiments for logging using hired workers were performed at the turn of 1780s. For example, in 1777 a contract for the supply of timber for a one 32-gun ship was agreed with Yakov Bodisko, an attorney for General-Field Marshal Repnin, who undertook to supply lumber at 19 kopeks per pood. In 1780, he undertook to supply timber for two 66-gun ships at 18 kopeks per pood. In 1783, Bodisko competed with a Tatar, Abdulgazi Burashev for the right of supplying construction materials for seven 100-gun ships. Burashev was willing to supply timber at 17.5 kopeks per pood, while his competitor dropped the price by another kopek. Other contractors demanded incomparably more for the same: from 20 to 50 kopeks per pood. The dispute was resolved by the Maritime Commission that found 'a great difference in the demanded prices for the state, as compared to the cost of logging by the assigned Tatars' and decided that 'the works were to be performed in the regular manner' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 24, No. 17772]. The corresponding authorities of the Volga governorates were still charged with 'finding those willing to log', while doing it so that the price offered would not exceed 'the proper level suitable for the state's benefit' [Ibid.].

The above facts indicate that the attempts of the Government to find a replacement for the commission of Serving Tatars for the ship duty were of a rather formal nature. The min-

imum pay, for which contractors were willing to undertake the logging and removal of timber, until the last quarter of the 18th century was 16.5 kopeks per pood. At the same time, when the Serving Tatars were doing it, in the beginning of the century it cost the government 2 kopeks, and by the end of the century 6.5 kopeks per pood. The gap between the market cost of logging operations and the labour cost of Serving Tatars demonstrated how the state was interested in preserving the existing order of things. No matter how frequently laschmannen raised the question of being relieved of the ship duty, it could not be resolved in a positive manner so long as the status quo was profitable for the state.

The assignment to the Admiralty in 1718 and the prolonged stay under the supervision of this authority determined certain characteristics of the legal position of Serving Tatars. They did not escape the per capita taxation or other hardships experienced by the non-Russian population of the Middle Volga Region in the 18th century. However, all this applied to them later than to the yasak peasants, or the introduction of certain elements of state-imposed duties was of specific nature.

For example, according to legislative materials, the yasak population of the Middle Volga Region was accounted for and subjected to a per capita tribute after publication of the edict of 22 January 1719 'On Conducting a General Census of the Tribute-Paying Population...' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 5, No. 3287]. In case of service Tatars, the preparatory activities for implementation of per capita taxation were performed several years later, after the Edict of 31 July 1722 'On the Census of Non-Christians Assigned to Perform Ship Works' was published [Ibid., vol. 6, No. 4065]. The transition to the tax-paying status took place after the death of Peter I and was legally formalised by the Senate edict of 8 April 1725 [Ibid., vol. 12, No. 9556].

Apart from the delayed implementation of the per capita tribute, the difference between the service-class and yasak-paying Tatars was that the funds collected from laschmannen were specifically directed to the Admiralty, be-

ing included in the 1,400,000 rubles annually allocated for its needs from the state budget [Ibid., vol. 13, No. 9861]. The funds collected from the yasak population were redistributed in a centralised manner. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, the per capita tax on laschmannen had not been collected in cash since 1727 but was covered in kind during the logging of ship timber.

The amount of per capita tribute for all categories of state-governed peasants was identical, and during the 18th century it was adjusted on numerous occasions, usually upward. At the same time, from 1760 to 1768, there was a time when laschmannen were not covered by the regular increase of per capita tribute.

Certain deviations from the all-Russian norm also accompanied the introduction of a recruiting duty among the Serving Tatars. The literature frequently mentions the edict of Peter I dated 19 January 1722 [Firsov, 1869, p. 23; Semevskiy, 1901, pp. 581–582; Alishev, 1973, p. 45; Iskhaki, 1991, p. 27], that required 'recruiting the Mordovian and Cheremis, same as the Russians; but recruit underage Tatars, specifically 10–12-year-olds, into garrisons, one third of them to serve the generals and the staff, and some of them recruited as sailors' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 6, No. 3884]. For the yasak-paying Tatars, this edict can be considered a starting point for regular recruit drafts. They are frequently mentioned in the legislative materials of the 1720s and the first half of the 1730s as the suppliers of recruits. Besides the acts announcing the start of the regular recruitment, there were edicts on additional recruitment as a penalty for hiding individuals [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 7, No. 4335]. There were also decrees, common for the reign of the Empress Anna Ioannovna, where, rather than recruiting 'non-Christians' to the garrison regiments of Kazan, Astrakhan and Voronezh guberniyas, as in Petrine times, they were assigned to 'garrison by the Ostzeya [the Baltic states.—*A.N.*] troops' [Ibid., vol. 9, No. 6721; No. 6740; No. 6913].

With respect to the Serving Tatars, unlike the yasak-paying ones, in the 1720s, only two recruit drafts were made. Following the edict

of 1722, 133 underage males were drafted from them, at the rate of one recruit per 83.5 households, who were sent to Moscow to the Collegium of War. In the following year, '113 adult males out of the number of service-class non-Christians' were drafted, at the rate of one recruit per 95.5 households, who were assigned to the Kazan Admiralty to build transportation vessels, 'to be trained as soldiers, carpenters, sawyers, cutters, painters, millers' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 187–188]. Since the Admiralty was a military authority, such draft was officially considered recruitment, and the people drafted were considered to be doing military service.

The recruit drafts proper started for the Serving Tatars in the latter half of 1730s. In the personal edict of 19 September 1737, in the list of categories of population from whom recruits were drafted, the concept of 'Serving Tatars' was first mentioned—they were 'assigned to log ship timber' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 10, No. 7378]. It is worth mentioning that they were primarily to form the Russian Navy, and they remained its core for many years later along with residents of Arkhangelodorod guberniya [Ibid., vol. 10, No. 7378; No. 7583; vol. 17, No. 12748].

Due to the opposition of the Tatar population and sluggishness of the local authorities, the Edict of 1737 was not carried out, and so on 25 June 1739, the Senate was forced to issue another edict that demanded 'to collect immediately... from the murzas and Tatars assigned to the Kazan Admiralty, as per the 1737 order, recruits and horses' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 10, No. 7841]. The reaction of the serving Tatars themselves to the recruiting is reflected in the Senate edict dated 7 October 1739 'On Punishment for Submitting a Petition to the Supreme Authority, Bypassing the Proper Court Bodies' [Ibid., vol. 10, No. 7931]. The document is so notable because it was issued after a soldier of the Nevsky Garrison Regiment, Alshey Urazgilev, 'dared' submit a petition to Empress Anna Ioannovna 'on the lack of equality in collection of recruits and horses from service murzas as compared to yasak Tatars and Chuvashes people...'. So, laschmannen started fighting for the removal

of the recruiting duty immediately after it was imposed.

During some periods in the history of Serving Tatars, the government exempted them from military conscription. This was the case in 1755–1756, when a rebellion lead by mullah Batyrsha was being suppressed. On September 26, 1755, Empress Elizabeth Petrovna ordered that a detachment of 5 thousand service class murzas and Tatars should be sent to aid the troops commanded by Governor of Orenburg I. Neplyuev [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol.14, No. 10469]. A declaration followed on the same day to the effect that 'non-Christians' were exempted from the duty to supply recruits instead of new Christians [Ibid., vol.14, No. 10666]. In appreciation of the serving Tatars' merits during that military expedition, they were exempted from the duty to supply recruits during regular conscription under a decree dated 23 December 1757 [Ibid., vol.14, No. 10785]. What makes the decision notable is the fact it was taken in the thick of the Russo-Prussian war, when military conscription was very nearly continuous and the army was facing considerable difficulties with personal replacement. A decree was issue on 30 August 1758 to confirm it [Ibid. vol.15, No. 10874].

Those designated to the Admiralty enjoyed exemption from military service until 29 September 1766, when the 'New General Establishment on Gathering Recruits in the State' was issued, under which they belonged to a category obliged to supply military conscripts [Ibid., vol. 17, No. 12748]. Recruits supplied by laschmannen went to the navy as they did in the 1730s. Thus, Serving Tatars not only established the material basis of the navy but were among those who won its military fame by their sweat and blood. They brought up the issue of their exemption from conscription many times over the following years [Ibid., vol. 19, No. 14166; vol. 24, No. 17772]. They even agreed to make mast timber for free as long as an exemption was granted from tributes to the Treasury and military conscription' [Ibid., Vol. 24, No. 17772]. They did not succeed until 1817 [Ibid., vol. 34, No. 27023]. Yasak Tatars had to supply recruits regularly throughout the

period. At least the Complete Code of Laws contains no enactment dated 18th century to suggest otherwise.

Belonging to the Admiralty, *laschmannen* had to fulfill a number of official duties, since naval officials wanted to settle current issues at the cost or by efforts of non-Russian service class people. It was Peter I who set the model. Under his decree dated 31 January 1718, non-Christians were to provide maintenance to carpenters, sawyers, and other workmen employed from 'towns as well as palace and *yasak* Russian villages in Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod guberniyas' for the Kazan Shipyard [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 5, No. 3149]. The shipyard employed a total of 300 workmen. A special duty of 25 kopecks in money 'and 2 quarters of rye per person' was imposed on Admiralty designees in order to pay the workmen's wages [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 184–185].

The *laschmann* participation in the construction of Russian military fortresses in the Caucasus is a special chapter in their history. Under the royal edict dated 3 December 1723, 5,000 Serving Tatars, Mordovians, and Chuvashes were sent to the town of Baku, to the Kura River, and to the Svyatoy Krest Fort (a Russian military fortress on the Sulak River (Dagestan).—*A.N.*). Some 2,500 of them were supplied by 23,711 service class non-Christians in Kazan, Astrakhan, and Nizhny Novgorod Governorates, while 6,085 non-Christians in Voronezh guberniya provided the rest [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, pp. 184–185]. The nonuniform distribution of workmen among governorates is attributable to the fact that Serving Tatars in Voronezh guberniya did not pay their ship duty in kind but made monetary contributions. *Laschmannen* detached for service were maintained by those remaining at home. For this purpose, an amount 271/4 kopecks was collected from every person fit to work [Ibid., p. 188]. They had to pay tributes for those detached as well after 1725.

The further life of those sent to the Caucasus was tragic. At the meeting of the Supreme Privy Council on August 9, 1728, Field

Marshall General V. Dolgoruky reported that among the non-Christians sent from Kazan guberniya 'to newly conquered Persian towns... many are dead, and those who remain are few and very poor; they have no clothing and footwear and die of hunger' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, p. 295]. Dolgoruky found the fact disturbing, since the situation of those detached for service had caused 'significant suspicion towards us among the local peoples, since we who offer our protection to the local peoples and yet let our own suffer poverty and hard labour.' Fearing lest Russia's credibility be undermined, he suggested that 'no non-Christians should be sent there for work, since they do not seem necessary on consideration, and those people of other faith who are there should be released' [Ibid., p. 296]. The suggestion was approved under the Senate's decree dated 17 July 1730 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5588]. It reported that 3,792 people of the 5,000 Serving Tatars, Mordovians, and Chuvashes sent 'for the construction of fortresses to Baku and the Kura River' had died on their way to Astrakhan and Gilan.

The tragic deaths of *laschmannen* who perished far from their native land makes the sacrifice all the more pointless. Under the agreement between Russia and Persia signed in Ganja on March 10, 1735, the cities of Baku and Derbent as well as Russia's other Caspian trophies, over which soldiers and workmen had been spilling blood, were returned to Iran [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 9, No. 6707].

The charges and duties imposed on Admiralty designees were especially diverse in the latter half of the 1720s. The majority was temporary and aimed at meeting the current national needs. Among such duties was the sending of 300 people to Astrakhan to be engaged in the construction of the Admiralty, the harbor, and other work, in 1727. Another 300 service class non-Christians were sent to replace them in 1728. Even the administration of the Kazan Admiralty Office found the detachment burdensome and requested the Superior Privy Council to abolish the practice. In its decree dated 12 March 1729, the Senate ordered that

'non-Christians shall send no workers to Astrakhan in future...this work shall be done by...those hired by the Admiralty' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 55379; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 94, p. 189].

Unlike Mordovians and Chuvashes, Serving Tatars had to carry the additional burden of providing interpreters and translators for Russia's diplomatic relations with her southern and southeastern neighbours. In 1723, 23 Kazan sloboda Tatars were sent to Gilan with the ambassador Semyon Avramov 'to translate letters and interpret from and to the Persian language' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 101, p. 380]. In 1727, another 20 people were sent to replace them [Ibid., p. 381]. On 7 November 1729, Peter II ordered that 'ten Kazan Tatars shall be sent immediately to Persia in addition to those previously sent to translate letters and interpret from and to the Persian language' [Ibid., p. 379].

Such orders regarding the sending of translators were mostly taken at the highest level (the emperor, the Superior Privy Council, the Senate) on strong requests by the military and civil administrations of borderline areas. The administration of the Kazan Admiralty Office mostly ignored direct requests and did not take any actions unless a supreme body issues a directive. The lack of enthusiasm is attributable not only to corporate interests and jealousy caused by the interference with the Admiralty's internal affairs, but also to the direct financial losses which such losses brought about. People detached for service often failed to come back. For instance, translator at the Svyatoy Krest Fort Ibrahim Urazaev died during a confrontation with the local population in 1729 [Ibid., p. 381].

Minor duties emerging at the initiative of local admiralty officials as well as caused by the underdeveloped law regulating public woodcutters' 'extraneous' responsibilities made life much more difficult for laschmannen. For example, during the period from 1725 to 1728 an additional duty of 25 kopecks for minors and 50 kopecks for elders was imposed on a per capita basis on laschmannen not fit to produce timber due to their age 'at the discretion

of N. Kudryavtsev. Serving Tatars began to be engaged 'in receiving treasury money, victuals, and materials' for the Admiralty of Kazan in 1726. A total of 29 people was elected 'burgomasters, counters, and tselovalniks' in 1726; 34, in 1727; 22, in 1728 [Ibid., p. 193]. Though these positions were exempted from ship works, Tatars viewed the service as an additional duty and sent petitions to the administration to abolish it [Ibid., vol. 84, p. 235]. As the result, the Senate had to react to the complaints about the Kazan authorities' arbitrary actions and issue a decree on 12 March 1729 to the effect that no duties in kind or money 'in excess of the established poll tax' could be imposed on laschmannen' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 8, No. 5379].

Another fact that distinguished service class Tatars from their yasak-paying fellows and other state peasants was some of them owning dependent people. The Senate's decree dated April 1775 and titled 'On the Non-Exemption of Non-Christian Household Serfs from the Poll Tax' reports 383 household and other serfs of Bashkir and Tatar origin to 'in service to non-Christians designated to the Admiralty' in Kazan uyezd [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, vol. 20, No. 14306]. Such laschmannen of property played two major roles in their relations with the government. Being state peasants in legal terms, they owned serfs, which had remained the privilege of the nobility in Russia. Their serfs found themselves in an ambiguous situation. According to a decree dated 1775, a poll tax was imposed on them 'along with their owners' in 1747. At the same time, serfs did not have to fulfil the admiralty duty, unlike their masters. There were some other differences. For instance, when Serving Tatars were exempted of the duty to supply conscripts, their household serfs and peasants still had to provide conscripts [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 20, No. 14306]. The complicated situation naturally troubled the local authorities.

This fact indicated that Serving Tatars had preserved some of their former high status until the last three decades of the 18th century. Belonging to the Admiralty and carrying out the special ship duty, laschmannen remained dif-

ferent from the other groups of state peasants in spite of the government's attempt at unifying their status.

Until the ship duty was abolished in 1860, Serving Tatars were accountable to the Naval Office, which substituted the local authorities during some periods. The years of 1718 to 1731 were the period when the administration of the Kazan Admiralty Office enjoyed its highest power. Its first administrator, also Vice Governor of Kazan, N. Kudryavtsev not only gave work orders to designees but tried their cases and administered justice as necessary under the decree dated 1718. Moreover, the Senate's decree dated July 31, 1722 vested fiscal powers in him by entitling him to collect from non-Christians the 'duties imposed on them' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 6, No. 4065]. N. Kudryavtsev's adherents were his son Nefed, who succeeded his father in office after his death in 1728, and representative of the Collegium of the Navy in Kazan Commodore Ivan Kozlov. The decree dated March 12, 1729 formalised laschmann dependence on the admiralty administration in terms of ship work [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5379]. During the period when non-Russian service class people did not have to carry out any duties in detachment, they maintained contact with the naval office, since father and son Kudryavtsev continued to control their 'civil' life as Vice Governors of Kazan.

The situation lasted until a report of the Senate was presented and approved on June 6, 1731, to the effect that managerial functions were separated [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5772]. Any issues not related to ship work were to be referred to governors and voivodes. The powers of the commander 'appointed by the Admiralty' were limited to managing the lumber work. The laschmannen could complain about him to the governor in case 'he should cause unnecessary difficulties for them at work.'

The newly introduced procedures limited the influence of the Head of the Kazan Admiralty Office dramatically, at the same time being beneficial to higher officials in a number of Volga Region governorates, who had been

disgruntled at the lack of opportunities to influence the life of labourers within the territory in their jurisdiction. What they found the most offensive was the fact that father and son Kudryavtsev enjoyed control over laschmannen while remaining Vice Governors of the Kazan guberniya.

The decree dated 1731 affected laschmannen in a negative way. Finding themselves in a dual subordination and 'lacking a single place of jurisdiction', they had to face abuse by various branches of the civil administration apart from the oppression by that of the Admiralty. According to designees, 'they suffered their most dramatic losses because of special detachments that took (without paying the established fee.—*A.N.*) their carts, victuals, fodder, and livestock.' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 13, No. 9814]. Court trials brought about a number of problems for Serving Tatars. Having poor Russian skills and being unaware of court procedures, the relevant decrees, and the Ulozheniye of 1649, they were helpless even when they had the law on their side [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 43, pp. 600–601; Vol. 115, p. 314]. Families of those laschmannen who had been detached for timber service were even more helpless in the face of the abusive civil administration [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 11, No. 8785].

Thus, soon after the Decree of 1731 was issued, Serving Tatars and other admiralty designees began to petition for the previous procedures to be restored so that 'the Kazan Admiralty Office can be responsible for the mast timber work, poll tax, payment, trials, and the administration of justice, as their former Vice Governor Nikita Kudryavtsev did when...Emperor Peter the Great was alive under the edict of His Majesty' [Ibid.]. The reason why laschmanns wanted to come back under the auspices of the Admiralty Office was that they hoped that the office, having direct interest in them, would treat them in a fairer way.

However, the government was opposed to the idea of restoring the previous management of timber workers, since vesting the previous powers back in the administration of the Kazan Admiralty Office would form a redundant

executive system in the Volga Region. The Senate resolved to leave Serving Tatars subordinated to governors and voivodes three times (under the decrees dated 28 September 1743, 1 November 1750, and 2 December 1752) [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 11, No. 8785; vol. 13, No. 9814, No. 10052]. In 1755, amid concessions to the Tatar feudal elite during Batyrsha's rebellion, the previous judiciary procedures were partially restored. All cases involving Serving Tatars 'claimed by landlords and other yasak people and household serfs' were to be considered 'by the Admiralty Office and not elsewhere' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 313]. However, cases dealing with 'carrying out trials and administering justice involving third parties' were entrusted back to guberniya and province chancelleries [Ibid.]. According to I. Gilyazov, another confirmation was given in 1757 that any issues not related directly to ship work were in the jurisdiction of the specified chancelleries [Gilyazov, 1982, pp. 60–61].

Having lost any hope for the restoration of the Admiralty Office's judiciary function, service class people began to petition for referring to it at least cases in which they were defendants in suits by 'non-interested Russian landowners and other commoners and yasak people' in the 1760s [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 115, p. 313]. Laschmans were prepared to refer cases in which they acted as claimants to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery in the presence of representatives of the Kazan Admiralty Office [Ibid.] However, the situation was clearly unfavorable. Many collegiums, offices, and chancelleries were abolished in the latter half of the 1770s within the local administration reform, which brought about extended rights and powers to local officials. The Collegium of the Navy survived the campaign but largely lost its powers. They were vested in new type bodies performing financial and economic functions—treasury chambers in guberniyas and Treasury offices in uyezds.

Under the Emperor's rescript of 16 February 1782, the forests controlled by the Admiralty were entrusted to the Housekeeping Directors,

while timber workers fell under the Economic Directors. It was emphasised that 'the Admiralty Office in Kazan or any other locality shall not interfere with the management or detachment for service of those peasants' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 21, No. 15351]. It became a mediator between the Collegium of the Navy and the Treasury Chamber of Kazan. The Collegium of the Navy reported to the Office of Kazan 'how much and what kind of wood it needs by what time', while the latter was to hand the information over to the Treasury Chamber, suggesting the number of workers required.

The decree dated August 18, 1782 extended the powers of the Directors of Domestic Affairs to an even greater scale. Apart from mast timber forests and groves along with descriptions and maps thereof, Serving Tatars designated to the Admiralty were transferred to them. Admiralty officials were to submit the following data to the treasury chambers three months in advance of the work start date: 'how many dismounted and mounted workers should be sent and where'. Their functions did not extend any further. Apart from departing workmen, the Domestic Affairs Directors relied on specially appointed supervisors and other officials to fully control the production and transportation of mast timber. When brought to piers, the timber was entrusted to Admiralty officials [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 21, No. 15494].

Thus, a single location concentrated all functions of laschmannen management during the reign of Catherine II. Officials of various governorate bodies were responsible for their work, taxation, and judicial proceedings. When Paul I came to power and abolished many of his mother's innovations, the situation changed again. Already in early 1797, the Collegium of the Navy controlled the tributes collection, provided service detachments, and managed mast timber production [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 24, No. 17772]. The decree of December 16, 1799 legally formalised the practice [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 25, No. 19224].

The Establishment of the Administration for Mast Timber of 25 August 1817 put the

lid on the matter [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 34, No. 27023, pp. 504–529]. A dedicated Administration for Mast Timber was established in Kazan under it. Volost offices subordinated to it were created in localities with laschmann population. Spheres of influence were divided as follows. It was declared that 'laschmannen shall be subordinated to the Administration in terms of the laschmann duty and to the local administration for any other issues' [Ibid., p. 524]. The newly established laschmann volost was the lowest manifestation of the local administration. The village starosta (head of village) and volost starshina (head of volost) were responsible for providing each workman 'on time and in good order'.

In general, the rivalry among offices for the right to control public woodcutters, which lasted nearly a hundred years, ended with the situation prescribed by the decree of 6 June 1731 restored. It is noteworthy that Serving Tatars did not stand on the sides in this tug-of-war. They sent petitions to the supreme authorities, not only defending the administrative procedure that was beneficial to them but also drawing concessions in other issues, sometimes not related with the ship work, from the government.

To sum up the analysis of narratives on various aspects of the history of the naval duty, we must mention the amount of timber produced. Without the figures, it would be impossible to estimate the performance of non-Russian service class people in the Middle Volga Region and appreciate their contribution to Russia's naval shipbuilding. Unfortunately, the evidence available is fragmentary. Kazan reportedly exported about 15,000 logs for 35-cannon frigate birds, over 17,000 logs and boards for ship repair, and over 1,000 aspen wood oars in 1719. In 1795, 9,864 dismounted and mounted workmen produced and transported 822,416 poods of mast timber to piers for further delivery to dockyards in Saint Petersburg and Astrakhan [Materialy, 1859, pp. 71–72]. Under the 'Decree on the Laschmannen' dated 1817, the following annual ratio was specified for timber production for shipbuilding and other construction: 28,000 oak trees having a total weight of about one and a half million poods [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol.

34, No. 27023]. Over the period of the Kazan Admiralty's existence (1718–1837), approximately 400 vessels of different types were built in its dockyards [Admiraltejstvo, 1994, p. 30]. Besides, it supplied mast timber, prefabricated products, and details to dockyards of the Baltic Fleet and the Astrakhan Admiralty. Therefore, laschmannen were the first and most important link in the chain of producing domestic sailing ships and the one who laid the foundation for the glory and splendour of the Russian fleet. Besides, their timber work was a highly important part of the work of the thousands of labourers who were creating a material foundation for Russia's industrial development.

Speaking of the social implications of the laschmann service, we cannot omit the fact that the Tatar feudal class suffered a heavy blow when it was introduced in 1718. Within a period of less than ten years, privileged service class murzas and Tatars became just another tribute-paying group. Financially, their situation was harder during some periods than that of state peasants. Carrying out the duties imposed on their class, they still had to work in timber production detachments and fulfil other duties for the Admiralty. It is no wonder that the double burden motivated Serving Tatars to stand up for their interests. Petitions to the supreme authorities by designees of different governorates give nearly the same account of their status: 'The abovementioned tributes as well as the people taken and the wrongful excessive work have reduced us... to complete poverty and caused us to have enormous duties which we cannot repay; many have pawned their children and we have no horses and no crops...' [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 84, pp. 236–237].

The social and economic crises at the turn of the 1720s affected the self-identification of service class murzas and Tatars. To break free of mast timber production and 'other tributes' remained a primary aspiration for many decades. However, there was no way back. They were not exempted from the accursed laschmann duty, which was a form of state labour service, until 1860 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-2, vol. 35, No. 35611], shortly before serfdom itself was abolished in Russia.

§4. Trade

1. Tatar Involvement in Russia's Domestic and Foreign Trade

Iskander Gilyazov, Gulnara Zinnyatova

Domestic Trade. The 18th century in the history of the Russian state is characterised by growing domestic and foreign trade [Yakovtsevsky, 1956, p. 119]. Trade dominated entrepreneurship until the late 18th century [Istoriya predprinimatel'stva, 2000, p. 222]. The development of small-scale production and manufacturing, agricultural development, the intensified separation of industry from agriculture and the increasing regional specialisation of the first half of the 18th century caused the circulation of commodities in the all-Russian market to expand [Zaozerskaya, 1957, p. 149]. The Middle Volga Region traditionally had intense trade. At the turn of the 18th century, the region was intensely engaged in the Russian market. Trade was primarily concentrated in cities, of which Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Sviyazhsk, and Cheboksary were the largest.

The following forms of domestic trade were practiced: 1) through a stationary network of shops; 2) at fairs and markets; 3) on a door-to-door basis [Yakovtsevsky, 1956, p. 123]. Tatars in the Middle Volga Region and in the Trans-Ural practiced all the above forms of trade.

Village markets and purchase from manufacturers can be termed the first level of domestic trade. Raw materials purchased could be either sold straightaway or used to produce further commodities. The commodities were then sold at fairs, which constituted the second level of domestic trade. Trade at borderline and international fairs belong to the third step of domestic trade.

Chronologically and locally arranged fairs formed regional cycles [Torgovo-promy'shennaya, 1899, p. 382]. The most important fairs in the Middle Volga Region and in the Trans-Ural were the Irbit and Krestovskoye Fairs (Perm guberniya), Menzelinsk Fair (Ufa guberniya), the St. Alexei Fair (the city of Kotelnich), the Caravan Fair (Laishevo), the Spring Fair (Kazan), Makaryev Fair (Nizhny Novgorod Fair after 1816), and Rostov Fair (Yaroslavl Guberniya) [Sbornik svedenij, 1899, pp. 388–389].

It is safe to say that trade was the dominant non-agricultural occupation among the Tatars in the Middle Volga Region and the Urals in the 18th century. The increasing production specialisation of the Middle Volga Region, which was included in the developing all-Russian market, did affect the commercial activities of Tatar merchants and peasants engaged in trade. The growing property and social differentiation of peasants of all ethnic groups in the region also played a part. The increased social division of labour, in particular the formation of industrial manufacturing activities, also affected the Tatar peasant economy, contributing to its integration in the general Russian domestic and foreign trade. The development of trade and exchange was also affected by increased peasant taxation in the 18th century, since peasants had to sell their produce more often to pay taxes or tributes on time.

Many literary sources, in particular travel notes, mention Tatars to be good traders [Georgi, 1779, p. 10; Pallas, 1786, p. 5].

Tatar trade took the traditional southward route from the Volga River to the Caspian Sea, including the following cities: Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, Syzran, Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Cherny Yar, Astrakhan; the Ural-Caspian route included Uralsk and Guryev; that to the Black Sea involved the Rostov trade centre. Three routes existed within the eastern direction: Menzelinsk, Chelyabinsk, Troitsk, Birsik, Shadrinsk, Irbit, Tyumen, Tobolsk, etc. (to Siberia); Orenburg etc. (to Central Asia); via Troitsk, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, etc. (to China). The Tatars also sold commodities in the western cities of Nizhny Novgorod, Moscow, Orel, Saint Petersburg, etc.

The national domestic and foreign trade are closely related in terms of place, time, and product range. The end dates of domestic fairs determined the activation date of foreign trade. When caravans from Orenburg to Middle Asia and those traveling to Russia arrived and de-

parted depended on how favorable the season was and how long the Nizhny Novgorod Fair, which normally took place annually from the middle of July to the middle of August, lasted. It took merchants some time to prepare for the long trip, transport their commodities to borderline customs offices, hire camels and escorting staff. Therefore, caravans generally left Russia in October or November. Caravans from Middle Asian cities mostly started in late April-May to return by the time fairs began in Orenburg and Nizhny Novgorod.

The commodity turnover of Makaryev Fair nearly tripled over the period from 1697 to 1720 [Kafengauz, 1956, p. 132]. It appears that the Tatar population of the Middle Volga Region was traditionally involved in fairs. In the first half of the 18th century, Kazan merchants were among top 10 active participants in the Makaryev Fair [Sverdlova, 1991, p. 25]. Kazan and Astrakhan Tatars brought dressed lamb skin and furs bought from Bashkirs and Kalmyks [Kafengauz, 1956, p. 135]. Besides, the Tatars brought a large amount of horses every year. Commodities from Kazan reached the Makaryev Fair by the Volga River; there was a pier on the bank to load cargo.

Astrakhan was another Tatar trade centre. It remained crucial to exchange with Asia until Orenburg was founded. Astrakhan had a large population of settled Kazan Tatars inhabiting Tatar and Kazan Slobodas. Just like other Non-Russians, they were mainly engaged in intermediary trade between Russia and Oriental countries.

It was not infrequent for Astrakhan merchants to establish trade companies [Golikova, 1982, pp. 189–190]. For instance, Tatars from Kazan would cooperate with merchants of other ethnic origin, contributing their share to the joint venture. It was beneficial. Oriental merchants enjoyed more lucrative international trade, while Kazan Tatars applied their business contacts to domestic commercial activities. The fact that Kazan Tatars were engaged in credit relations is also indicative of their important commercial contacts in Astrakhan [Ibid., p. 203].

The enthusiastic merchants in the Middle Volga Region, in particular Tatars, unlocked

the potential of the region's central geographical location. Commodities from the Lower Volga Region, the Kama River Region, Trans-Caucasian territories, the Urals, Siberia, and Middle Asia came together in this region to be dispersed across the cities and fairs of Russia as well as to be exported abroad, both west and east.

The increasing lack of land in the 18th century as well as the enhanced fiscal burden required peasants to get involved in crafts or trade. Peasants thus tried to maximise their profit or at least ensure minimum sustenance. Transport contracts to deliver crops, salt, and other products, as well as trade operations were common among Tatar peasants.

The delivery of crops—that is, flour and grain, was the most popular contractual activity among peasants of all ethnic origins. Quite naturally, there were two different categories: grain surpluses from wealthy peasants and necessary trade with poor people who borrowed money for various purposes and repaid them in kind. In 1752, the Serving Tatars of the village Atabayevo, Tetyushi uyezd, agreed with a merchant from Svuyazh, V. Denisov, that they should supply rye flour in bags weighing 9 poods 10 pounds each. The document contained a register of such Tatar peasants: Deney Ermolov undertook to supply 274 bags (about 2,500 poods!); Yarmol Baymyakov, 11 bags; Bogdan Yakubov, 48; Kabaray Usmanov, 33; Murtaza Rezyapov, 44; Abdul Suleymanov, 35. The contract was signed in 1752, but the Tatar peasants failed to supply the commodities on time (the document does not clarify the reasons) and undertook to do so before 1 October 1754 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 586, inv. 1, file 79, pp. 1, 3, 5]. The suppliers not only sold crops of their own but also contracted with other traders.

Tatar and Chuvash peasants from the villages Bikovo, Tavgildino, and Bolshiye Tarkhany, Buinsk uyezd, Simbirsk guberniya, made a deal to supply grain with Sviyazhsk merchants G. Sakov and D. Zakharyev in 1763 [Ibid., fund 441, inv. 1, file 298]. It was not infrequent for Tatar peasants to supply grain and flour to remote localities. In 1764, Tatar peasants from Arsk and Zyurey darugas, Kazan uyezd, under-

took to supply a total of 360 quarters to Orenburg shops; a yasak Tatar from the village of Chalpy signed a contract, under which he was to supply 2,500 quarters and receive 1 ruble 5 kopecks per quarter in Orenburg and 1 ruble 19 kopecks in the fortress of Vozdvizhensk—that is, a total of 3,265 rubles [Ibid., fund 529, inv. 1, file 1771, pp. 1–2 reverse].

Tatar peasants' most common and simple form of trade was retail and performing transactions for large-scale Tatar and Russian traders, selling and buying their commodities: 'many Tatars are engaged in trade, Russian merchants hire them as salesclerks and interpreters, while some undertake to supply victuals and other commodities' [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 91, inv. 1, file 381, p. 390]. For instance, dwellers of the villages Kulga Kuyuk, Maly Ryas, Aybash, and more in Kazan uyezd undertook 'to deliver merchants' commodities to various cities and fairs' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 402, p. 253]. Such salesclerks normally travelled from village to village, trading 'rather through exchange than for ready money' [Georgi, 1779, p. 10]. They sold various agricultural produce, clothes, textiles, and household items. For instance, Serving Tatars from the villages Kochki and Malaya Turma, Tetyshi uyezd, undertook a trip to the city of Orenburg, 'from where they bring Kalmyk sheepskin coats, cotton and silk items of dressed lamb-skin, sashes, and other small items sold in Russian towns and settlements' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 431, p. 31 reverse]. Peasants also sold such domestic craft items as linen and woollen cloth, canvas. For instance, dwellers of the villages Yurtushy, Bolshoy Sentyak, and Mendeli, Kazan uyezd [Ibid., file 402, p. 197 v.]; those of Spassky uyezd, animal skins, fat, and honey [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 324, inv. 740, file 344, p. 52]; sledges, carts, wheels, and barrels. Dwellers of the villages Sabanchino, Porshur, Maly Sardygan, Verkhnyaya Michen, Bolshaya Shiksha, etc., Mamadysh uyezd, sold buck-ets, sheepskin coats, and hats [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1355, inv. 1, file 416, p. 104 reverse, 114 reverse, 115 reverse, 119 reverse]. Some sold merchants' commod-

ities—silk fabrics, paper, and jewelry (for instance, Tatar yasak peasants from the villages Arbash, Knyabash, and Toktarovo, Kazan uyezd) [Ibid., file 402, p. 364 reverse].

Tatar peasants who hired themselves out to wealthy merchants as trade agents or salesclerks traveled to various regions. Numerous credit letters issued to such people by their employees present evidence of this fact. Credit letters had the following form:

'This credit letter has been issued by service class Tatar, owner and keeper of a silk and paper factory Abdresht Ibrayev of the village of Vere-ski, Arsk Okrug, Kazan namestnichestvo, to the effect that trade within Vyatsk namestnichestvo is fully entrusted to salesclerks from the village of Staraya Ibrasheva, Yelabuzhsk Okrug, Serving Tatars Aip Almetev, Nadir Almetev to carry out commercial operations during the period of one year within Kazan, Nizhegorod, Ufa, Perm, namestnichestvos, Orenburg oblast, at fairs, including commodity sales, exchange, and purchase for any profit raised, as well as issuing promissory notes (signatures) on his behalf' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1238, inv. 1, file 1, p. 3]. The letter is dated February 1, 1788.

For Tatar traders, after unimpeded commercial activities were opened to sloboda Serving Tatars in 1763, after the abolishment of internal customs offices in 1754, the Merchant Guild Organisation and the establishment of the Kazan Tatar Town Hall in 1782, the state as a whole—and the Middle Volga Region in particular—witnessed rapid trade growth. Merchants belonging to the 2nd and 3–3rd guilds appeared among the Tatar population of the Middle Volga Region. According to official statistics, the total capital of guild merchants of Tatar origin in the 18th century was 112,680 rubles; later, in the early 19th century, it was as large as 143,437 rubles. [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1531, inv. 1, file 73, pp. 3–4]. Such merchants were active both within the Middle Volga Region and the Trans-Urals and in other areas, sometimes beyond the Russian Empire. Trade articles included leather, soap, fur, fabric, candles, etc., as well as some agricultural products.

Shops, which were generally concentrated in Kazan, and also partly uyezd centres, were

crucial to the development of continuous trade. In 1769, a register was drawn up to estimate the number of various 'obrok [rental] and allo-dial' shops in Kazan and the annual income that they generated. Out of the town's 161 rental shops, 15 belonged to Tatar traders, in particular 1 in the section for foreign traders, 'Gostinyj Ryad', 5 in that for Siberians, 'Sibirsky Ryad', 4 in the iron mongers, 'Zhelezhy Ryad', and 5 in the section for ribbons 'Lentochny Ryad'. Besides, a total of 565 'votchinnik' (privately held) shops present in the town, of which 16 belonged to Tatar traders: 9 in the Lentochny Ryad, 2 in the Melochny Ryad, engaging in petty trade, and 5 in the cobblers' section 'Sapozhny Ryad'. Seven more Tatar private shops had been built in the section for ceramic goods, 'Gorshechny Ryad' by 1768. Serving Tatar Abdulla Tokaev ran a 'pryanik house' for baked goods in Kozya Sloboda, Kazan. These shops, the specialisation of which is clear from the name of the rows, were not very lucrative. Only Yakup Saltanayev's shop in the Sapozhny Ryad brought him an annual income of up to 10 rubles, and five shops owned by Serving Tatars Daut Yusupov and Suleyman Abdelmanov in the Lentochny Ryad brought up to 8 rubles each; the rest brought even smaller income [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, inv. 1, file 710, pp. 1–7, 9 reverse, 11–15, 36–41, 43 reverse].

Shop owners sometimes rented their business out for various periods. For instance, in 1788, a 2nd guild merchant from Kazan, Gumer Iskhakov, rented 20 small shops from Abdulgazey Aleyev, a serving Tatar from the village of Menger, Arsk uyezd, who then was living in Kazan. The shops were located next to Aleyev's house in Voskresenskaya Street. Fifteen of them had cellars and 5 had none. G. Iskhakov rented the shops for a contractual period of four years at a total amount of 2,000 rubles. The merchant undertook to keep the shops clean and do renovations as necessary 'lest any damage occur to the goods' [National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 1238, inv. 1, file 1, p. 5].

Foreign Trade. Throughout the 18th century, the Russian government, starting from Peter I, tried to reinforce its standing in Middle Asia. Russia's interest is accountable to a number of

reasons. Firstly, it was a market to sell Russian goods. Secondly, it was a market to purchase valuable raw materials, namely silk and raw cotton. Both would contribute to the development of Russian manufactory and capital growth. Thirdly, it was the location of a sand gold deposit. Orenburg became the centre of Russia's political and economic relations with the peoples of Middle Asia and Kazakhstan as soon as the autocratic government began its intense intrusion to their territory. The suburban settlement of Kargala sloboda was not accepted by everyone. The government took into account the Tatars' financial status and economic activity.

The Tatars of Seitov sloboda helped establish a trade and political cooperation between the Orenburg administration and Asian merchants. Enthusiastic and resourceful Tatars were involved in the organisation of both cross-border and caravan trade [Matvievsky, Efremov, 1991, p. 98]. I. Neplyuev wrote, 'I called attention to the trade of merchants from Russia and Asia. I wrote to every municipal authority regarding the former..., I sent charters abroad to the latter, encouraging Kirghiz people as well as citizens of Khiva, Tashkent, and Bukhara to trade...I sent them with Muslim Tatars from Seitov sloboda, whom I rewarded generously and promised to reward even more in case their mission was successful; so they were very industrious in every region, having received the former and anticipating the latter' [Vitevsky, 1897, p. 723].

While in 1760 the sloboda contained 300 households and 1158 male inhabitants, the figures had increased to 1,000 households and 9,468 dwellers of both genders by 1796 [Apollonova, 1960, pp. 240–241]. The Kazakh Steppe and Middle Asia appealed not only to Kargalan Tatars but also to those of the Middle Volga Region and the Urals in terms of trade. In 1761, more than a half of the total of 109 merchants and 77 salesclerks who dealt with Kazakh customers in Orenburg were Tatars from Seitov sloboda (38 merchants), Kazan guberniya (20 merchants and 20 salesclerks) and Kasimov Tatars (13 merchants and 27 salesclerk) [Ibid., p. 241]. Therefore, 118 people out of 186 were commercially active in Orenburg.

There is evidence that Tatars occupied the first shops on the Asian side in the central market (Gostiny Dvor) and in the Menovy Dvor, a trade market. 'In each shop of theirs, Tatars have two to three people of other faith, and the keep whoever arrives from Asia...' [Ibid., p. 78]. The quotation suggests that Tatar traders were resourceful, pushing, active, and competitive. 'The Tatars are the most noteworthy thing about Orenburg as a special and very important class of common people. Being artful, crafty, and agile, they are incredibly good at local trade and often acquire large capital by means of it' [Svinin, 1828, p. 19].

However, the government and the local administration did not intend to limit themselves to exchange trade in Orenburg and attempted to arrange caravan trade into Middle Asia.

A report sent to the military governor of Orenburg in 1832 read as follows, 'Merchants have noted that the steppe trade with Kirghiz people is largely coming under the control of their co-religionists—Tatars and Khivans... Russian merchants are absolutely unable to compete with the Tatars in steppe trade, since the Kirghiz people trust the latter much more in trade and everything else because of their common religion' [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 6, inv. 10, file 3888, pp. 51 reverse–52]. Their experience was more successful than previous attempts at arranging foreign trade with Khiva and Bukhara across the Orenburg Line. The previous failed trade trips were associated with the names of foreigners, Englishmen interested in Middle Asian and Indian property.

Entry for Russian merchants to Central Asian markets required that caravans have safe passage to important points of call. Therefore, the administration of Orenburg took measures to secure the trade route.

In 1741, a caravan was sent from Orenburg to Tashkent. Its heads were the Vyatka Tatar Shubay Arslanov, the Kursk merchant Semyon Drozdov, and the Kazan Tatar Mansur Yusupov. The caravan reached Tashkent to return in 1742. Over 700 merchants from Middle Asia arrived in Orenburg with the caravan.

Active Tatar merchants were not only executors of government-initiated commercial trips.

They were involved in the planning and organisation of trade to some extent. For instance, the suggestions submitted by Orenburg administrators and Tatar merchant Seit Khayalin, who wanted to establish a caravan route from Orenburg to India, underlay a trade company project approved by the government in 1751 [Matvievsky, Efremov, 1991, p. 100].

In 1753, Kargalan Tatars Nadyr Saferov and Yakub Yagofarov undertook the fourth caravan in total and the first on in the 18th century from Orenburg to India via Bukhara. (This was after Afanasy Nikitin, Leonty Yudin, and Semyon Malenky traded in the land of the Mughal Empire from the 15th to the 17th centuries). P. Matvievskij and A. Efremov described the trip as follows: 'They (Kargalan Tatars) were the first to take the new geographic route, bringing along evidence of Russia's growing national industry to inspire in the peoples of this great country an interest for their domestic commodities.' [Ibid., p. 101].

In 1797, a decree was issued to establish trade between the population of the Bukhtarma Krai and West China regions—it was the beginning of commercial relations with West China. Two Chinese cities, Qulja (modern Yining) and Qoqek (modern Tacheng), were the closest to the fortress of Bukhtarma. However, this stopping point did not become a trade centre of importance. Soon after the date of the decree, sending merchants' caravans from Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk was allowed. At first Tatars, then also Russian merchants, began to send caravans from Semipalatinsk to Qulja [Korsak, 1857, p. 418].

Trade with Qoqek was also established due to the entrepreneurial spirit of Troitsk Tatars. In 1844, a company with a limited company was founded to send the first caravan (70 camels, each carrying 14 poods of cargo, 15 horses, and 15 workers) across the steppe. According to V. Cheremshansky, it was the convenience and cheapness of such a transportation route that made trade with Qoqek appealing to Tatar entrepreneurs [Cheremshansky, 1859, p. 393].

A. Korsak emphasised the Tatars' ingenuity and artfulness—the distance between Troitsk to Qoqek being 1,710 versts and that

from Troitsk to Kazan being 1,000 versts, the distance between Qoqek and Kazan was 2,710, which is nearly equal to that from Semipalatinsk to Kazan. Thus, they benefited from a shorter trip. The price for direct transport of goods from Qoqek to Nizhny Novgorod being only 2 rubles in silver per pood of cargo—that is, the same as from Semipalatinsk to Kazan,

it was also financially advantageous [Korsak, 1857, pp. 427–430].

Let us examine the following document: 'Register of Departing Russian Merchants, Their Salesclerks and Workers, Commodities and Total Prices Thereof for The Year 1787' [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 5, inv. 1, file 21, pp. 293 reverse–298]:

Caravan-owning merchant	Salesclerks, workers	Destination	Amount of transport	Total value of the commodities
1st guild merchant Asaf Inozemtsev from Kazan	4 workers		63 camels	25,684 rubles 7 ½ kopecks
Tatar tradesman and factory owner Rafik Mukhametov from Kazan	6 workers		47 camels	16,461 rubles 20 kopecks
Merchant D. Ikonnikov from Moscow	Abdulzylil Galleyev and 8 workers		39 camels	27,183 rubles
Merchant D. Ikonnikov from Moscow	Abdulla Abubakirov		23 camels	236 rubles 7 kopecks
1st guild merchant's wife N. Vasilyeva from Moscow	Iskhak Ibrayev and 7 workers	Bukharia	59 camels	17,350 rubles
1st guild merchant's wife N. Vasilyeva from Moscow	Muslyum Khusainov	Tashkent	15 camels	4,684 rubles
1st guild merchant's wife N. Vasilyeva from Moscow	Manasyp Abryafikov	Turkestan	13 camels	3,064 rubles 85 kopecks
1st guild merchant's wife N. Vasilyeva from Moscow	Gabit Khamitov	Khuzyant	36 camels	18,070 rubles 50 kopecks
1st guild merchant I. Kolosov from Moscow	Fayzulla Gubeyev	Bukharia	57 camels	15,331 rubles 50 kopecks
1st guild merchant D. Ikonnikov from Moscow	Gabaydulla Sagitov	Tashkent		23,089 rubles
Tatar tradesman and factory owner Abdulkarim Ibrayev from Kazan	Bayazit Rakhmetullin	Khuzyant		10,614 rubles
Total amount:				168,769 rubles 23 ¾ kopecks

Tatars owned commodities with a total value of 55,759 rubles 27 ½ kopecks, which amounts to 33% of the total. The caravan carrying the greatest value of goods belonged to Asaf Inozemtsev.

This record obviously demonstrates that the Tatars presented the only ethnic group engaged in trade operations and cargo escorting as well as direct entrepreneurial activities in Middle Asia beyond Russia. The Emperor's decree dated 13 August 1750 sent by the State Board of Foreign Affairs contained a precept to send Tatars to Middle Asian regions when the opportunity arose to establish trade and engage Asian merchants [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 5, inv. 1, file 52, pp. 131–131 reverse]. Tatar and Middle Asian merchants maintained close business contacts. Tatars ran errands for Asians as well. For instance, merchants from Khiva and Bukhara within Seitov posad often employed Seitov Tatars as middlemen for their commercial operations in various towns across Russia. According to the Customs Regulations of 1755, Asian merchants who wanted to come to Kazan or any other internal towns had to pay not only the port and internal duties but also a travel duty of 10% of each ruble, that is 10 kopecks per ruble.

Export to Middle Asia included silk, paper, woolen, and canvas articles, Russian leather, various metals and metal articles (knives, scissors, needles, guns), clay, glass and wood finished goods, mirrors, wax, and grain. The above record suggests that Tatar merchants sold a broad variety of goods abroad. Exchange trade with Kazakhs involved livestock, meat, skins for tanning and shipskin, salted pork, rawhide, animal skins, Kyrgyz merlushka lamb skin, camel hair, and goat hair.

Russia imported from Middle Asia cotton, both spun and unspun, cotton cloths (coarse calico, printed cotton, zendel) and silk fabrics and articles (robes, bishmet coats, and tubeteikas), Bukhara merlushka lamb skin, paints, dried fruit, etc. Textile accounted for most of the Middle Asian import. Let us study some examples. The list of commodities belonging to Asaf Inozemtsev that were appropriated by Erali Sultan in 1787 contains a total of 41 items, of which 26 refer to textile raw materials and finished goods [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 5, inv. 1, file 21, pp. 78–81 reverse].

Middle Asia was a source of cheap raw material, namely raw cotton. Lists of commodi-

ties imported from Middle Asia contain various fabrics—cotton, spun and unspun, dyed cotton, alacha (striped cotton or half-silk); coarse calico (undyed cotton fabric, very strong); printed cotton (coarse calico with monochrome print); zenden (Middle Asian cotton fabric similar to mitkal but made of thicker threads, sometimes multicoloured, named after the settlement of Zendene near Bukhara); damask (colourful figured silk fabric); gauze (thin flimsy cotton); nankin (simple and very strong cotton cloth); kumach (predominantly red calico); kutnya (half-silk similar to silk); mitkal (a kind of cotton fabric); pestryad (coarse linen or cotton); stamed (wool like cloth with obliquely woven threads); cramoisy cloth (thin bluish red cloth); half cramoisy cloth (thicker); fata (thin fabric of un-thrown silk); choldar (white lusted cotton). Clothing was Russia's most popular import article and included kushaks (wide sashes of multicolor silk and wool, often with gold and silver threads), robes, bishmet coats, camisoles, velvet-coated hats, shirts, pants, kaftans; curtains and carpets were also common.

According to customs data, the following Tatar tradesmen and factory owners from Kazan were active in Middle East markets: Mur-taza Smaylov, Abdulkarim Ibrayev, Abdreshit Ibrayev, Rafik Mukhametev, Muksim Ismailov, Smail Burnaev, merchants Asaf Inozemtsev, Abdulla Utyamyshev, Nazir Bayazitov, Suleyman Nazirov, Musa and Mynasyp Maksyutovs, Valit Muslyumov, Khamit Seitov, Smayl Yusupov, Gubay Musin, and Tatar tradesman Mukhamet Yusupov. Archive data contain the following merchants from the Middle Volga region engaged in trade between Russia and the east: the owner of silk and cotton factories Ismail Yusupov from the village of Vereski, Arsk Okrug, 1st guild merchant N. Usmanov from Arsk, 1st guild merchants Gubaydulla Abdulov, Abdulla Apsalyamov from Malmyzhsk Okrug, Tatar tradesman and factory owner Musa Maksyutov from Vyatka. First guild merchants Gobaydulla Mukhametrakhimov, Mukhametrakhim Magadeev, Rafik Abdrashitov, and Biktimir Ishimov from Seitov sloboda were active middlemen in Russian trade with the East.

At the initial state of its organisation and implementation, caravan trade was too unsta-

ble and risky. However, Tatars from the Volga Region and Orenburg played a major role in promoting both Russian and eastern commodities as well as developing caravan trade with Middle Asia and India. Middlemen or sales-clerks of Tatar origin acting on behalf of large merchants persisted in overcoming whatever

difficulties they faced on their way. Tatar merchants' role as middlemen in the circulation of goods between Central Russia and the Kazakh steppe, Middle Asian khanates, and East Turkestan provided them with opportunities to increase surplus products and expand the sphere in which trade capital could be accumulated.

2. Tatar Merchants from the Volga Ural Region and the Modern Silk Road

Mami Hamamoto

The Silk Road connected the Western and Eastern parts of Eurasia from the 2nd century BCE and continued to function for a long period, surviving the rise and fall of peoples and states both in the East and in the West. The term 'Silk Road' is commonly known to have a wider meaning as compared to its original definition (a route along which silk was transported); it denotes the commercial relations between the East and the West of Eurasia. Some researchers believe that the Silk Road decayed after the Age of Discovery in the latter half of the 15th century, ever since the key lines of communication between the East and the West shifted from the continent to the sea. However in his 1966 work 'Russia and the Asian Steppe' [Saguti, 1966], Japanese Oriental scholar Saguti Toru demonstrated that the Silk Road—that is, active overland trade relations between the East and the West, continued to exist even after the 16th century. Its western endpoint merely moved from West Europe to Russia, forming a new Silk Road in the 16–17th century which connected Russia, Middle Asia, and China. Russia, as a young powerful state in the heart of Eurasia, was the driving force behind the new development of the trans-Eurasian route. Tatar merchants were also intensely involved in the trade between the East and the West starting from the middle of the 18th century.

After the Russian State subordinated the entire Volga Region by annexing the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan in the 16th century, direct trade relations were established between Russia and Middle Asian countries. The eastern trade route from Russia to Middle Asia began in Astrakhan; it was further connected with

the trade route to the Kashgar (Tarim) Plain via Bukhara, Tashkent, and Kashgar. China was the final destination. Chinese products like ceramics, silk, nankin, etc. travelled to Russia via Central Asia along the route [Saguti, 1966, p. 39, 47].

Trade grew more intense on the Eurasian trade route, the western destination of which was Russia, after the Dzungar Khanate was formed in the steppe north of the Tian Shan Mountains in the early 17th century. Since the Dzungar rulers encouraged trade, merchants from Bukhara, Tashkent, Kashgar, Yarkend, and other towns in East and West Turkestan became heavily involved in international and transit trade in the Central Eurasian steppes between the Dzungar Khanate, Russia, Kazakh zhuzes, and the Qin Empire [Ibid., pp. 144–154].

In the latter half of the 18th century, a new era began in transcontinental Eurasian trade. The Qing dynasty conquered the Dzungar Khanate in 1755–1757 and East Turkestan in 1759–1760, successfully suppressing a subsequent rebellion there. The vast territory from Outer Mongolia to East Turkestan, including the Dzungar Steppe in the north and the Kashgar Plain south of the Tian Shan Mountains, was therefore subordinated to Qing rulers. The lands east of the Pamir were thus politically united.

In the 1730s, the Russian Empire directed her eyes towards the East. While trade was developing between the newly expanded Qing Empire and Middle Asia, Russia wanted to establish closer relations with the East, in particular by building Orenburg. The 'Project'

by Chief Secretary and Head of the Orenburg Expedition I. Kirilov suggests that the purpose of building the town was not limited to developing natural resources and economic growth in Russia's eastern and southern regions, or creating a defensive base against attacks by nomads, but was also directed towards intensifying trade with the East, in particular China and India. The Russian government wanted to make Orenburg the key to trade with the Kazakhs by engaging Russian merchants as well as merchants from Tashkent, Bukhara, and East Turkestan in the town's trade [Apollova, 1960, p. 233].

In order to develop Orenburg into a major trading center, the Russian government offered various benefits to immigrants. Merchants trading in Orenburg were subject to a reduced or abolished customs duty and poll tax. Additionally, they could receive a non-interest loan from the treasury. Foreigners from Europe as well as Asians could visit Orenburg freely and were granted the freedom of worship as well as the right to have their clergymen in the town [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, Vol. 9, No. 6584, pp. 344–349; Apollova, 1960, pp. 100, 234; Mixaleva, 1982, pp. 15, 39]. Even though a mosque did not appear in Orenburg until 1802, Islamic merchants, diplomats, and travelers, attended the functional mosque built in the 1750s in the Exchange Yard about three versts away from the town, on the left bank of the Yaik/Ural River.

Trade began to boom in Orenburg after I. Neplyuev was appointed Head of the Orenburg Committee (1742) and then Governor of Orenburg guberniya (1744). In 1747, Orenburg contained 837 households, which increased to 2,866 by 1760. Orenburg imported commodities to a total amount of over 20,000 rubles in 1738. The value had surged to 1.7 million rubles by 1751 [Vitevsky, 1891, p. 841; Mikhaleva, 1982, pp. 22, 28].

Kazakhs and merchants from Middle Asia began to visit Orenburg as the Russian government had expected. Having found out about the intended building of Orenburg, merchants from Tashkent came to Ufa in 1735, offering for Tashkent tradesmen to visit Orenburg annually, with Russian merchants going in the op-

posite direction, to Tashkent [Vitevsky, 1891, p. 673]. The reported number of merchants who visited Orenburg in July 1756 was 60 people from Bukhara, 14 from Tashkent, and 13 from Khiva [Apollova, 1960, p. 238]. As the figures suggest, merchants from Bukhara were especially important to the trade between Russia and Central Asia as compared to those from other countries. The successful engagement of Central Asian merchants in Orenburg trade is largely attributable to I. Neplyuev, who demonstrated great assiduity in ensuring that merchants from various countries were invited, and sent charters abroad to 'invite Kirghiz, Khiva, Kashkent, Kashgar, and Trukhmen tradespeople' [Neplyuev, 1893, p. 138].

Before Orenburg was founded, merchants had been using Tobolsk, as well as Astrakhan and the road along the Caspian Sea, as the principal transfer point between Russia and Middle Asia [Pankov, 1929, pp. 53–54]. The route via Tobolsk, however, was a long one. Besides, there was a risk of nomadic attack on caravans [Apollonov, 1960, p. 285]. When Orenburg had been built, the transit distance dwindled. Besides, the Siberian and Orenburg Lines, created around the middle of the 18th century, enhanced the security of the caravan route between Russia and Middle Asia. The gradual subjugation of the Kazakhs by the Russian Empire—in the 18th century also advantaged trade between Russia and the East. The stagnation in Russia's trade with Iran and Middle Asia via Astrakhan and the Caspian Sea, aggravated by the political chaos in Iran in the former half of the 18th century [Yukht, 1994, p. 36–37; Baykova, 1964, p. 174], likely also contributed to Orenburg's rise and Astrakhan's downfall as the centre of Russia's eastern trade.

The Qing dynasty annexation of the Dzungar Khanate and East Turkestan on the one hand, and Russia's eastward expansion, of which the founding of Orenburg was emblematic, on the other, enhanced trade between China, Middle Asia, and Russia and raised the importance of the trade route.

Having become closer to the Qing border, the Khanate of Kokand and the Emirate of Bukhara sent their embassies to Beijing. They declared themselves formally dependent on

China in 1760 and established trade with East Turkestan, which also belonged to the Chinese domain. It was primarily the Khanate of Kokand, which became independent of the Emirate of Bukhara in the first half of the 18th century and obtained direct access to the Chinese border in 1760, which benefited most from trade with China.

Apart from the rapid development of the Khanate of Kokand, the fact that relatively new oasis towns in Middle Asia (Kokand, Naman-gan, Tashkent, Chimkent, etc.) turned into major trade centres in the 18–19th centuries is indicative of the intensified trade via Middle Asia. In particular, Tashkent prospered as a transit trade centre in the Kazakh Steppe and in Middle Asia. A. Vambery wrote that Tashkent was a transit point between Bukhara, Kokand, and East Turkestan, the largest trade town in the Khanate of Kokand, and one of the most important towns in East and West Turkestan [Vambery, 1864, pp. 384–385].

Among the trade towns of East Turkestan, Yarkend was crucial to trade with both the West and the South. It attracted caravans from nearly all neighbouring countries in Central Eurasia, including the Khanate of Kokand, Pamir, and Tibet. The Qing government built the city of Qulja (Ili) in East Turkestan, which soon became a major military, political, and commercial centre. The role which it played in China's international trade is similar to that of Orenburg in the Russian Empire.

Participants of trade in East Turkestan from the Qing Empire included Chinese and East Turkestan merchants, who brought Chinese silk fabrics, tea, nephrite, ceramics, earthenware, and rhubarb to Kashgar, Yarkend, and other towns from China. Central Asian and Tibetan merchants brought the commodities to their home countries. Middle Asia was largely represented by the Andijan people—that are, Kokand merchants. They were very important to East Turkestan's trade, as seen in the name of the largest caravanserai in Kashgar—Andijan Sarai [Valikhanov, 1985, p. 116].

Tea, silk, and other commodities which Kokand merchants brought from East Turkestan to Kokand were further transported to Bukhara and Russia (Omsk, Orenburg) via the town of

Turkestan. As for Russian goods, merchants from Kokand transported Russian steel and cast iron articles, cloth, steel, Russian leather, and paper to East Turkestan [Kolesnikov, 2006, p. 72]. A route via Qulja was also used to deliver Russian commodities to East Turkestan, but the one passing through Kokand was more popular. The note 'On Trade Institutions in Chinese Turkestan', written in Orenburg in 1825, mentioned that 'caravans mostly come to this region (East Turkestan.—*M.X.*) from Bukhara and Kokand, a route which yields commodities that the Chinese forbid to transport via Qulja' [Mixaleva, 1991, pp. 105–106].

While Kokand merchants contributed to the development of the Modern Silk Road east of Pamir, those of Tatar origin (known as trade Tatars), along with merchants from Bukhara, were important in developing the part of the route that was west of Pamir, and were instrumental in the trade between Russia and Middle Asia.

The first Tatar merchants to establish trade relations between Russia and the East via Orenburg were Tatar migrants from the Volga Region to Seitov sloboda.

The Russian government attempted to attract migrants to Orenburg by promising them various benefits. These efforts encountered certain difficulties initially, however. Prince V. Urusov, Chief Commander of the Orenburg Expedition, suggested in 1740 that Empress Anna Ioannovna's Cabinet of Ministers should transfer merchants from the interior of the country on a compulsory basis [Denisov, 2005, p. 13]. The Senate's decree dated 8 March 1744 declared that in spite of various benefits offered in Orenburg, 'the number of volunteers (migrants.—*M.X.*) that has arrived remains very scarce, as the town is both new and remote' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire—1, vol. 12, No. 8893, p. 40].

A Tatar merchant from Kazan uyezd wanted to move to Orenburg and addressed to I. Neplyuev. This was Seit Khayalin, 52 years of age, a Yasak Tatar from the village of Mametova Pustosh (Baylar Sabasy), from Muslyum Kushumov's Sotnia, and Archa Daruga [Khasanov, 1977, p. 41; Islaev, 2001, p. 122; Denisov, 2005, pp. 13–14]. S. Khayalin had apparently been

engaged in international trade even before he moved to Seitov sloboda. Evidence is available that his son traded in the exchange yard of the fortress of Orsk, which was a major centre of Russia's trade with the East at that time, in 1743 [Denisov, 2005, pp. 14–15].

Many manufacturing works began to appear in the Kazan Krai in the late 17–18th centuries, especially following Peter the Great's reforms; industry and trade developed rapidly [Khasanov, 1977, pp. 26–34]. When Orenburg was under construction, the government intended to use Kazan merchants of Tatar origin for the development of trade with the East [Usmanov, 1992, p. 509]. S. Khayalin's solution corresponded to this plan.

S. Khayalin's relations with the Russian government began long before he moved to the suburbs of Orenburg. In the autumn of 1735, he visited a number of villages to dissuade rebels from uprising on orders from the Head of the Bashkir Committee A. Rummyantsev [Denisov, 2005, p. 14]. S. Khayalin apparently maintained close contact with the government from that point.

Neplyuev's report on 25 February 1744 stated that S. Khayalin wanted to move to the suburbs of Orenburg [Denisov, 2005, p. 13]. The cited decree of the Senate of 8 March 1744 permitted 200 wealthy Kazan Tatars capable of trading to move to the suburbs of Orenburg: 'The places which they shall choose as their residence shall remain their inalienable hereditary property forever. They shall be entitled to use any arable and hay land, pastures and forests and fishing places on the river, build mills, tanning factories and the like within their lots' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, Vol. 147, p. 181]. The migrants were exempted from military service and 'granted a salary of 40 altyns'. Besides, they were allowed to build a mosque outside the sloboda [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 12, No. 8893, p. 41], which the population did in 1746. In spite of the tough Christianisation policy on which the government had previously embarked in the Volga Region, the fact that new settlers were permitted to build a mosque, though on the eastern margin of the territory, is indicative of the government's deep interest

in the commercial activities of the Tatar merchants.

In September 1744, S. Khayalin arrived in Orenburg after finding a suitable place for his sloboda 18 versts north of Orenburg, near the confluence of the Verkhnyaya Kargalka river into the Sakmara River. General migration apparently followed in late 1744–1745. We know that a dragoon from the Kazan Dragoon Regiment was assigned to S. Khayalin 'at his own cost' followed by another in February 1745 assigned until 1 October, 'to...assist his transfer to the merchant class of Orenburg and the transportation of his, i.e. Aitov's (that is, S. Khayalin's.—*M.X.*) partners, family, and belongings' [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 3, inv. 1, file 7, p. 7 reverse; Denisov, 2005, pp. 15–16].

According to the statistics of 1747, Seitov sloboda consisted of 173 households and 996 male inhabitants. 73.6% of the migrants came from Kazan uyezd, of whom 48.9% came from Arsk daruga, Kazan uyezd. That is, S. Khayalin's fellow citizens constituted nearly a half of Seitov sloboda's population. According to D. Denisov, this suggests the direct influence of S. Khayalin's personal solicitation and propaganda in his native town on the migrants [Denisov, 2005, pp. 17–18].

The population of the settlement grew quickly. It contained 300 households and 1,158 male inhabitants in 1760 [Rychkov, 1999, p. 181]. The booming Seitov sloboda was thus renamed Seitov township on 7 November 1784. Seitov sloboda was renamed to Seitov posad, where its town hall was founded only two years after that of Kazan. The population of Seitov posad consisted of 686 peasants, 168 burghers [meshhanins], and 1,820 merchants in 1792 [Stepanov, 1897, p. 606; Usmanov, 1992, p. 512]. However, the posad's population growth decreased in the 19th century to yield a total of 11,000 dwellers at the end of the century [Sultangalieva, 2005, p. 56].

Being largely engaged in international trade, dwellers of Seitov sloboda also grew crops for domestic use and for sale in Orenburg, carried on constant trade in Bashkiria and Russian towns, and seasonal (summer) trade with the Kazakhs and other peoples in the ex-

change yards of Orenburg and Troitsk [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, vol. 147, pp. 215–216].

Tatar merchants from Seitov sloboda dominated the merchant community of Orenburg in the mid-18th century. For instance, in 1752 nearly all merchants living in Orenburg or its suburbs were residents of Seitov sloboda [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 13, No. 9995, p. 655]. 38 out of a total of 109 merchants trading in Orenburg in 1761 were Seitov sloboda residents, followed by Kazan merchants (20 people) [Apollova, 1960, p. 241]. In his 'Topography of Orenburg guberniya' published in 1767, P. Rychkov wrote that Tatar merchants from Seitov sloboda accounted for more than half of all the Tatar merchants in Orenburg guberniya [Rychkov, 1999, p. 181].

Merchants from Seitov sloboda occasionally executed diplomatic assignments. For instance, the Russian government sometimes delivered charters to Kazakh khans and sultans with their help [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, Vol. 147, pp. 215–216]. They mediated the Russian government's relations with other Asian peoples and states. The charters addressed from I. Neplyuev to merchants of neighbouring countries, which invited them to trade in Orenburg, were distributed by Tatar merchants from Seitov sloboda [Neplyuev, 1893, p. 138].

The population of Seitov sloboda also included Middle Asia merchants. According to the list of foreigners in Seitov sloboda married to local women dated 1750, at least two men from Bukhara, Mulla Mametsha Shamametev and Abdulla Jan Pandabakiyev, were living there in 1745. Six foreigners married to Tatar women were living in Seitov sloboda as of 1750 [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 3, inv. 1, file 25, p. 25 reverse].

The 1808–1809 statistics estimate the number of Middle Asia merchants living there as 25 households. The majority came from Bukhara; 20 households had Tatar wives. Middle Asian merchants married to Tatar women mostly lived in Russia for durations of more than 10 years [State Archive of Orenburg Region, fund 6, inv. 10, file 443].

The Russian government attracted many merchants from Middle Asia by promising them various benefits. On the other hand, the authorities tried to regulate Middle Asian merchants' commercial activities. Their right to enter Russia's interior towns for commercial purposes was limited. Middle Asian merchants could only enter Moscow or Petersburg to sell gemstones, gold, and silver, exclusively after the end of the Orenburg Fair, according to the Customs Regulations dated 1 December 1755 [Apollova, 1960, p. 240; Mikhaleva, 1982, pp. 39–40]. The Governing Senate's decree of 30 April 1736 prohibited access to Russia's interior to 'Asians' for trade [Sultangalieva, 2011, pp. 28–29].

While Middle Asian merchants had limited rights to act, Tatar merchants enjoyed close contacts with merchants from Central Asia living in Russia due to their similar languages and shared religion and acted as their trade representatives in the interior towns of Russia. The importance of Tatar merchants to trade between Russia and Middle Asia grew even more. Russian merchants were also involved in trade with Middle Asian merchants, but the Russian government only permitted this to merchants in the 1st guild [Mikhaleva, 1982, p. 40].

In spite of a number of restrictions of merchant activities, the Russian government generally encouraged trade in the latter half of the 18th century. A decree was issued in 1757 abolishing customs duties and minor fees that had been a hindrance to the development of market relations. In 1762, a decree followed abolishing commercial and industrial monopolies, which had been limiting the inflow of merchant capital to manufacturing [Khasanov, 1977, pp. 44, 53].

As for Tatar merchants, even though the government prohibited Tatars from Kazan and Astrakhan from taking residence in Orenburg under the decree of 21 July 1765 [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 95], the restriction seems to be an isolated incident. The authorities generally encouraged Tatar merchants' activities in the East. The trend gained momentum during the reign of Catherine II, which saw the introduction of major changes to Russian governmental policy towards Muslim subjects.

Not only did the Russian government invite merchants from Middle Asia, but it also sent caravans from Orenburg to Central Asian destinations. The first trade caravan carrying various Russian goods was sent from Orenburg to Tashkent with a military guard in 1739–1740. The caravan included merchant Shubay Arslanov, merchant S. Drozdov from Kursk, and Kazan Tatar M. Yusupov. Arslanov was responsible for finding out whether there were any opportunities to attract the local merchants to Orenburg. He returned to Orsk five months later to report that Tashkent was a prosperous trade town [Mikhaleva, 1991, p. 107].

I. Neplyuev also sent Russian caravans to Middle Asia. His undertakings involved residents of Seitov sloboda. In 1749, S. Khayalin's son Abdulla sent a small caravan carrying goods that amounted to 3,000 rubles to Khiva and Bukhara. The caravan brought home over 7 poods of gold. In the year 1750, A. Khayalin sent another caravan with commodities having a total value of 5,000 rubles to Bukhara. It returned to Orenburg in 1751. A member of the second caravan reported to A. Tevkelev, a subordinate of Neplyuev in Orenburg, that Nadyr Saferov, a participant of the second caravan of 1750, and Yakub, A. Khayalin's salesclerk (*prikazchik*), who had arrived in Bukhara with the first caravan of 1749, were intending to go to Badakhshan [Russko-indijskie, 1965, p. 280, 342; Mikhaleva, 1982, p. 29]. The Orenburg administration later obtained information that Nadir and Yakub's caravan had reached India and proceeded to Mecca [Russko-indijskie, 1965, p. 342].

'Sayatkhaname' ('Travel Notes') by Ismail Bismukhammedov, a source which is of interest in many ways, contains a mention of Nadir and Yakub's caravan. According to Bismukhammedov, a caravan of five travellers—Mullah Nadir and his servant, Mullah Yakub, Ismail himself, and Abdurakhman, in 1751 made a start for Bukhara from Seitov sloboda on the instruction of the head of Sayyid village (i.e. Seitov sloboda—M.X.)—Seid Aga. Bismukhammedov described the caravan's journey to Bukhara and further to India, Mecca, and Istanbul, as well as the death of each of his companions. Having traded in Istanbul for 25

years, Ismail returned to Russia and described his long journey. Having compared various sources, M. Kemper inferred that 'Sayatkhaname' was fictional [Kemper, 2006].

However, information about three members of the caravan in 'Sayatkhaname' is consistent with archive records from Seitov sloboda. According to an inspection record dated 1747, the author of the notes Ismail Bismukhammedov was 17 years old, while his father Bekmet Nurkin was 42 years old [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, file 2450, p. 73]. The 1762–1764 inspection record provides the following information on Ismail: 'He was dismissed to Bukharia and other localities for trade under a passport issued to him by the Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery in 1750, but has not returned until now' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, file 2452, p. 147].

Of the three companions named in 'Sayatkhaname', the inspection records for Seitov sloboda dated 1747 and 1762–1764 contain information on Nadir and Yakub. According to the records, Nadir was 35 in 1747, and he also was 'dismissed to Bukharia and other towns under a passport issued to him by the Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery in 1750 and died there' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, file 2452, p. 49]. Yakub was 29 in 1747, and he was 'dismissed to Bukharia and other towns on an order from the Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery in 1749 and died there' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 350, inv. 2, file 2452, p. 120]. The inspection records for Seitov sloboda dated 1747 and 1762–1764 did not enable us to identify Abdurakhman. It should be mentioned that several sheets in the inspection record for Seitov sloboda dated 1747 are illegible due to their bad condition, while those dated 1762–1764 are only available in fragments and contain data on as few as 154 families.

Therefore, even though 'Sayatkhaname' by I. Bismukhammedov might be partly fictitious, at least the author and two of his companions were real persons. They lived in Seitov sloboda, and they did go to Bukhara and further to other towns. It is curious that the government found

out that Nadir and Yakub had died abroad in 1762–1764, which is a fact described in 'Sayat-khaname', while the inspection records claim that Ismail 'has not returned until now'. It suggests that the government kept a close eye on Tatar merchants in the East and collected information on them thoroughly.

In 1752–1753, Tatar merchants who had arrived to Orenburg from Kazan applied to the Orenburg government for permission to go to Middle Asia. At the same time, one Tatar merchant from Astrakhan arrived to Orenburg from Bukhara [State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 3, inv. 1, file 29]. This shows that Russian merchants were probably connected to trade with Middle Asia via Orenburg since the 1750s.

Russian merchants were generally reluctant to travel to Middle Asia, as they found themselves disadvantaged in the region. Sharia law obliged non-Muslims in Muslim countries to pay a duty of 5% of the total value of their goods, while Muslim Russian subjects only paid 2.5%. In certain cases the duty rate could exceed 5% for Russian merchants [Nebolsin, 1856, pp. 33–34, 151–152]. That is why Russian merchants preferred to hire Tatar salesclerks to conduct their trade in Middle Asia. The Tatar merchant had the advantage of being 'undemanding, having more modest needs, being less snobbish, and spending less; finally, his religious unity with the people of Middle Asia relieves him of the humiliating fiscal oppression in Turan's domain; these are the reasons why merchants of Tatar origins appear in Bukhara or Kokand much more often than important tradesmen of purely Russian origin' [Nebolsin, 1856, p. 20]. Russian merchants gave up the practice of coming to Middle Asia in person after 1852 [Proceedings of the Orenburg Scientific Archival Commission, vol. 9, p. 11].

The Tatars began to create control points in the Kazakh steppe (Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, Petropavlovsk) and Middle Asia (Urgench, Bukhara, Samarkand) at the end of the 18th century [Usmanov, 1992, p. 512]. Tatar merchants also pushed forward into East Turkestan. They participated in a cross-border fair in Chöchek, East Turkestan, in the early 19th

century. According to Nebolsin, a Tatar caravan started for East Turkestan from the fortress of Semipalatinsk back in 1807 [Nebolsin, 1856, p. 337].

When visiting trade towns in the south of East Turkestan, with which Russia did not trade directly until 1881, Tatar merchants pretended to be Kokand citizens, who, as we have stated above, enjoyed relative freedom of trade there. When travelling in East Turkestan in 1858–1859, Valikhanov, along with the Tatars in his caravan, also pretended to come from Kokand [Valikhanov, 1985, pp. 44, 53, 68]. Their ethnic and religious affinity facilitated the trick.

As long as East Turkestan remained a region virtually unknown to Russia until the middle of the 19th century, Tatar merchants who had visited it could be useful to the Russian government as information providers. For instance, Tatar Murtaza Fayzeddin Marzyan, who went to East Turkestan by caravan in 1807, provided the government with information about the road to East Turkestan and the situation in the region [Nebolsin, 1856, p. 337]. Therefore, Tatar merchants sometimes acted as Russian agents of influence in that region or, in fact, intelligence officers, for which the Russian authorities readily used them.

After the 1830s, Russian subjects of Tatar origin began to migrate to East Turkestan in large numbers. While the first Tatar migrants were Russian army deserters, Tatar merchants began to join them in the 1850s. They were especially numerous in Qulja, which was an important centre of trade with Russia for East Turkestan. It happened after Russia and China entered into a trade agreement in 1851, under which Russian subjects did not have to pay any trading duties in Qulja and Tarbagatai.

Tatar merchants were important not only in the sphere of trade between Russia and West and East Turkestan, but also in the sphere of culture. Apart from building many mosques and madrasahs in Russia, they provided aid to Tatar scientists and madrasah students, who were on their way to Bukhara or returning to Russia, by allowing them to travel with their caravans. When returning to their motherland, they contributed to the development of Islam in Russia greatly. By contrast, a new method of

instruction (*usul ul-jadid*) spread from Russia to its vassal (since 1868) Bukhara in the early 20th century. The first Jadid school in Bukhara, which opened in 1907, initially offered classes to Tatar children.

The condition of international trade in Middle Asia in the latter half of the 18–19th centuries—that is, the development of the Modern Silk Road, suggests that the booming trade between Russia and the East via Orenburg and the expanding economic relations between China and Middle Asia resulting from the Qing expansion were nearly simultaneous. Commodity exchange between Russia and China relied not only on direct trade but also on transit via West and East Turkestan.

Along with Kokand merchants, Tatar merchants played an important role along part of the Modern Silk Road and expanded their commercial activities in Middle Asia and East Turkestan with the assistance of the Russian government. It is noteworthy, that Tatar merchants also supported the Russian government in its ambition to enter the Eastern markets, as they also had an interest in it.

In a manner of speaking, national interests corresponded to the local economic interests of the Tatar merchant stratum at a certain stage, which resulted in mutually beneficial cooperation in Middle Asia. The government needed Tatar merchants as mediators between Russia and the East, since they were religiously and linguistically related to the population of Central Eurasia. In turn, they had to direct their eyes to the East, since Russian merchants were strongly competitive within Russia. Tatar merchants applied to the Russian government for religious concessions, of which the mosque built in Seitov sloboda in 1746 is indicative. Even before Catherine II came to the throne, the Russian government in fact embarked on a policy of religious tolerance towards the Tatars, as it recognised the benefits of Eastern trade through the mediation of Tatar merchants. The large-scale activities of Tatar merchants in the mid–18–19th centuries proves, that the Russian government preferred to encourage trade with the East rather than Christianise Russian Muslims; the latter policy fluctuated in intensity according to the situation.

§5. The Mining Industry in Kazan Guberniya in the 18th Century

Svetlana Izmajlova

The industrial history of the Kazan Governorate in the 18th century is both interesting and poorly studied. Analyzing the historical experience and national policy of public and private entrepreneurship is important for determining the economic potential of any given region of the country.

Beginning in ancient times, the population of the Middle Volga Region and the Urals mastered the processing of various minerals to produce tools, jewels, and household items. Traces of mines and remnants of melting pits discovered during archaeological excavations are indicative of mining and handicraft activities. Researchers have noted the prevalence of names for settlements and rivers which suggest a population that was engaged in metal working or mining. Toponyms in the Kazan Governorate include such names

as Malye, Sredniye, and Bolshiye Bakyrchi ('bakyr' is Tatar for copper); near the town of Mamadysh there existed the village of Bakyrka and the Bakyrka River near it [Zalkind, 1930, p. 2].

As soon as the Khanate of Kazan was conquered, a search for mineral deposits began in the region in order to ensure the development of the mining industry. The government paid special attention to ore mining in the Kama and Vyatka regions [Scientific Archive of the Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Imbragimov of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 95, inv. 1, file 158, p. 2]. Moscow sent experts accompanied by melters, miners, and prisoners for this purpose. Voivodes were responsible for the local management of districts, where ore had been discovered.

It was not only the government but also numerous private entrepreneurs, who searched for ore deposits at that time. The ore rush affected all social strata, so in the 16–17th centuries merchants, military officers, clergymen, and common peasants were all engaged in mining [Tashkin, 1922, p. 2, 3].

Peter the Great's state transformations in the 18th century required a great amount of metal products. As the Northern War began, the supply of Swedish iron to Russia ceased.

The demands of the war with Sweden were the driving force of Peter the Great's industrial policies. Willing to ensure a surging production of copper, iron, and cast iron, which were critical to Russia's further development and to the enhancement of its defense capacity, Peter the Great chose the simplest way to ensure national economic independence—that is, to develop the mining industry and factories. The Russian monarch generously granted benefits and privileges, exempting factory and plant owners 'from service', in order to involve any interested parties in this undertaking of national significance.

Following a decree in 1700, everyone was entitled to search and develop ore deposits and build plants. A dedicated Mining Prikaz responsible for the mining industry was established.

In order to ensure the development of mining at the initial stage, Peter I encouraged employees to hire European experts and attracted them to Russia to 'establish plants there' [Firsov, 1896, p. 51]. Swedish prisoners of war sent to the Urals or to the Kazan Governorate were also engaged in the search for ore.

In January 1705, experienced Swedish 'mining experts' Iohann Fridrich Bluher and Yury Shmit, supervisor Chrestian Frank, interpreter Pavel Brivtsyn, and two apprentices were assigned to Kazan and lower towns in the Kazan Governorate.

I. Bluher later reported to the Senate that 'Kazan guberniya is also rich in copper ore, which contains from one centner to 20, 30, 40, and 50 pounds of copper, as well as native sulfur' [Bestuzhev-Ryumin, 1882, p. 5]. A copper ore deposit was discovered on the bank of the Vyatka River. Being unable to establish a plant,

the Swedes built simple furnaces to melt the valuable ore.

Captain N. Rychkov, who later surveyed the Russian land, noted that the owner of the Sara-la Plant S. Krasilnikov had 'inherited the plant from his father; it used to be a Swedish-owned copper factory' [Rychkov, 1770, p. 37].

The successful development of Russian mining became possible due to a flexible governmental policy for public and private entrepreneurship. A series of governmental decrees not only provided for unimpeded ore search and development, but also introduced benefits and support from local and higher administrative bodies.

In 1719, the Minin Prikaz was renamed The Collegium of Mining. At the same time, the Berg Privilege was issued—a mining regulation entitling everyone to search for ore, even in land owned by another person, thus bringing mining out of the jurisdiction of the civil administration and establishing private mining rights. A number of decrees followed 'in order to multiply the number of plants', to the effect that villages could be bought along with plants, provided that they would not be separated from the plants or 'sold or pawned as property separate from the plants' [Gorny'e zavody, 1898, p. 2].

Domestic experts described the history of the plant industry in the 18th century, during the period of its formation and early development. Such works were written by plant industry organisers, public officials, and members of academic expeditions in the 1760–1770s, i.e. eyewitnesses and active participants in the establishment of industrial plants [Kulbakhtin, 2000, p. 3].

V. Tatishchev was one of the first to prepare a plant description, not only as a historian, but also as the head of state-owned plants in the Urals [Deyatel'nost', 1884]. In 1720, The Collegium of Mining sent him to the Siberian guberniya, where he was to 'make efforts to discover copper and silver ore deposits in Siberia, build plants, and start melting copper and silver'. V. Tatishchev was responsible for administration and finance, while I. Bluher was to technically manage all mining works.

In 1721, Tatishchev became Head of the Mining Chancellery, which coordinated state-owned plants and exercised supervision over private industry. The chancellery was later transformed into the Siberian Superior Administration for Mining, to which not only Siberian but also Kazan plants were subordinated (Kazan guberniya included the land of Vyatka and Ufa guberniyas at that time). A mining school was established under the auspices of Tatishchev. He also introduced instructions for forest conservation and established the office of mining judge. Besides, he collected important information regarding existing mining plants, the land where they were located and the composition of their population.

From 1724 to 1726, he was sent to Sweden to study the running of local plants and practices for the development of deposits. In 1734, Tatishchev was sent to the Urals again 'to multiply the number of plants'.

A special instruction was introduced during the reign of Anna Ioannovna, according to which state-owned factories could be given to private individuals on special terms and free people could be employed.

The industrial development of the Kazan Governorate in the 18th century had a number of specific features. While most of Russia's territory was largely engaged in cast iron, iron, and copper production, copper-smelting dominated in the Kazan Governorate.

A number of eastern uyezds within Kazan guberniya lying in the western branches of the Ural Mountains determined the rapid growth of the copper melting industry.

The active search for ore and continued exploitation of mines, discovered since the 17th century, resulted in the operation of about 10 copper and cast iron plants in Kazan Governorate by the first half of the 18th century.

The Sarali Plant, located very conveniently on the Sarali River, 7 versts away from the town of Yelabuga, was in operation from the end of the 17th century to 1731. The most important and ancient mines, Aktazitsky and Akhmet'yevsky, named after the nearest Tatar villages, were assigned to it.

Another copper-smelting plant was founded in Korina, not far from the Sarali Plant in

1729. The construction of the Korina Plant was funded by merchant Semyon Krasilnikov from Tula. It was a water-driven plant with a complete production cycle. Its capacity was moderate, but relatively high, when compared to other plants in the 17–18th centuries [Kulbakhtin, 2000, p. 61].

One of the first mining experts found a copper ore deposit near the village of Kukmor of Mamadysh uyezd. Its owner was Kazan merchant O. Inozemtsev, who built a copper-smelting plant in 1743. The plant was initially established near the village of Yantseva to be soon transferred to the settlement of Kukmor for lack of water [Zalkind, 1930, p. 3].

The Kukmor plant was one of the first copper smelteries in Kazan Krai and determined the occupation of the local population for years. To quote G. Zalkind, 'having grown used to copper processing, the Kukmor people began to produce copperware like kumgan jars, bowls, etc. on their own—the items were in great demand at the nearby Menzelinsk Fair and in local markets, after the plant was closed down' [Zalkind, 1930, p. 8]. Famous Tatar merchants later became the owners and co-owners of the plant—merchant Absalyamov in the late 18th century and Utyamyshev in the early 19th century.

In 1747, Simbirsk merchant Artemy Malenkov built a plant on the river Bersut to be later known as the Bersut (Bersud) Copper Smeltery, named after the river.

In 1758, Simbirsk merchant G. Glazov built the Bogoslovsky Copper Smeltery on the river Kichui, the right tributary of the Sheshma River, near the Kichui fortress. Glazov bought the land from Tatars, residing in the village Staraya Nadyrova, Nadyrova volost, Ufa uyezd for a price of 100 rubles. He bought forests from the Bashkir population, which were expected to last the plant for 31 years. 175 mines were assigned to the plant, of which only 4 were under development. The plant had a fluctuating capacity of 306 to 956 poods per year in the 1760s [Gudkov, Gudkova, 1993].

In 1759, The Collegium of Mining permitted Kazan merchant P. Kelarev to build the Meshinsk (Taishevsky) plant 'for the production and smelting of high quality copper ore' 60

versts away from Mamadysh [Zalkind, 1930, p. 8]. 23 mines were assigned to the plant.

In 1763, Kazan merchants Ivan and Afanasy Kobelev established the Pizhma Plant on the Vyatka River near the head of the Pizhma River. The owners of the plant were descendants of Serving Tatars. They were quite famous and wealthy in the 18th century, as the owners of a number of copper smelteries in Mamadysh and Malmyzh uyezds. 186 mines were assigned to the Pizhma plant on the rivers Vyatka and Kama. Those along the Kama banks had the highest copper content.

The merchant family Osokin from Balakhna was well-known among the 18th century entrepreneurs. The merchant family Osokin originated with descendants of serfs belonging to the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius — Peter and Gavriil Osokin.

The Osokin serfs from the village of Yereimeyevo, which was in patrimonial ownership by the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, engaged in the crop trade and supply in the early 18th century. They had already become merchants in the town of Balakhna, Nizhny Novgorod Province, Kazan Governorate, by the 1720s. They were among the largest suppliers of crops from the Volga Region to Petersburg.

Having raised sufficient capital from the crop trade, they initiated a mining undertaking in the Urals, by investing in the development of an ore deposit. The first blast furnace was commissioned at the Irginsky Plant in 1730.

The Osokins' mining enterprise was initially confined to Kungur uyezd. The sphere of their interests later expanded. Unlike other mining dynasties, they opted for diversification.

The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan has a set of materials pertaining to the construction of the new Osokin's copper smeltery. The documents are representative of the documentary and legal procedure for the incorporation of a private enterprise in the 18th century.

In the case of an ore deposit discovery along nearby mines, the location had to be registered with the Mining Administration, including a description of it and the land assigned to it. A mine could occupy up to 250 square sazhen.

On 14 February 1755, Balakhna merchant Fyodor Osokin applied to the Collegium of Mining for permission for him and Vasily Osokin to build a 'water-driven copper smeltery on the Bemyska river', in a location which they had discovered. They also petitioned for land in order to build a plant as well as any mines discovered for unimpeded development in the future [National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 114718].

A decree dated 31 March 1755 regarding the petition was issued to the effect, that Balakhna merchants Fyodor and Vasily Osokin could build a copper ore-receiving plant along the river Bemyska in Kazan uyezd.

Like many other decrees dated to the first half of the 19th century, the first part of the document includes a detailed list of privileges granted to private entrepreneurs back in 1719 during the reign of Peter the Great. The decree gives a clear idea of how the ownership of the ore deposit and the construction of the plant were to be formalised.

It refers to the Berg Privilege, according to which every person 'regardless of his rank and credit, shall be entitled to search for, produce, and melt metals in land owned both by himself or by other people.' When ore deposits were discovered, an approval from the local administration or offices assigned to the location by The Collegium of Mining was required.

Following ore sampling and quality assessment, the 'discoverer' had to apply to The Collegium of Mining for permission to build a plant. In case the owner of the new deposit could not afford to build a plant, he could establish a joint venture.

The Collegium of Mining reserved the right to make use of the ore deposit in case it was not developed for lack of funding, 'lest God's underground gift shall remain in vain'. In such cases, third parties could build the plant, thus formalising their interest in the place.

On a request from The Collegium of Mining, Vasily Tomilov inspected the plant location suggested by the Osokins on behalf of the Kazan Mining Treasury. The plant was to be built along the left bank of the Vyatka River, Arsk daruga, near the newly-baptised votyak village of Bemys. The report mentioned the fact

that the dwellers of the village, Christian and non-Christian Votyaks, had provided a written confirmation of their cession of the land to Osokin for the purpose of building a plant.

The chosen place was found suitable, since the river Bemyska nearby provided water power, which was useful at different stages of copper smelting.

The right to build the plant was vested in Fyodor Osokin and his uncle Vasily Osokin.

A construction period of three years was planned. Construction began in late 1755. The plant was expected to have four smelt furnaces, another furnace to separate copper from cast iron, and a stretching hammer to produce copper sheets.

The plant also had a dam, a forge shop and fur shop, a lumber mill and a flour mill.

It opened with a staff of 197 workmen and 267 serfs. 242 more people were engaged in other additional activities. The number of free employees increased up to 600 during the winter season.

Over 200 ore mines and fields were assigned to the plant. In 1770, it had a capacity of approximately 1,500 poods of bar copper and up to 200–300 poods of copper sheets.

After co-owner V. Osokin died in 1759, F. Osokin applied to inherit the copper smeltery [National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 115418]. As V. Osokin died childless, F. Osokin became the sole owner of the Bemys Plant under an order in 1759 [National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 115399]. The plant later became the property of Ivan Osokin [National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 115719].

Ignaty Osokin became the owner of the plant in 1769, and one of the founders of the

Kazan merchant dynasty of the Osokins. In 1770, he acquired a fortress yard with wooden buildings in Kazan, within the parish of the Church of the Wonder-workers of Moscow [National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 115721].

For a century, the Osokin dynasty controlled 11 blast furnace and hammering plants as well as copper smelteries, a canvas factory in Kazan, and a number salt-making works.

Unlike other dynasties, the Osokins avoided any excessive division of their property through inheritance. Ivan Osokin owned the plants and factories at the end of the century.

Peter Osokin remained the head of the Osokin mining dynasty for about 40 years. Having no apparent heirs, he sold his plants to Ivan Osokin, his grandnephew, in 1769. As the sole owner of 11 mining plants, I. Osokin became one Russia's major manufacturers.

Kazan guberniya occupied a central position in the Middle Volga and Lower Kama Regions. It is in its eastern uyezds on the western branches of the Ural Mountain range where mining developed on a large scale. Ten copper smelteries in the 18th century produced tens of thousands of poods of bar copper, used to produce weapons, coins, and handicraft goods.

However, the capacity of plants in Kazan Governorate began to decrease at the end of the century; many were sold or closed down. The decay of the governorate's mining is attributable to a series of social and economic reasons, but largely stemmed from the dwindling profitability of copper smelting (Kazan ore had a copper percentage of 2.5–3% in contrast to that from the Urals, which contained up to 30–40% of copper).

CHAPTER 6

Tatar Involvement in Social Protests in the 18th Century

§1. Rebellions in the Early 18th Century

Salyam Alishev

The uprisings of various social groups that broke out in the 17th century continued into the first half of the 18th century. One of the heaviest Tatar-Bashkir rebellions began in the Volga Ural Region in 1704 and lasted until 1711. Streltsy rebellions in Astrakhan in 1705 and those of the Don Cossacks led by K. Bulavin in 1706–1708 accompanied the event.

In the autumn of 1704, a report was submitted to the government of Peter I that the Bashkirs and Tatars of Kazan uyezd rebelled and would 'not give what they were supposed to give', and 'sent census takers away', etc. They also tried to 'reach an agreement with the people of Astrakhan' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936, part 2, p. 118]. Governmental detachments commanded by F. Lyutkin, A. Sergeev, and others were sent to suppress the rebellion. However, the government's cruel measures caused disaffection among the populations of Kazan, Menzelinsk, and Ufa uyezds.

The local Sultan Murat, son of Khan Kuchuk of Karakalpak, declared himself Bashkir sultan in the summer of 1706. Sultan Murat reached the Crimea via the Caucasus and proceeded to Turkey, apparently expecting some support. However, the Crimea and Turkey refused to provide him any aid and sent him back to the Caucasus, where Murat took refuge [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, part 2, pp. 238–243]. He was taken prisoner in a battle against the Russian army in 1708, after which he was brought to Kazan and hanged. Similar information related to the khans spread in 1707, inspiring people to uprising. The chief leaders of the rebels, Kilmyak Nurushev and Aldar Isyangildin, and Tatar horsemen Iman

Batyr and Kelmanko decided, that they 'should not be subordinated to the great tsar...So the Bashkirs wanted Saltan Khazi to permit the Bashkir traitors and Tatars of Kazan uyezd to kill all Russians, encourage all non-Christians to rebel, and lead them to Kazan. They said that traitor Saltan Khazi would be the khan of Kazan, when they conquered Kazan' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, part 1, p. 225]. This is the evidence provided by captive rebel Tatar Bulyak Akbulatov in February 1708.

In the autumn of 1707, military action covered nearly all of the Volga Ural Region. A regiment of 1,300 people with 5 cannons, commanded by P. Khokhlov, was defeated near the town of Solovarsky at that time. A series of battles against the tsar's detachments took place near the Trans-Kama fortresses, Sergeyevsk, Bilyarsk, Karakulin, Sarapul, and Zainsk.

At the end of 1707, the rebels conquered Zainsk and launched an offensive on Novosheshminsk, Bilyarsk, Sergeyevsk, and Menzelinsk.

The government of Peter I sent 5 regular regiments to aid the 6 regiments deployed in Kazan. There were also garrisons assigned to fortresses and towns as well as other punitive detachments. Voivode Prince P. Khovansky was appointed commander in chief of all of the troops.

In January 1708, the rebels concentrated their main troops in Kazan uyezd, in villages on the right bank of the Kama River. They occupied the villages of Chepchugi, Yelan, Cheremyshevo, Arkatova, Iya, Yunusovo, Shuran, Chirpy, and more, and based their camps in the villages of Savrush and Baltach [Bulavinskoe, 1935, p. 409]. They stopped 30–40 versts away

from Kazan, hesitant as to whether they should assail the well-fortified fortress.

Besides, prince Khovansky began to negotiate with the popular leaders, promising to meet their demands and to provide concessions. Kusyum and Aldar, the rebels' chief leaders, who were staying in Savrush, agreed to negotiate as the well-armed governmental troops of approximately 12,400 people had been deployed in the uyezd. The negotiations lasted for a month. Khovansky used the pause to start a campaign; the rebels slowly retreated behind the Vyatka and Kama Rivers. Khovansky reached Yelabuga in March and resumed the negotiations. Even though the population began to do fealty, appeasement had not been reached. A number of small detachments was active in the east of today's Tatarstan in 1709–1711. The Trans-Ural and Kungur uyezd constituted the primary area covered by the rebellion.

The largest of the so-called Bashkir rebellions took place in 1735–1740, when the government began to surround the Bashkir land with fortresses. The rebellion lasted for six years and fell into three stages: 1735–1736, 1737–1739, and the 1740 rebellion led by Karasakal. The Bashkir-Tatar masses were its driving force. The Mishar Tatars and the Teptyars were not involved in the rebellion. The government drew the Mishar Tatars to their side by offering them certain benefits and land; while Teptyars, who had to pay obrok taxes to Bashkir starshinas (village heads), had no reason to support the latter. Some Bashkir starshinas were loyal to the tsarist government, like tarkhans, that is those exempted from taxes.

Khanates were occasionally declared during this Tatar and Bashkir rebellion, as they were in 1704–1711, suggesting that the concept of national identity still applied. For instance, the rebellious leader Urazay traveled to the Kazakhs in 1738 and 'brought along Kazakh Sultan Shigay', whom he declared khan of the rebellious people. Karasakal, another leader of the rebels, received the title of khan in 1740.

A number of sources point to the fact that the Tatars were involved in the rebellion on a large scale. In 1743, Seit Krusev from Ufa uyezd and other Tatars—Muslyum Sermanayev and Zait Aitov from Tatarskaya sloboda of Kazan,

Tokay Senyakayev and Abdul Mamekov from the village of Keleva, Abdrakhman Manychev, Seit Mamedov, and Kalmet Krusev from the village of Shirdan in Sviyazhsk uyezd, applied for release from exile in Rogervik, to which they had been sentenced for participating in the rebellion of 1735–1737 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv.113, book 148, pp. 1035–1038].

The chief leader of the 1735–1736 rebellion was Tatar Akay, son of Kusyum, the leader of the rebellion of 1705–1711 [Istoriya, 1937, pp. 396–398, 402–406].

The rebellion of Mordovian and Mari peasants, known as the Rebellion in Teryushevsk volost, which spread over most of the Nizhny Novgorod and Kazan guberniyas in 1743, was one of the most dramatic revolts. The rebels were opposed to the destruction of pagan sacred forests and cemeteries. A total of over 6,000 peasants revolted. They appointed peasants Pumras Semyonov, Shyatres Plakidin, Nesmeyan Vasilyev and others as their leaders. They confronted the governmental troops near the village of Lapshikha on November 26, 1743. The rebellion was eventually suppressed; 130 rebels were taken prisoner.

The mid-18th century was the period during which the tsar's power at the eastern frontiers was reinforced. As plants were built in Bashkiria, the native Bashkir land dwindled. Borderline fortresses and fortifications were created to deal with the anticipated large-scale inflow of people from other regions; the Orenburg Cossack troops were created for the same purpose. Land was commonly seized for fortresses and fortifications. The tsarist government issued a new decree on the acquisition of salt at fixed prices in 1754, which aggravated the situation in the region. All of these measures triggered the rebellion of 1754.

Back in 1747, the governmental decree on a 'newly established yasak' caused the Teptyars, bobylys, and Mishar Tatars to rebel. According to the new law, each Teptyar and bobylys (mostly of Tatar origin) had to pay 80 kopecks per capita, and a tax of 25 kopecks per capita was imposed on the Mishar Tatars.

The rebellion broke out in the village of Melekes, Siberian road, on June 14, 1747 and

lasted until September 1748. Officer Moiseyev reported, 'The peasants gathered to whip and stick starshina Suyush, sotnik Bekmetov, and the scribe to death, saying that it was because the starshina and the sotnik had agreed on a new yasak without holding council, which they would not pay, and that they would pay the old yasak and drive carts as before' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, inv. 113, file 115, pp. 152–155]. The rebellion spread beyond Melekes and Bedyuyevo to

the villages of Abzeyevo, Altynbayevo, Nurki, Chipchakova, etc. At the local level, peasants from the village led the rebellion. The rebellion was suppressed and its initiators captured: 25 Tatars, 5 Udmurts, 3 Mari, and one Russian. The leaders of the rebellion, Tatars Abdulla Syuleyev, Murtaza Kurmyshev, Murtaza Alish, Biktimer Azamatov, Ibrash Kamenev, and Udmurts Sabanay Uraev and Senka Semyonov were whipped and sent to Rogervik for hard labour.

§2. Batyrsha's Rebellion.

1. Causes, Course, and Aftermath of the Rebellion

Fayzulkhak Islaev

The 1755 Tatar and Bashkir rebellion led by Mullah Batyrsha Aleyev, a prominent representative of the liberation movement, an influential theologian, and a seminal thinker, is a special chapter in the history of the non-Russian resistance to general Christianisation. Batyrsha Aleyev was born in a service class Tatar family in the small village of Karysh, Siberian road, Ufa uyezd, in 1710. B. Aleyev received an extensive religious education for his time—he first studied at a maktab, where his father abyzy Tuktagali Dusaliyev gave instruction, and then attended the madrasah of the famous imams Abdrakhman Taysugani (Taysugan Village, Bulgulma Administration) and Abdusalyam Uraev (Tashkichu village, Kazan uyezd, Alatsk road). The last years of his studies coincided with the increased Christianisation of Pagan and Islamic peoples in the Volga Ural Region.

After graduation, Batyrsha spent a year and a half teaching children in Bayavyl village, Gayninsk volost, Osa road, Ufa uyezd. He was the imam of Isetskaya Province for the subsequent four years. Five and a half years after graduation he returned to his native village of Karysh, where he became the imam of the mosque and kept a madrasah. His reputation as a learned imam with profound knowledge of the Sharia, the ability to develop just solutions to the most controversial worldly problems, and as a good teacher and mentor for shakirds, soon spread across the entire Volga-Ural Region. His small religious educational institution provided in-

struction to as few as 15 shakirds but became a well-reputed madrasah. Future imams of Ufa uyezd as well as Kazan and Kungur uyezds and the Isetskaya province attended it. In 1754, Batyrsha was promoted to the prestigious position of akhund of Siberian road, Ufa uyezd. When discussing Batyrsha's candidacy for the position of akhund, volost head Ya. Abdullin spoke against him and suggested another nominee [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 144].

Ufa uyezd had retained sufficient autonomy for Muslims to avoid religious oppression for a lengthy period of time. Therefore, it was natural for Tatars who sought to escape religious persecution to seek shelter there. However, the establishment of fortresses and plants as well as additional measures to integrate the region into Russia, including the excessive missionary activities of the new Metropolitan of Tobolsk S. Glovatsky in the east, and the Bishop of Kazan L. Kanashevich in the west in the early 1750s led to a new situation. The region began to experience the heavy influence of missionaries. B. Aleyev later wrote that 'many people were seduced to betray their faith in the yurt of starshina Muslim through cunning and threats; an order was announced to the effect that starshina Ilbatan and his party must betray the faith of Islam for the Russian Religion; the dwellers of the Ay River, the Trans-Ural, and Nogai road decided to raise up in arms against the disbelievers to avenge them for the unbear-

able misery' [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 80, 83]. The situation was the same in the west of Ufa uyezd. 'The population of Osa and Kazan roads has become absolutely helpless in the face of religious and worldly oppression' [Ibid., p. 81].

Seeing the wide-spread disaffection and indignation of the Tatars, Bashkirs, and pagan peoples of the Volga-Ural Region, Batyrsha inferred that the only way to check the missionary incursion and preserve the traditional religion was through military struggle. According to M. Kemper, 'public protest is the only solution to the increasing oppression and compulsive Christianisation' [Kemper, 1998, p. 26].

By the mid-1750s, discontent among the Muslims had reached its peak. In March 1755, the Bashkirs of Nogai road, Ufa uyezd, delivered a letter to Batyrsha to express their willingness to begin a rebellion in May. Trying to organise the spontaneous perturbation, Batyrsha prepared a Proclamation encouraging the people to begin open military resistance on July 1, 1755, as 'the fire of the oppressors' abuse, which has long reached its limit, is grasping building after building in the towns of our faith, and nearly breaking and ruining the citadel of our faith.' [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 87]. Batyrsha's shakirds and adherents spread the document widely among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Ufa, Kungur, and Kazan uyezds, and Isetskaya province, thus mobilising the population.

The Proclamation and Batyrsha's letter to the empress, trial papers, and other documents clearly spell out his substantial role in the organisation of the rebellion. The events developed rapidly. The Bashkirs of Burzyansk volost in Ufa uyezd took the plunge in the middle of May 1755. On May 15, a group of Bashkirs led by Dzhilan Itkulov and Khudayberdy killed mining survey supervisor Bragin and his six assistants. On May 18, the rebels ransacked Sapsalsky yam on Isetsky Trakt (Road) and Bragin's estate. Moreover, they began to attack traveling officials and dragoons stationed in postal groups.

The Orenburg administration took drastic measures to suppress the rebellion. A military team commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Isakov arrived in Burzyansk volost on May 22. A military team of 45 people led by Captain

Lyadomsky tried to prevent 124 male adults, 26 boys, and 140 women from crossing the Yaik River. The captain, two corporals, and seven common soldiers were killed in the battle; the warrant officer and 29 common soldiers were wounded. They drove away all the detachment's horses, leaving only cattle, and went to the Kazakhs [Senate Archive, vol. 10, p. 397]. Over one thousand soldiers and Cossacks were sent there after some time. Bashkir starshinas with their detachments were summoned to aid the troops.

Rebels and their families were arrested, their livestock and property confiscated. Survivors fled to the Kazakhs [Senate Archive, vol. 10, p. 380; Akmanov, 1987, p. 55]. Lieutenant Colonel Isakov was able to capture two run-aways, including an abyz from Kazan uyezd. The investigation revealed that the head of Burzyansk volost had conspired with 'three starshinas, sotniks, and noble Bashkirs' in winter to start the rebellion in spring with hopes that other Bashkirs would join them. The Bashkirs' demands included the liquidation of postal camps and fortresses along the Yaik River and exemption from mandatory service in the construction of plants and fortresses [Senate Archive, vol. 9, pp. 380–381, 397].

To prevent any further Bashkir disorder, the government resolved to build the Zilair fortress in the centre of Burzyansk volost to ensure efficient control over the troublesome Bashkirs. The Zilair fortress became the centre of a new district including Burzyansk, Tamyansk, Usergensk, Tangaursk, Sugunkipchatsk, Bushmankipchatsk, and Chalkinkipchatsk volosts [Ibid., p. 40]. The engagement of the Bashkir population in the construction of the fortress and the continued abuse of the local population caused another wave of protest.

Gayninsk volost in Ufa uyezd became the centre of preparations for a second military rebellion. It was largely initiated by Mullahs A. Churagulov, I. Murzaliyev, and K. Imangulov. Mullah Batyrsha had sent his student shakird I. Apkin to Gayninsk volost to distribute his proclamation at the end of May, 1755. The shakird delivered the letter and successfully returned to Karysh [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 94]. It was later found out that on his way he met the mul-

lah of Tyungak village A. Churagulov [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 146 reverse, 162, 164], who was the distributor of the proclamation in Gayninsk volost. At the same time, shakird S. Yagoferov took the letter to Smailovo village, Aylinsk volost, Siberian road, Isetsk province [Ibid., part 1, p. 125].

The people of Gayninsk volost often met with Batyrsha as part of their preparation for the rebellion. Mullahs from Tyungak village, Gayninsk volost, I. Murzaliyev and K. Imanulov also visited Batyrsha. They delivered Churagul's message that 'all people in our land are prepared to start a rebellion with Batyrsha.' It was at that meeting that Batyrsha set forth the purpose of their undertaking—'to incite a rebellion against Russia' to induce the Empress 'to make us a favour' [Ibid., p. 2, p. 195 reverse–196]. It is likely that this was the expectation of most of the participants of the rebellion. For one, mullah Ch. Minlibayev practically repeated the message during his investigation [Ibid., p. 2, p. 188].

Batyrsha linked the beginning of the rebellion with his trip to Orenburg on the pretext of buying some religious literature, while his actual purpose was to meet with the people of Burzyansk volost on the way to find out what their sentiments were. That is why M. Aymetev later referred to the trip as an act of reconnaissance [Ibid., part 2, p. 54 reverse].

Batyrsha's shakird A. Yunusov accompanied him to Orenburg. He met with the dwellers of Burzyansk volost on the way to find out what had made them start prematurely and the reasons for their defeat as well as to enquire about their future plans. In spite of their defeat and flight to the land behind the Yaik River, the remaining rebels from Burzyansk volost were unbent and ready to revolt again. 'God knows better', they said. 'If the people rebel, we will be there; if they do not, we will eventually have to rebel, as we would anyway be caught and exterminated when we inform against one another. Even though we do not intend to betray the padishah, the very fact that we cannot stand the wrongful deeds of the Russian oppressors is regarded as treason. No matter how much the Russians abuse and betray, nobody calls them

traitors. As you can see, they did not listen to any of our captives (during the interrogation) or set them free; they all died as traitors. What would we hope for by hiding? We think we should rebel no matter what and trust in Allah'. The confession inspired hope in Batyrsha that another joint rebellion would follow, this time well-coordinated and in different locations.

When in Orenburg, Batyrsha met with akhund Ibragim, who informed him that the akhunds of Orenburg guberniya had resolved to honour him with the spiritual title of sheikh. Batyrsha didn't accept the title [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, pp. 96–97]. He went to Kargalinskaya (Seitov sloboda) to meet with Islamic clergymen, in particular his teacher akhund Abdusalyam Uraev, with whom he spent two days discussing religious issues, and made various visits. From there he sent a letter to sotnik Ya. Mamashev of Alatsk road, Kazan uyezd, reporting that all the four darugas of Ufa uyezd had agreed and were ready to act, and asked him to ensure that the Tatars of Kazan were ready. I. Apkin later mentioned during interrogation that the Kazan Tatars had agreed to rebel along with the Bashkirs [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 1, p. 122; Senate Archive, vol. 10, p. 4].

That was most probably the place where the final agreement on the time of the new rebellion was made. According to the testimony given by K. Imanulov, the Orenburg Tatars had agreed to rebel. Ch. Minlibayev testified that Batyrsha met with akhund Ibragim when in Orenburg and akhund Abdusalyam when in Seit sloboda to 'persuade those who had been initially adherent to him to join him in his evil intention' [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 473].

Batyrsha went back to Karysh from Orenburg. There he met with two shakirds on their way to Kazan uyezd. They said that the Bashkirs and Meshcheryaks near Troitsk were ready to act [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 98]. This was more evidence of the general Muslim discontent.

The head of Gayninsk volost Abduk Kudzhagulov noticed the locals' intense preparation for the rebellion. On July 16, 1755 he reported to the Osa Voivode Chancellery that '20 Bashkir people from four villages within

the volost are beginning to revolt'. A copier accompanied by soldiers was sent to the volost, but 'the Bashkirs resisted violently, and peasants from the palace villages came to the town of Osa to escape the danger' [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 406]. Yet, the government did not take any measures to prevent the possible rebellion after this signal.

The Bashkirs of the Transuralian part of Burzyansk volost rebelled again on August 9, 1755 as had been agreed with Batyrsha. This was entirely unexpected by the local governorate and provincial administration. A detachment of 50 to 60 Bashkirs led by Yaubasar Azdurov murdered the newly-appointed head of Zapyanova Village, the service Tatar Abdula Vagapov, his scribe, and two meshcheryaks, and assaulted those who supported the government. Starshina Mukhammadsharyp Mryakov managed to take shelter in Mosolov's Kanani-kolsk Plant, which saved his life. On the same day, August 9, the rebels attacked Baron Sievers' Voznesensky Copper Plant under construction on the Ik River, stole 34 horses, burned down the birchbark produced, and set on fire several forested areas. Also on August 9, the rebels unexpectedly raided Ivan Tverdyshev's Preobrazhensky Copper Plant. As a result of the attack, 'the Bashkir traitors killed 8 peasants assigned to the plant, 40 newly-baptised Christians, altogether 48 people, and about 10 people were wounded. About 1,000 sazhens of wood for copper smelting, about 7,000 boxes of coal, and the hay prepared were burnt down' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1940, doc. No. 10, 12].

The joint venture of Gerasim Glazov and Count Alexander Shuvalov, the Itsk-Pokrovsky Copper Smeltery, which was under construction on the Ik River, was 'burnt down completely' by the rebels on August 15, which is an Orthodox Christian holiday—the Dormition of the Mother of God. The attack was committed by a joint Bashkir detachment commanded by the Head of Sugunkipchatsk volost Shayly Kulumbetov, the Head of Bushmankipchatsk volost Satlyk Yavkeyev, the Head of Chamkin-Kipchatsk volost Tlyaumbet Yavgostin, sotnik Bekbulat Arkayev, and Kuvat Kinzegulov from User-

gensk volost [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1940, doc. No. 12]. The rebels were well-armed with spears, sabers, bows, and arrows. They also had banners. Their principal target was the chapel, which they reduced to ashes along with all the icons, ornaments, and bells. Then they destroyed the dam of the plant on the pond and burned down the crop storage pits and the plant's office. They attacked all 400 people at the plant with bows, spears, and sabers. Only 50 people were able to survive the barbarian attack. The plant treasury and other property were 'plundered and appropriated' [Ibid.]. On August 15, the rebels attacked the Chibilninsky and Tashlinsky Deposits assigned to the same plant, where they killed Chuvash workmen—miner Matvey Kozmin and scribe Gerasim Ikonnikov. 8 people were killed and 11 horses stolen near the village of Bikbulatovo [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1940, doc. No. 13].

The most impressive military victory over the regular army was won on August 18. 30 versts away from the Zilair fortress, Kuchukbay's detachment besieged and exterminated Captain Shkapsky's detachment consisting of a dragoon squadron and 50 Cossacks sent by Bakhmetev from the Zilair fortress to protect Count P. Shuvalov's Avzyan-Petr's plant. A dragoon and Cossack squadron were sent circumspectly along the safest route where any encounter with the Bashkirs was reported to be unlikely. However, it was there that the rebels blocked the detachment's way and engaged them in a serious battle. The rebels took advantage of the detachment, which had been moving along a narrow path in the woods with boggy ground in which horses got stuck, to surround and exterminate it completely after two hours of intense combat. The only survivors were two Kalmyk Christians and three Bashkirs. A leader of the rebels, Kuchukbay, also fell in the battle [Chuloshnikov, 1940, p. 83].

Rebels led by the Head of Bushmankipchatsk volost Saltyk Yavkeyev, the Head of Chamkin-Kipchatsk volost Tlyaumbet Yavgostin, and Kuchukbay had previously burned down Count A. Shuvalov's copper

Ik-Pokrovsky Copper Smeltery in the upper reaches of the Ik River and killed all workmen who were unable to escape [Lyushchin, 1903, p. 165; Firsov, 1869, p. 436]. The defeat of a large governmental detachment and the subsequent confusion of the authorities enabled Bashkirs from different volosts to cross the Yaik river and hide in the Kazakh steppe before the arrival of governmental troops.

By August 20, the fire of the rebellion had seized the Usergansk, Burzyansk, Tamyansk, Tangaursk, Bushmankipchatsk, and Suvunkipchatsk volosts. The people living in the territories left their homes with their families to cross the Yaik river and hide among the Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The runaways entered into combat with teams sent against them. Captive Bashkirs said that they intended to cooperate with the Kirghiz-Kaisaks to 'attack fortresses, attack Russians, reave herds, and wreak other havoc' [Senate Archive, vol. 10, p. 398].

Orenburg Governor I. Neplyuev took a series of measures to suppress the revolt. The Moscow, Revel, and Troitsk Regiments were sent to the area of the Bashkir rebellion and instructed to 'have no mercy for wives or children, to cast terror into their hearts'. A total of three thousand Kalmyks, Don and Orenburg Cossacks were engaged in the suppression of the rebellion. In addition, 500 Kalmyk Christians guarded the border shared with the Kirghiz-Kaisaks. I. Neplyuev also wrote a letter to Nurali Khan, asking him to initiate a struggle against the Bashkirs, and distributed a pamphlet written by Orenburg akhund I. Abdrakhmanov criticising the Bashkir rebellion among the Islamic population of the governorate [Neplyuev, 1893, pp. 147–149].

In the middle of August, the leaders of the rebellion in Gayninsk volost, I. Murzaliyev, N. Baskunov, and A. Yaguteyev, were called up for service in the Kizyl fortress. The rebels took the opportunity to meet with Batyrsha and start military action in the volost. Batyrsha met with mullah Iskhak Murzaliyev and his comrades near the village of Karysh in order to find out if everybody was ready to 'start the revolt'. Later during an investigation, K. Imangulov said, 'up to 500 Meshcheryaks, up to 1,000 Teptyars and landless peasants are ready to re-

volt; besides, Batyrsha mullah wanted to send the news to Siberian road. Batyrsha agreed on the rebellion with Nogai road last year and this year on his way from Orenburg' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 212 reverse–213]. Batyrsha said that he would 'send people to your Gainsk volost to gather everybody who agreed to rebel'. That was his reply to the Bashkirs' request to 'send them the Meshcheryaks'. Tatar Emir from the village of Sultanay and Bashkir Khasan from the village of Bishmeche doubted that the Meshcheryaks were ready to rebel. To dispel their doubts, Batyrsha sent the shakirds I. Apkin, A. Kuchekov and dwellers of the village of Mirasim, U. Islanov and M. Aysin, to accompany them to Gayninsk volost [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 204 reverse].

Sedition in Gayninsk volost started in the village of Bashap. On the following day, there were up to fifty rebels in the village of Aklush. They were all mounted and armed. Apart from sabers, many had either guns or bows and arrows; some had spears. The general intention was to move down the Tulva river and 'slaughter Russians' and Bashkirs who had not joined the rebellion. Mullah Churagul along with two representatives of Batyrsha visited the villages Sultanay, Sarash, and Aymush [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 183 reverse].

On August 27–28, rebels commanded by Mustay and Akbash killed the Head of Gayninsk volost A. Kudzhagulov 'for collecting heavy taxes and fees' [Chuloshnikov, 1940, p. 86]. The killers were A. Andryushev, M. Terberdin, and their comrades. The latter included Meshcheryaks from starshina Ya. Abdullin's party. In the village of Sultanay, S. Chubarkin began to prepare a militia. Local gatherings took place in many villages, including Bashap, Sultanay, Tyungak, and Aklush, which were attended by Churagul and Iskhak as well as local yasak Tatar A. Yaguteyev. They read out Batyrsha's 'Proclamation', which inspired the locals to initiate an open rebellion [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 3, pp. 42–42 reverse; Chuloshnikov, 1940, p. 86].

However, no intense military action followed the preparation. Decisive measures taken by T. Izhbulatov, the new head of Gayninsk volost who had succeeded the assassinated A. Kudzhagulov, prevented the rebels from entering a new stage. Having obtained power over the volost, he did not hesitate to take drastic measures to disrupt any anti-government actions within the territory entrusted to him. There was no other way for T. Izhbulatov to strengthen his position as starshina. He would continuously remain in office for twenty years and would be elected a member of Catherine's Committee, where he also played an active role.

The confrontation took place near Kyzyl Yar village. Up to fifty rebels had gathered there. Unopposed, Izhbulatov's adherents disrupted the gathering, and its participants 'scattered' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 208]. That was the turning point of the rebellion. Having been defeated, the followers of the rebellious mullah were unable to organise a military revolt in the volost and went to Karysh to meet with Batyrsha. However, they did not find Batyrsha there—he, along with his family and eight of his closest adherents and pupils, armed with spears and bows, went into hiding in the woods on September 1. According to M. Asanov, Batyrsha fled to the woods after he found out that his representatives Ismagil and Akhmer had been arrested in Gayninsk volost [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 144].

The authorities took aggressive measures to isolate and suppress any possible disorder. On September 25, 1755, troops of the Troitsk Dragoon Regiment commanded by Captain Zherebtsov were sent to Osa road in Ufa uyezd [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 1, p. 122]. The troops did not meet with any organised resistance there—the insurrectionists, six followers of Batyrsha, were captured and went under investigation.

The Kungur Pilikins' chronicles presents the events in Gayninsk volost in a curious way. For instance, the 1755 record mentions that 'some Bashkir traitors in the Ural Mountains and near the fortress of Kazan assaulted and murdered Russian people. Besides, the Bash-

kirs of the adjacent Kungur and Ufa uyezds of Gayninsk volost also revolted. Therefore, drastic protective measures were taken against those Bashkir traitors in Kungur and in minor fortresses across the uyezd—Actual Privy Counsellor and cavalier I. Neplyuev, who was staying in Orenburg, used two regular mounted regiments to suppress the Bashkir rebels. The town of Kungur and the district were thus protected against the Bashkirs' [Kungur Chronicles, 1886, pp. 16–17].

The Russian population of Kungur uyezd found the scale with which the rebels were preparing to act extremely disturbing. Rumours spread that the Bashkirs and the yasak Tatars had attacked the Uinsk Copper Smelter and besieged the small Torgovizhskaya and Sokolsky ostrog as well as the village of Medyanka in Kungur uyezd. The rumour was so serious and persistent that it created the impression of a war being 'fought on the other side of the village Torgovishchi by the Tatar-populated Verkhirenskaya quarter'. Part of the dwellers of Bykovo Village left their homes for the Aчит's fortress, near the fortress of Krasnoufimsk, to escape the Tatars. The rumour about the Tatar and Bashkir revolt turned out to be exaggerated.

On September 3, 1755, Empress Elizabeth Petrovna abolished the relocation of non-Christian Tatars who shared villages with Christians and referred any claims against Tatars submitted by new Christians to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery to be tried in the presence of clergymen, 'especially because of the current situation' [Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department—2, vol. 4, pp. 173–174]. The discriminative practice of relocating non-Christian Tatars was thus abolished and their claims were referred to secular authorities, though heard in the presence of missionaries. The developments would have been inconceivable before. The law also stipulated a more cautious approach in the case of mutual accusations, with reference to the 'special circumstances', that is the Batyrsha's rebellion.

On September 26, 1755, a joint conference of the Senate, and Foreign and Military Boards discussed the events in Ufa uyezd. The reso-

lution decided upon was to submit a report to the empress. The suggestion was to abolish any additional taxes on non-Christians for new Christians, as well as to abolish conscriptions and the poll tax until 1755; additionally, the Metropolitan of Tobolsk and the Bishop of Kazan were to be transferred to other localities [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 442].

In order to take efficient anti-rebellion measures, the Senate appointed Privy Council Count Golovin the governor of Kazan and sent Major General F. Ushakov and Foreman Kostyurin to assist I. Saltykov following I. Neplyuev's report on October 2. Actual Privy Council Shcherbinin from Siberia was appointed chief commander to Yekaterinburg [Ibid., p. 443]. Foreman A. Tevkelev, one of the most experienced military officers in terms of suppressing Bashkir rebellions, was previously summoned to combat the mutineers on September 4. He was awarded the military title of major general and sent to the Kazakhs to negotiate and bring back the Bashkirs who had taken shelter there [Razny'e bumagi, 1852, pp. 19–21]. 5,545 Bashkirs returned from Kirghiz-Kaisak camps as a result of his efforts [Rychkov, 1887, p. 267]. Besides, three army regiments and 2,000 Don Cossacks were sent to the potentially rebellious region to supplement the troops already deployed there [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 458].

On October 2, 1755, the Senate resolved to offer a bounty of 500 rubles for 'the chief initiator of the rebellion, Meshcheryak mullah Abdul Myagzaldin, known as Batyrsha'. At the same time, the Senate ordered that 'a sabre and good scabbard with an engraving, having a value of up to 100 chervonets, should be sent (to Ya. Abdullin) for his zealous and loyal service to Her Imperial Majesty, especially for capturing comrades of the rebellious Batyrsha'. The Senate also warned the Governor of Astrakhan that 'no secret parcels should be sent to Crimea by Muslims and rebels living in the guberniya', and prohibited him from allowing Bashkirs and Tatars without passports to pass there [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 444]. At the same time, the written declaration of the Kazan guberniya to the service class and Yasak Tatars was approved, along with that of the Orenburg guber-

niya's declaration to the Bashkir people, which informed them about the crushed rebellion of Batyrsha. The declaration is notable for practically acknowledging the key cause of the rebellion—the religious oppression of Muslims [Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 446].

On September 14, 1755, the Senate resolved to assign the rebels to different owners as life-long serfs and to convert them to the Greek faith. The Bashkirs captured during the rebellion were sent to Moscow in October 1755. Some records estimate their number as 213, while others report 221. They were employed by the Senate Office, sent to Rogervik, to the navy or to Baltic garrison regiments; 97 of them died on the way (139 according to different records). An investigation into the cause of the mass deaths of convicts revealed that their daily allowance was only one kopeck, and they suffered 'merciless beatings by soldier Vasily Khrenov on their way' [Senate Archive, vol. 9, pp. 500, 708–709].

Mullah Batyrsha along with shakird Yakhya were able to hide from the government for another year. The search for the rebel leader proceeded unsuccessfully for a long time. The Senate increased the bounty on Batyrsha to 1,000 rubles [Ibid., p. 522]. However, the authorities were looking for mullah Batyrsha and his shakird in the wrong place. The runaways initially intended to disappear in Kazan uyezd, but the introduction of more stringent passport regulations prevented them from doing so. Batyrsha eventually chose Nadyrov volost, where he had attended madrasah in the village of Taysugan. They went from aul to aul asking for bread and water. When asked questions, they introduced themselves as imam-mullah Abdurakhman's shakirds. They spent the winter in Nadir's old aul [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 108].

Batyrsha was arrested and handed over to the authorities on his homecoming on August 8, 1756. Governor I. Neplyuev was satisfied to inform the Senate on August 12 that 'the notorious traitor Batyrsha was captured by the starshina and local dwellers on the Road of Osa in the village of Yazak 150 versts away from Ufa, where Meshcheryak starshina Suleyman Devayev resides, and sent to Ufa by convoy' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv.

1, file 1781, part 1, p. 116]. Having received the news, Empress Elizabeth Petrovna ordered on August 25: 'Bring the criminal Batyrsha here and hand him over to the Secret Office, and give the promised reward to the starshina who caught him; send him here and tell him that he should be presented to the Empress' [Ibid., p. 118; Senate Archive, vol. 9, p. 627].

Batyrsha was sent to the capital on September 10, after meticulous preparations, with a convoy of 36 dragoons and two officers. Their route was as follows: Orenburg—Samara—Arzamas—Murom—Vladimir—Moscow—Saint Petersburg. A new fur coat, kaftan, pants, hat, mittens, and good shoes were purchased for him. Batyrsha traveled in a closed cart drawn by two horses. His daily allowance was six kopecks, which ensured sufficient nutrition [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 1, pp. 228–230].

Eleven adherents of Batyrsha, who had been arrested during the investigation, were also sent to Saint Petersburg to the Office of Secret Investigations. Four prisoners died during the interrogation. Records mentioned the fact that Batyrsha Aleyev's followers were subjected to enhanced interrogation and lashed [Ibid., p. 2, pp. 206, 255]. M. Aysin, K. Imangulov, N. Baskunov, and Ch. Minlibayev died in prison during the investigation (see the list of convicts at the Secret Office: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 2, p. 518]).

Batyrsha was induced to give written evidence in Moscow. Akchyrin Ilya Muratov was summoned to translate the testimony. Batyrsha began to provide written evidence on November 7. He only wrote a page and a half over four days; the volume increased gradually until the letter was complete in November [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 1, p. 218223]. In his letter, Batyrsha described the social and religious motives of the rebellion and requested the tsarina to eliminate the injustice and violence. His primary demand was freedom of religion and the abolition of compulsive Christianisation. If these were granted, the empress would enjoy the 'faithful service' of Muslims [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993, p. 94; Kemper, 1998, p. 26]. The

mullah was sent to Saint Petersburg for further investigation on November 30.

A. Turchaninov, who had been warned to keep all interrogation secrets confidential, worked as an investigation translator in Saint Petersburg [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 5, p. 289]. In the spring of 1757, Batyrsha requested the visit of 'a Christian clergyman'. He met with sacrist and priest of the Petropavlovsk Cathedral I. Lepitsky on March 24 to discuss the Christian faith. A. Turchaninov served as the interpreter. Batyrsha asked for some time to study the Christian law with the priest's help, mentioning his total ignorance of it. Batyrsha tried to use the meeting with the Orthodox Christian priest as another opportunity to insist on an audience with the empress. He said that he wanted to inform her 'of the insufferable misery, that is, compulsive conversion from the Mohammedan faith to the Christian law'. At the end of their meeting, the mullah asked the priest to visit him until he was assured of the superiority of the Christian law over Islam and gave up the Mohammedan faith to die as an Orthodox Christian [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 1, file 1781, part 1, pp. 297–300 reverse].

Following a thorough investigation, Batyrsha was declared guilty of composing a libelous letter and organising a rebellion. He was subjected to whipping and nostril mutilation and was imprisoned in the fortress of Shlisselburg for the rest of his life [Senate Archive, vol. 12, p. 130]. Meshcheryak starshina S. Devayev, who played a major role in the capturing of Batyrsha, was presented to the empress on December 24, 1756 and rewarded with a garment, an engraved silver ladle, and a saber.

Batyrsha died in a desperate fight with his captors in the fortress of Shlisselburg on July 24, 1762 [Gernet, 1960, p. 229]. An analysis of the history of Batyrsha's rebellion thus reveals it as a new stage of non-Christian resistance to the policy of compulsive Christianisation in the Volga-Ural Region. Though its active phase was comparatively short, the rebellion covered a large territory (most of Orenburg guberniya), was widely supported in ethnic terms (Tatars, Teptyars, Bashkirs, Kazakhs), and had serious

consequences, both immediate and long-term, for the Muslim population of the region. The rebellion motivated a number of governmental concessions to those non-Russian groups of the region's population which had preserved their initial religious identity. These were the first substantive steps towards liberalising Russia's religious policy.

However, the Islamic population was only partly satisfied. Their Christianisation continued. A significant shift in religious policy only

occurred after the coming of Catherine II to the throne. The Russian government had to give up on its plans of compulsive Christianisation of Muslims, and embarked on a program of gradual recognition of Islam and legalisation of Islamic clerical activities. Thus, Islamic civilisation was allowed to be preserved in Russia. Evidence suggests that Batyrsha's rebellion played an important part in the emergence of the new historical situation. This was its long-term effect.

2. Batyrsha's Letter to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna

Iskander Gilyazov

As has been mentioned above, Batyrsha wrote a letter to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna when imprisoned. It apparently took the author a long time to finalise the letter—the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts has preserved a number of draft versions and one clean copy. Being written in the small calligraphic hand known as *Nastaleeq*, it consists of 33 sheets, and is voluminous and rich in content.

This unique source bears a very vivid trace of that period. It is curiously representative of the sentiment of the Tatar and Bashkir populations in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in the mid-18th century. In fact, it is not a letter in the proper sense of the word, as it is not a purely epistolary written source. G. Khusainov determined its genre as 'a historical document similar to the autobiographic tale of Russian literature in the 17th century' [Khusainov, 1973, p. 126]. M. Gaynutdinov termed it more abstractly as 'garyz-name', which can be roughly translated as a letter-declaration [Gaynutdinov, 1985, pp. 92–108]. Batyrsha called it 'i'lam-name', that is 'a declaration'. A single term is unlikely to determine its genre, as it combines features of a petition, a narrative, and a work of fiction.

S. Solovyov was one of the first to take notice of the source. Characterising the rebellion in his 'History of Russia', he even published a part of the letter in a formal translation from the 18th century—he described Batyrsha's letter as 'an interesting account of his adventures' [Solo-

vyov, 1964, pp. 238–239, 386389]. N. Dubrovin quoted the source extensively [Dubrovin, 1884, vol. 1, pp. 260–262]. During the Soviet period, the letter was studied extensively by G. Khusainov, who appreciated its linguistic and literary features rather than its implications for history and source studies [Xösäyenov, 1970, pp. 95–104; Xösäyenov, 1977, pp. 28–31; Xösäyenov, 1979, pp. 131–159; Khusainov, 1979, pp. 121–138]. G. Khusainov gave an unbiased assessment of its importance as a 'historical, political, social, economic, ethical, and philosophical treatise on Bashkiria in the first half of the 18th century' but did not doubt its value as a Bashkir written monument.

In 1979, G. Khusainov made an attempt to publish part of the letter in a contemporary transcription. Many words were corrupted, which either changed the meaning of the text completely or made it unintelligible; quotes were inaccurate; the style was changed in many ways, which is indicative of the researcher's ambition to bring the text in compliance with the contemporary rules of the Bashkir language, though he vaguely termed the original language a 'Turkic language of the Volga Region and Cis-Ural.'

A complete edition of Batyrsha's letter finally appeared in 1993—it contained the text in transcription, in a Russian translation, in facsimile copies, and in the Arabic script [Pis'mo Batyrshi, 1993]. Even though the edition is not free of inaccurate interpretations and

corruptions, it has a clear advantage over the previous one—extensive notes and a Russian translation are provided; it compares the final version with Batyrshy's drafts; a facsimile copy of the original text is provided along with the Arabic version.

Batyrsha's letter bears a very vivid trace of that period. It is representative of the sentiment of the Tatar and Bashkir population in the Cis-Ural in the mid-18th century. It is of great interest to source studies, primarily due to it being representative of the socio-political theory of that time. Especially noteworthy are the author's speculations about the possibility of establishing a fair government in a multi-national country, about the ideal ruler, various aspects of the tsarist government's policy for the Tatars and Bashkirs in the 18th century, and on the social and economic hardships which the population of the Volga Region and Cis-Ural faced in that period. It is peculiar that the letter is not limited to the author's own ideas but also presents a wide range of opinions generated by various social groups and strata. Batyrsha's letter is also a valuable source for studying the course and development of the Islamic social movement in Russia in the 18th century, as well as for those who want to form a more detailed idea of the Tatar and Bashkir spiritual and religious life, and those concerned with the role that Islam played in the life of these peoples in the 18th century and the account of it presented by Batyrsha's letter. The latter point deserves more than a passing mention.

As has been mentioned above, the position of Islam in 18th century Russia was very complicated. Being a cogitative representative of the Muslim clergy, Batyrsha was fully aware of the role which Islam and the clergy played in his compatriots' life. That is why he initially began to distribute his proclamation in the Cis-Ural—he realised that Islam was the only factor that could unite the Tatars and the Bashkirs, between whom there was a social gap.

Therefore he gave priority to religious oppression when explaining the causes of the 1755 rebellion in his letter: 'Russian bishops and other priests resort to threats, cunning and anything else to force our brothers in faith, that is faithful Muslims, who live in border terri-

tories like Kazan, Orenburg and Tobolsk guberniyas, to convert from Islam to the Russian faith. When our brothers in faith demonstrate repulsion, the priests write applications, which they claim the Muslims agree to, and they seal them with their tamgas. Muslims who had been forced to convert tried to return to their faith, but this was strictly forbidden to them.

Religious and social oppression were deeply intertwined in the Cis-Ural and Volga regions: 'yasak and other duties of new converts were imposed on the remaining Muslims. Since those Muslims remained adamant believers, they were treated with contempt; unheard-of duties were imposed on them to cause suffering and damage to their faith and life'.

As a peculiar form of oppression, the local population was forced to buy salt in town at a specified price. 'Having prohibited the people from obtaining salt from the treasury of God Almighty and Glorious—from mountains and lakes, as they had done before, they forced them to buy it from fortresses', Batyrsha wrote in his letter.

Blatant bribery and the cruelty of local authorities aggravated the population's hardships. To quote Batyrsha, 'the oppression exercised by fortress heads was immense. The people were too desperate to go to fortresses for judgement and justice when they needed it. (...) Some volost heads did not scruple to commit wrongful deeds—they ate the population's supplies, drank, slaughtered their people, cut off their arms and did many more cruel acts. However, men of power would not apply justice to those misdoers when it was demanded'.

In his letter, Batyrsha describes his painstaking search for a solution—he had thought of informing the empress in some legal way; it had even occurred to him that he could establish a contact with other Islamic countries that could help their brothers in faith. However, Batyrsha was well aware that 'every tsar sits behind a barbed fence' and it was hard to reach them. Patient as they were, the Muslims 'reared their head' when the situation had grown so dramatic..

It is not his own life that Batyrsha was concerned about when he wrote his petition to Empress Elizabeth. Instead, he asked her to do 'a

favor to all her Islamic slaves in general and especially those from the Orenburg guberniya'. That would include the following changes:

'To abate the wrongful deeds against our Muslims that have been committed by the evil-doers' guile and hatred, without our padishah's permission or our Muslim's consent, and to grant these Islamic slaves freedom to live true to the oath that they swore';

'To appoint righteous and fair people to administer our fortresses';

'To forbid ignorant starshinas from settling our matters of Sharia and refer such cases exclusively to our akhunds and learned theologists';

'To open the arms of forgiveness to all slaves who, having lost patience and being unable to stand the outrageous abuse, dared agree and act against the evildoers and remain true to their faith, for their purpose was not disobedience or riots against Her Majesty, our padishah; but they have been declared rebels and mutineers because of those actions of theirs.'

According to Batyrsha, to meet these requirements was the only way for the empress to win back credit and respect among her Islamic subjects, who would 'pray unceasingly for her power to remain unshakable'.

Batyrsha's petition letter thus suggests that he was well aware of the needs and problems of the Islamic population. He took every effort to inform the empress of the situation and

persuade her to change it. The letter clearly indicates that it was not religion as such, or the blind observation of religious custom, that he wanted to protect—he viewed Islam as a lifestyle, as an integral component of Tatar and Bashkir life in the 18th century—that is why he always pairs 'faith and life' together in his letter. He was not anti-Russian, as some historians wrote in the 19th century, and was not even opposed to the Orthodox Christian church in general; what he would not put up with was the official approach taken by the government and church towards the large Islamic population. He was very aware of the situation as it was and realised how crucial Islam was to the Tatars and Bashkirs, and how destructive the policy of compulsive Christianisation would be to them.

We should not exaggerate the effect of Batyrsha's letter—there was hardly any. Of course it was never delivered to the empress and was simply attached to the other investigation papers, which probably ensured its preservation as a valuable and interesting source of information for studies of tsarist policy towards the Islamic population of the Volga and Urals Regions in the 18th century, and studies of the life of that population. Being a prominent representative of freethinking in the Muslim environment, Batyrsha is prominent for paving the way for Islamic reformation in Russia.

§3. Tatar Involvement in Yemelyan Pugachev's Rebellion

Salyam Alishev, Iskander Gilyazov

The rebellion led by Yemelyan Pugachev, or the Peasant War of 1773–1775, was one of the most wide-reaching domestic events in the Russian Empire—in the 18th century. In spite of its somewhat narrow localisation—it mainly covered the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions—the rebellion rocked the country and raised doubts about the administration's efficiency and about governmental measures directed towards the multi-national peasant population of various regions. Its effects were far-reaching—many of the leaders and participants in the rebellion

were punished cruelly, but that is only one side of the story. Just after Pugachev's rebellion was suppressed, a massive governorate reform was introduced and essential laws regarding the nobility's status in Russian society and the municipal administration were adopted; a system of relations was established to control Islamic subjects. It seems beyond doubt that the peasant rebellion made the government consider such transformations and urgently implement them. The reforms undertaken during the reign of Catherine II were the government's response

to the dramatic class struggle—it had to respond in order to survive.

Since Pugachev's rebellion covered the key Tatar-populated regions, the Tatars could not remain uninvolved. A large number of Tatar peasants was inspired by the 'tsar of the common people', but many maintained neutrality or supported the tsarina. A set of diverse causes determined the Tatars' attitude to Pugachev and the official government.

We shall study the reasons why the Tatars would side with Yemelyan Pugachev in the rebellion of 1773–1775.

Pre-Soviet historiographic studies were dominated by the opinion that the participation of the Tatars, Bashkirs, and other peoples of the Volga or Cis-Ural Regions stemmed from national or religious separatism. N. Firsov's works were very representative of the trend—for instance, he wrote that the Bashkirs 'dreamed of complete independence from the Russian government, of restoring the independent Mohammedan Khanate...' and 'non-Christians, especially Tatars, who acted "in the name of khans" and for the sake of the old custom, contributed greatly to the general anti-Russian sentiment of Bashkiria' [Firsov, 1869, pp. 231–232, 235–236]. Russian historians sometimes described the Tatars as enemies of the Orthodox Christian state and the Russian people, and attributed their protest to a desire to restore their independent state, as well as to their self-identification, which was seen as being opposed to Russians in general [Vitevsky, 1889].

However, if we study the literature directly, and look at the numerous Tatar-language documents left by the participants of the rebellion to which today's historians have access, none of them (!) contain any evidence of the above sentiment or anything that could be interpreted in that vain. Moreover, the literature and historical facts about the rebellion suggest a very different interpretation. For instance, it is doubtless that numerous rebellious detachments contained representatives of different ethnic groups and were led by Russian, Tatar, Bashkir or Mari leaders who were active in the Urals and in the Middle Volga Region during the Peasant War [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 6, file 416, part 2, pp. 175, 176, 191,

291; Alishev, 1973, pp. 69–72, 136–138]. The differences between the rebels, if any, either dealt with quotidian questions or arose during discussions of military actions. The literature constantly emphasises the rebels' shared goals and the fact that they enjoyed the support of the multi-ethnic population of the area: 'populations of all kinds... are sincerely happy to serve His Majesty the graceful Tsar Peter Fyodorovich', 'we have not found anyone in opposition in any group of the population; they all have sincerely submitted to our graceful Tsar' [Vozzvaniya, 1988, p. 7, 168].

It is also important that, according to the sources, the enemy is not the Russians as such (how could they be enemies when rebels of various ethnic groups were fighting shoulder to shoulder within the same detachments?) and not the Russian state, but vague 'enemies', 'traitors', and 'renegades' (who had betrayed the 'legitimate' Tsar Peter Fyodorovich!)—their ethnicity is not mentioned [Ibid., pp. 61, 83, 112, 167, etc.]. The rebels were opposed to Russian landlords, Tatar and Bashkir starshinas, mullahs, and merchants who stayed loyal to Empress Catherine [Alishev, 1973, pp. 180–181].

It should also be noted that Yemelyan Pugachev did not limit his efforts of uniting the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional peasant masses to platitudes and long-term promises; he and his adherents took very deliberate measures to ensure social, religious, and ethnic equality for 'their subjects', which included discipline and awareness-raising events. A document is available in which Pugachev's close associate Ataman I. Beloborodov ordered all Russian, Bashkir, and Mari sotniks 'to be strict with all Russian and Tatar soldiers within your sotniks and to maintain obedience'. Disobedient and marauding rebels were to be 'punished mercilessly through whipping, Russians in the presence of the Russian and Tatar detachments and Tatars, for the same reason, in the presence of the Tatar and Russian detachments' [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, p. 288].

Therefore, the involvement of the Tatar population of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in the Peasant War of 1773–1775 is by no means attributable to national or religious separatism. The phenomenon was largely rooted in social

problems. In the 18th century, the rural Tatar population became part of the state-peasant group, to which applied laws which had dramatically worsened the group's social situation throughout the previous century. This was especially true concerning the tax system, which became stricter. The status of rural and urban lower classes deteriorated significantly during the official formation of the empire and the enhancement of Russian absolutism—this problem affected all of the peoples in Russia.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to write off any motivation for national liberation among the movement's non-Russian groups, including the Muslims. The cruel repressive governmental policy towards Islam in the first half of the 18th century, when ideological victory over Islam at any cost was expected, dramatised the situation for the Tatar population of the Volga Region and the Cis-Ural. Quite naturally, the government gave up the ill-conceived policy—Peter III adopted a decree on the equality of religions in 1762, and in June 1773 (several months before Pugachev's rebellion broke out) the Senate's decree on religious tolerance abolished religious persecution in Russia. The first stone mosques began to be built in Kazan in the latter half of the 1760s. Though a positive shift in the religious policy was emergent, its effect was very modest and apparently lacked breadth until the early 1770s, while Muslims still had clear memories of the cruel persecution of the 30–40s. Peter Fyodorovich took advantage of the situation by declaring freedom of religion, which attracted thousands of Muslims and Old Believers. Thus, the Tatar involvement in the protest movement was marked by the aspiration to obtain real national and religious freedom among the Muslims of the Volga Region and the Cis-Ural.

However, the social and religious situation in the Tatar community of the 18th century was peculiar in a number of ways. On the one hand, religious disunity among the peoples of the Russian Empire prevented interethnic co-operation. On the other hand, the Tatar feudal class was weakened and nearly decayed; it had 'lost its former levers of power and organisation within the society' [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 29–30]. It contributed to some extent to the poor coor-

dination, that is lack of national unity, in the socially and numerically powerful Tatar peasant movement within Pugachev's rebellion, which was strongly class-oriented. That was also the case with other sedentary agricultural peoples [Vozzvaniya, 1988, p. 11].

The Serving Tatars, who became part of the tribute-paying stratum in 1724, had a very peculiar status because they were designated to produce, hew, and transport timber for the Admiralty. This duty, which was extremely burdensome and caused numerous difficulties for the Serving Tatars, had led to extreme disaffection among the Tatars of the region for decades up to the early 70s.

Thus, the Tatar population of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions had many reasons to participate in Yemelyan Pugachev's rebellion, and it would be hard to single out the decisive grievance. In any case, the leader of the rebellion took it into account as a very sagacious, observant, and profound thinker. To quote V. Semenovskiy, 'Pugachev and his adherents were able to hit the right chord in each of the diverse social groups in the Cis-Ural and the Volga Region' [Pugachevshchina, 1926, p. 47]. He was able to understand what caused the greatest discontent among the populations of the empire belonging to different social strata and religious groups, which he applied to his campaigns—this attracted many followers in the first stage of the rebellion.

The rebellion broke out in September 1773 on the Yaik River, when Yemelyan Pugachev proclaimed himself 'Emperor Peter Fyodorovich' and signed his first 'manifests' to all of his 'subjects' regardless of their language or faith. Characteristically, one of his first policy papers, the Manifest of September 17, 1773, addressed the Cossacks, the Kalmyks, and the Tatars ('I shall have mercy on you, Cossacks, Kalmyks, and Tatars' [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, p. 23]. The 'Emperor' later signed a series of decrees addressing the Bashkirs. He granted to his Islamic subjects 'land, water, woods, fishing places, dwellings, hayland, seas, crops, your faith and law, seeds, body, food, shirts, remuneration, lead, gunpowder, and victuals, that is, whatever you want for the rest of your life' [Ibid., p. 27]. The leader of the rebellion

clearly wanted to implement the idea of human equality in these documents.

He also spoke to the locals in Tatar, repeating his promise of 'land and water, bread and salt, faith and conscience, riches and treasures forever and ever', adding generously, 'if you should be diligent in serving to me, I shall be your father' [Vozzvaniya, 1988, p. 42]. It was very natural in the context of the long-established tradition that Ye. Pugachev spoke to the Islamic population of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in Tatar (see: [Starotatarskaya pis'mennost', 1981, pp. 3–29; Tumasheva, Usmanov, Khisamova, 1977, pp. 51–66; Vozzvaniya, 1988, p. 17–19; Khisamova, 1981, 3p. 3–10]). Moreover, officials (for records management) and peasants of different ethnic groups used Tatar widely in a country where the Tatar written language was out of official use, which is indicative of its unique flexibility and robustness.

Pugachev's manifests and decrees were presumably collectively drawn up by representatives of various social strata. They introduced changes to the text to make it more suitable in the local context and to meet the needs of the local population. They distributed the first manifests and edicts by 'Peter Fyodorovich' over a wide territory, including areas to which the rebellion had not yet spread [Alishev, 1973, p. 74].

Seitov (Kargala) sloboda near Orenburg was one of the first to welcome Ye. Pugachev—the event is dated October 1, 1773 [Dubrovin, 1884, vol. 2, p. 38]. There the rebels' leader met with his adherents, and the gathering resolved to create a Tatar regiment of 500 people commanded by Musa Aliyev. The detachment included both dwellers of the Kargala sloboda and yasak and the Serving Tatars from the Middle Volga Region who had come to work.

The detachment, along with others, which were partly composed of Tatars, participated in the first major campaigns of Pugachev's army—the siege of the town of Orenburg, which began on October 5, 1773, and the battles against the governmental detachments commanded by General V. Kar (near the Tatar villages of Yuzevevo and Sarmanaev on November 7–9) and

Colonel P. Chernyshev (November 14), which the rebels won. It is noteworthy that the detachments of both parties contained yasak and the Serving Tatars. However, those in the governmental troops were clearly treated as unreliable. Contemporary records report numerous cases of their defection to the rebels. Following his defeat, General Kar wrote on November 15, 'The treacherousness of those peoples whom I had apprehended was revealed—1,000 cavalymen surrendered in the open steppe without having any reason to do so' [Grot, 1862, p. 34]. The initial military and propaganda measures by 'Peter Fyodorovich' apparently contributed to that.

The fact that rebellious detachments emerged in the Middle Volga Region, even in areas which were initially distant from Pugachev's principal battleground, are also indicative of such influence. The detachment commanded by Myasogut Gumerov from the village of Psyak, Kazan uyezd was the largest. The largest and most active detachment in Kazan uyezd at the first stage of the war was created in November and controlled the Arsk road near Kazan. Myasogut Gumerov was one of the most prominent figures of the Peasant War within the territory of today's Tatarstan. He proved himself to be a talented coordinator and a strong-minded peasant leader. Being aware of the general goals and objectives of the war, he wanted to make the peasant rebellion less local and better-organised. He cooperated with sotnik Akkulay Pulatov to obtain cannons for 'Tsar Peter Fyodorovich' from production plants. His detachment occupied the Bemyshev Copper Plant. Gumerov's detachments were active over a large territory from Kazan to Malmyzh and Mamadysh in November–December 1773. While there were initially about 200 people, by December this had grown to 3,000, and M. Gumerov, who controlled large areas along the Vyatka River after inflicting severe defeats on the government detachments, was even nurturing plans to start a campaign against Arsk and then against Kazan [Alishev, 1967; Alishev, 1973, pp. 106–113].

Near the city of Bugulma, detachments commanded by Musa Mustafin, Osip Yengalychev, and Ait Urazmetev bothered the local

administration greatly in late 1773. The detachments tried to act in coordination with the main rebellious forces from the very beginning. For instance, Musa Mustafin visited Pugachev's main camp in the Berdskaya Sloboda near Orenburg in December 1773 and received the following order from the Military Board: 'You must go to your team near Bugulma and stay there until Count Chernyshev arrives and you come under his command. Tatars, Bashkirs, and Meshcheryaks shall provide as much aid to starshina Mustafin as he might need to fight against the enemies in Bugulma; there must be no armed resistance' [Pugachevshhina, 1926, pp. 59–60].

The most important event in the course of the rebellion in the winter of 1773–1774 was the siege of the fortress of Menzelinsk, which was first surrounded and then besieged by the rebels. The famous Bashkir Colonel Karanay Muratov commanded the rebels. The siege of Menzelinsk was intermittent and lasted for four months. The number of rebels engaged in it constantly fluctuated from two to ten thousand. They had 5–14 cannons.

The first assault took place on December 23, 1773, on the same date as the assault of Ufa by I. Zarubin-Chika's detachments. The leaders of the rebellion apparently expected the two towns to fall simultaneously. However, it is well known that this did not happen. The rebels failed to occupy Ufa, although the siege lasted about as long as that of Menzelinsk.

A series of battles against the government's troops near Yelabuga, which was first assaulted on January 6, 1774, was also unsuccessful for the rebels and claimed many lives.

The rebels still managed to occupy another important fortress in the Trans-Kama Region, Zainsk, almost without striking a blow. Here the commanders of Pugachev's detachments were the yasak Tatar starshina Nagayback Asyanov and Arenkul Aseyev. A contemporary described the occupation of Zainsk as follows: 'On the 15th of January of the year 1774, a band of 2,000 villains, mostly Bashkirs and Tatars, entered the suburbs of Zainsk, and the troops deployed there, commanded by Captain Mertvetsov, not only did not resist the villains but welcomed them with subservience' [Russian

State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1274, inv. 1, file 183, p. 276].

The Major General A. Bibikov arrived in Kazan on December 26 to lead the fight against the rebels in the Volga and the Cis-Ural regions after the failure of Major General V. Kar. The government troops which he commanded were able to take the initiative and suppress the rebellion across the Volga Region and the Cis-Ural.

Government detachments were first sent to Yelabuga, where up to 6,000 rebels of Russian, Tatar, Bashkir, and Udmurt origin were deployed. In spite of their violent resistance, Pugachev's detachments were crushed, and nearly all the dwellers of the villages near Yelabuga who had supported them were killed...17 villages suffered this fate: 'the villages were deserted, and it took people many years to inhabit them again,'—a local historian wrote later [Dobrotovorsky, 1884, p. 744].

From Yelabuga the punitive troops advanced towards Zainsk. Arenkul Aseyev's detachment of 600 men met them halfway on January 16. The government commander Colonel Yu. Bibikov (A. Bibikov's nephew) reported the events as follows: 'Following the artillery barrage and an attack on the squadron, the villains broke into flight. Lieutenant Colonel Bedryaga forced them to scatter in a battle near the mill, where he slaughtered 200 Tatars stuck in the snow. The villains retreated from the village of Askarina' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1274, inv. 1, file 668, p. 227]. A large detachment of 1,200 rebels with several cannons met the punitive detachment near Zayinsk, but Yu. Bibikov's soldiers were better trained and were victorious—they occupied Zainsk on January 17, slaughtering everyone who resisted. Yu. Bibikov reported on that day that 22 Tatar villages had been appeased—some had in fact been reduced to ashes.

Yu. Bibikov's detachment proceeded from Zainsk to Menzelinsk, which was besieged by Pugachev's troops. The rebels had to raise the siege and retreat from Menzelinsk following a series of bloody battles.

General A. Bibikov was staying near Bugulma, intending to continue his successful advance towards Orenburg and Ufa. Rebellious

detachments were generally losing in various areas across the Volga Region and the Cis-Ural during January–February 1774: the detachments of Salawat Yulayev and Kanzafar Usayev were defeated near Kungur on January 25 and near Krasnoufimsk on February 19. General de Colongue occupied Chelyabinsk on January 13; the detachments of Pugachev's adherents atamans Ilya Arapov and Nikifor Chuloshnikov were crushed near Buzuluk on February 14. The facts eventually enabled historians to infer that 'the entire territory from the border of Bashkiria to the Volga River and farther south along the Ik and Kinel Rivers was cleared of the rebels at the very beginning of February 1774' [Dubrovin, 1884, p. 265]. The causes of the rebels' defeat were simple and typical for peasant movements; the lack of concord in spite of the attempts of certain commanders to present a united front, which resulted in poor planning, weak tactics, and unrest which was localised in nature.

The main rebellious forces had bad luck too—Pugachev suffered a heavy defeat near the Tatishcheva fortress on March 22; I. Zarubin-Chika's detachment was crushed near Ufa on March 24. Pugachev was nevertheless able to preserve the core of his troops, which he sent, following a series of dramatic defeats, northeastwards to the Cis-Ural region, to the territory of today's Bashkiria. A new stage of the Peasant War began.

In April–May 1774 the peasant movement seemed to have subsided, especially in the Middle Volga Region. It is attributable to the defeat of Pugachev's main forces, the withdrawal of the government troops from these areas, and the necessity to work in the fields in spring—the rebellion could not change the usual rhythm of the peasants' life. It turned out to be the calm before the storm.

In the spring and summer of 1774, Pugachev's army began to move westwards from the Cis-Ural to Kazan. Pugachev entered Krasnoufimsk on June 10. An abortive attempt to conquer Kungur followed, after which his army turned westward with clear deliberation.

On June 18, the fortress of Osa was conquered, after which Pugachev's troops crossed the Kama to the right bank to occupy the Rozh-

destvensky Plant on June 22, the Votkinsk Plant on June 24, and the Izhevsk Plant on June 27. It entered today's Tatarstan at the end of June.

Pugachev relied on the large-scale support provided by numerous locally active detachments of rebels, among whose commanders Tatar Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev stood out [Alishev, 1968, pp. 109–115]. The figure of that adherent of Pugachev was crucial to the peasant movement of the summer of 1774. However, historiographers seem to have avoided paying any significant attention to it. It therefore deserves a more detailed presentation.

Bakhtiyar Kankaev was born in the village of Oka (Bolshaya Oka), Siberian road, Ufa uyezd (now Mechetlinsk district of the Republic of Bashkiria).

He joined the rebellion back in the late November of 1773 near Krasnoufimsk and was still active in that area in spring, gradually advancing to the west. After he met I. Zarubin-Chika, one of Pugachev's most intimate associates, at the Verkhnetursky plant near the town of Tabynsk, he was awarded the title of regiment starshina (regiment sergeant major) [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, pp. 125–126]. B. Kankaev then happened to meet Salawat Yulayev, with whom he assaulted the town of Kungur [Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1975, 3p. 301, 318].

The actions taken by Bakhtiyar Kankaev's detachment largely ensured the successful advance of Pugachev's army towards Kazan—they contributed to the effort of the rebels' Military Board to ensure the replenishment of troops, enhanced solidarity, mobilisation of human resources to establish a sentry duty, and to supply rebellious detachments with weapons and munition—Bakhtiyar Kankaev even attempted to set up the production of gunpowder [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, pp. 293, 312, 313].

In late April 1774, B. Kankaev was promoted to colonel and reported Pugachev's achievements to his atamans. He unleashed his imagination to compose his proclamation, which contained 'accurate' information on the rebels' occupation of Orenburg, the surrounding of Moscow by Turkish troops, and Pugachev's conquest of 17 towns and governorates; he also claimed that in-law of 'Peter III', prince Georg of Holstein, and even his 'aunts', daughters of

Peter I (who had died by that time) supported Pugachev [*Ibid.*, pp. 314–315]. The document pursued a very specific propagandist objective of boosting the army's morale and engaging new people in the movement to intensify it.

Bakhtiyar Kankaev, already chief colonel and brigadier, met with Pugachev in Mamadysh in early July. His scribe Abubakir Tilyachev, a serving Tatar from the village of Karginskaya, Ufa uyezd, described the meeting during an interrogation: 'Bakhtiyar soon found out that Pugachev was staying in Mamadysh and went to see him. Having recognised him, we knelt down. Having spent a night in Mamadysh, Pugachev left Kankaev's detachment and sent them back with six people, instructing the above-mentioned Bakhtiyar to recruit Cossacks from settlements along the Kazan Road and bend the people to submission by promising them benefits and killing those who resist; the recruited Cossacks were to be brought to Kazan when possible, and they left' (quoted by: [Alishev, 1973, p. 153]).

Again Bakhtiyar vigorously set to work: On July 9, he sent rebels to recruit Cossacks at the Shumbut Distillery; nearly 300 Russian and Tatar peasants from the nearby villages of Kazan uyezd had joined the detachment by July 10 [*Dokumenty*' stavki, 1975, pp. 325–326]. Literature suggests that in June–July 1774 Bakhtiyar Kankaev controlled a large territory in the Kama River Region—from Kazan to the right bank of the Kama River.

After Yelabuga, Sarapul, Mamadysh, Menzelinsk, and Zainsk had been occupied, the road to Kazan was clear for Pugachev's main army. The local population welcomed him with enthusiasm.

On July 11, 1774, Pugachev approached Kazan and engaged in one of the major battles of the Peasant War. His army consisted of 20,000 people and possessed 12 cannons at that time. He knew Kazan pretty well—it was in Kazan where he had been imprisoned for a short time before he became 'Emperor Peter Fyodorovich' (he escaped in May 1773). The situation was difficult in Kazan—there hardly were any regular troops in the town; about 1,500 people were there to protect it; a detachment of 500 Admiralty and police officers and

firefighters joined it. Schoolboys (74 people), commanded by Yu. von Canitz, also supported the defenders of the town.

The assault began in the morning of July 12. Pugachev divided his army into four columns moving towards the Kremlin along different routes—one moved along the Kazanka River, the second one from the Arsk Field (along today's Karl Marks Street), the third one through the Sukonnaya Sloboda (it was led by Pugachev himself), and the fourth one through the Tatarskaya Sloboda along Lake Kaban. The defenders of the town were too few to beat back the attack and had to retreat to the Kremlin after a series of short confrontations, so the rebels controlled nearly the entire Kazan on that day. A. Pushkin provided a very graphic description of these events: 'The town fell prey to the rebels. They hurried to plunder houses and merchants' shops; they rushed into churches and monasteries to strip iconostases; they slaughtered whoever they encountered if he was wearing German clothes.'

The town caught fire in several places during the battles. It was one of the most dramatic fires in the history of Kazan, and it nearly reduced the town to ashes—over 2,000 households (only 810 remained), over 70 state-owned buildings, over 10 plants, the Gostinyj dvor shopping mall arcade, and 28 churches were burnt down. Only the Sukonnaya, Starotatarskaya, and Novotatarskaya Slobodas, the dwellers of which had supported Pugachev, remained nearly intact. 162 government troops died. Non-combatant casualties were even heavier [Alishev, 1973, p. 169].

The Kremlin was attacked by fire from three directions—from the Gostinyj dvor, the Convent of Kazan, and Bulak. The defenders of the town seemed to be doomed, but Pugachev was informed of Colonel I. Mikhelson's corps approaching Kazan. Pugachev did not venture to immediately engage in a battle with the regular army and he took his troops to the Arsk Field. However, Mikhelson had other plans, and he attacked Pugachev's troops in the Arsk Field that night. He forced Pugachev back across the Kazanka River. His casualties included 800 people killed in action and 737 prisoners of war.

In the morning of July 13, Mikhelson's detachment proceeded towards Kremlin to liberate it but met with resistance from Pugachev's army. However, the latter was unable to frustrate Mikhelson's plans. The fierce battle lasted for two days until the army of 'Emperor Peter Fyodorovich' was crushed on July 15. A. Pushkin wrote, 'The Kazanka River was full of dead bodies; the victor had five thousand prisoners (about 10,000 rebels were captured) and nine cannons at his command. Up to 2,000 people, mostly Tatars and Bashkirs, were killed in action. Mikhelson's casualties were up to one hundred people killed and wounded in action'.

Pugachev took considerable efforts to recruit peasants from the nearby villages to his army during the battles near Kazan. For instance, he sent Iskhak Akhmetov with companions to 'recruit Cossacks from settlements'. One of the companions, Salim Adelshyn, later testified: 'Near Kazan Kinzya Arslanov ordered him to obey directly to Iskhak Akhmetov to gather a mob of villains. They went to the village of Kovaly and held a gathering before the 15th day of the month, where they read out Pugachev's decrees' (quoted by: [Alishev, 1973, p. 173]). Similar groups were sent to many other villages near Kazan. Pugachev's depleted army had increased significantly to approximately 15,000 people by July 15.

On July 18, 1774, Pugachev with the remnants of his main army, approximately several hundreds of his followers, crossed the Volga River to its right bank near the village of Sundyr. The fight continued.

B. Kankaev's large detachment, which had not joined the main army, remained undefeated. In spite of great difficulties, Kankaev wanted to improve the level of organisation in his detachment and provide it with victuals, weapons, and horses [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, pp. 337, 340]. He made a number of attempts to restore communication with the Military Board: he sent to it a report on the condition of his detachment, which contained 2,000 people with five cannons, on July 19 [Ibid., p. 339]. It was still a strong battle-ready unit (in contrast, Pugachev's main army near the town of Osa contained no more than 7,000 people), but constant confrontations with the punitive army ('I have to fight

against the enemy every day, and each day of mine is troubled,' Bakhtiyar said) did affect it—the detachment grew weaker and gradually dissolved...Even though it continued to control most of Kazan uyezd, the news about Pugachev's defeat near Kazan did its job.

Another 200 people joined Bakhtiyar Kankaev's detachment on July 25, 1774, but on July 27 Colonel Lieutenant S. Neklyudov's military groups crushed it between the villages of Malye Zyuri and Cheruchevo. Most of the rebels fell in the battlefield or were taken prisoner. Bakhtiyar and a few of his associates were able to hide in the woods near the Kama River. No information is available on his life after that [Alishev, 1976, pp. 144–145 b.; Ovchinnikov, 1976, p. 135].

In the meantime, Pugachev tried to gather his forces again on the right bank of the Volga River. Even though thousands of peasants, predominantly Russian serfs, joined him again and he was able to occupy important local towns and fortresses (Saransk, Alatyry, Saratov, Penza), the rebellion was never as large-scale as it was in the summer of 1774. Now fully aware of the threat posed by the rebels, the government forces adopted a very serious approach to the suppression of the rebellion. So in the autumn of 1774 the Peasant War began to subside. Yemelyan Pugachev was turned over to the tsarist government by his most intimate associates on August 24, following an abortive assault on Tsaritsyn. However, local confrontations between the rebels and the official troops continued until early 1775. The unrest was eventually suppressed, which was the end of the most large-scale peasant rebellion in the history of Russia.

Demonstrative punitive measures took place—participants in the rebellion and all their sympathisers were subjected to cruel punishment. The Kazan Secret Board managed the investigation and punishment in a centralised way—it dealt with thousands of rebels. Kazan was not only the place of investigation but also the place of execution. Gallows were built in the Arsk Field, in sukonnaya Sloboda, and in Tatar slobodas. Executions took place in Menzelinsk, Zainsk, Bilyarsk, and other localities. Many captive rebels were subjected to corporal

punishment. For instance, Colonel Myasogut Gumerov was whipped in the villages where he had gathered his detachment, as well as in Psyak, where he was born. The executioner then burned the Russian letters 'B' (for rebel) on his right cheek, 'I' (for traitor) on his left cheek, and 'Z' (for villain) on his forehead, after which he was sentenced to 'hard labour forever' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 349, inv. 1, part 2, file 7410, p. 34].

Tatar involvement in the Peasant War was active and extensive. Many Tatars sincerely supported Pugachev until the end for the reasons mentioned above, hoping that their status would improve with the 'just' tsar. Many of them became the leader's close associate, built a career in the rebellious army and were promoted to the high ranks of colonel and chief colonel and brigadier (those include Bakhtiyar Kankaev, Abzyalil Suleymanov, Myasogut Gumerov, Yarmukhammad Kadyrmetov, Abdulla Mustaev, Kanzafar Usayev, Rakhmankyly Dusliyev, and more). Most Tatars had very clear individual and social positions—they either immediately recognised 'Emperor Peter Fyodorovich' and remained with him until the end, or remained loyal to Empress Catherine. The Tatars were thus very different from the Bashkirs, who were 'well-coordinated within their ethnic group' due to the presence of influential tribal leaders in their society. 'Many cases when Bashkir leaders switched sides, which was not infrequent, is indicative of the Bashkirs' ethnic solidarity—as a rule, it was not only individual starshinas or biys who betrayed the 'Tsar', but the entire community of several hundred or thousand people' [Vozzaniya, 1988, p. 12]. A remarkable example of such multiple side switching is Yamansary Yapparov, the Bashkir Head of the Suvunkipchatsk volost, Nogai road, Ufa uyezd. Having joined Pugachev on October 3, 1773, he changed sides many times, 'repenting sincerely' each time. He always took with him several dozen people [Krest'yanskaya vojna, 1975, pp. 343, 370, 397, 398, 400, 412]. So while the Tatar's individual attitude to the rebellion was primarily determined by his social origin, the Bashkirs largely relied on the opinion of their tribal leader, which could, and often did, cause

historians to attach excessive importance to the figures, which were merely a facade.

The Senate's decree of November 22, 1776 clearly indicates that some service class Tatars engaged in commercial and entrepreneurial activities remained loyal to the official government [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 20, No. 14540; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 441, inv. 1, file 926, pp. 1–10]. The text suggests that the Senate addressed the issues on the order of Catherine II, who personally resolved that a number of persons shall be rewarded for staying loyal to her during the rebellion. The reward included patents for monetary remuneration, gold and silver medals, kaftan fabric, or sabers issued by the Military Board. For some of them the reward was temporary or permanent exemption from poll tax. The decree contains a register of petitions submitted by 'distinguished' serving murzas and Tatars, Mishar and Bashkir starshinas. The name of Mishar starshina Sultanmurat Yanyshiev, who formed and coordinated punitive detachments in Ufa uyezd during the Peasant War, is also on the list [Dokumenty' stavki, 1975, p. 431]. He and his brother Bakhtiyar requested a decree giving permission to build a tannery and to sell 'various goods across Russia'. Kasimov murza Ibragim Chanyshev; serving Tatar Apey Ibrayev from the village of Urazlino, Kazan uyezd; the Head of Seitov sloboda near Orenburg Abdrafey Abdullin; serving Tatar Bayazit Usmanov from the village of Kishpar, Alat road, Kazan uyezd; Chelyabinsk Tatar Yakub Akbiyev; serving Tatar Usman Smaylov from Kazan uyezd; and Kazan serving Tatar and factory owner Ibray Yusupov all applied for permission to trade. Kasimov murza Ibragim Chanyshev also applied for permission to move from Voronezh guberniya to Orenburg guberniya; serving Tatar Amir Ishimov from the village of Bolshoy Shirdan, Sviyazhsk uyezd, to Orenburg guberniya; serving Tatar Bakimir Saleyev from the Alatyr uyezd to Ufa uyezd; serving Tatar Adil Izmenev from the village of Verkhniye Aty, Kazan uyezd, to Ufa uyezd. Besides, some petitioners applied for exemption from poll tax—the same Kasimov murza Ibragim Chanyshev asked for permanent exemption; that is for himself and his descen-

dants; serving Tatar Bayazit Adelshin, for the duration of his life; serving Tatar Kurmakay Agishev from the village of Pendelki, Penza uyezd, and his team of 21 people, for permanent exemption; the rest applied for a term of 2 years; Tatars Roman and Zaid Urazmetevs from Kazan uyezd, for 4 years.

All the requests were granted in regard for the 'merits of the above applicants during the rebellion'. This interesting document not only presents an account of the rewarding of prominent service class murzas and Tatars with economic privileges. It is also indicative of the large social differentiation of the Tatar population of the Middle Volga Region and the Cis-Ural, since the part of the population which remained loyal to the government during the Peasant War was well aware of its social interests and protected them. They constituted the enriched elite actively involved in commerce and industry.

An older document presents further evidence of this. The following form of address appeared in 1755, during Batyrsha's rebellion: 'To the loyal subjects of Kazan guberniya, ser-

vice class and yasak Tatars and murzas [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 15, No. 10469]. The Empress encouraged Tatar feudal lords to fight against the rebels and 'neutralise their deceitful schemes'. A detachment of 5,000 service class and yasak Tatars from the Kazan guberniya was sent to the Orenburg guberniya to suppress the rebellion; 'monetary remuneration, victuals, and fodder' were provided to those people. The entire 'plunder' of the detachment was promised to the participants; they were even allowed to sell it 'within Russia'.

The Peasant War led by Yemelyan Pugachev resulted in the legitimate victory of the tsarist government. Indeed, nearly all peasant rebellions throughout history have been doomed to failure. However, the war brought about the adoption of decisive measures which included essential social and economic reforms to accelerate national development. The reforms did influence the Tatar community. The latter was unable to achieve its social goals and those of national liberation, but the memory of heroic rebels, who sincerely believed in justice, lived on.

CHAPTER 7

Islam in the Tatar Community: The Search for Survival and Renewal Strategies

§1. The Foundation of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly

Danil Azamatov

The Synod's decree of June 17, 1773 on 'The Tolerance of All Religions', recognises the rights of a part of the Islamic Tatar elite and by a 1784 decree, the construction of stone mosques and madrasahs as the state's expense, along the eastern frontier in the 1780s largely contributed to the elimination of the contradictions between the state and Muslims in the area of religion [Khabutdinov, 2010, p. 42]. Certainly, the main role in the formation of a new political course in relation to the country's Muslims, was played by Catherine II, who under the influence of the European Enlightenment, put into practice the ideas of religious equality [Malashenko, 1988, pp. 26–27]. The thought that peace can be attained in a multi-ethnic state by ensuring certain freedoms, including those related to religion, is reflected in all the documents of the Empress [Khayrutdinov, 2006, p. 16].

In accordance with the decree of September 22, 1788, the institution of the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly—a collegium, consisting of a mufti and three qadis was made responsible for settling the family and marital affairs of Russian Muslims and examining applicants for Islamic clerical positions, this was certainly the idea of religious tolerance translated into action. At the same time, many documents preserved, attribute the creation of this governmental body not to a change in ideological priorities but primarily to the need for enhanced governmental control over the Islamic clergy. The authorities strove to strengthen the stability and loyalty of the mullahs to the Russian throne, which was entirely natural, considering the state had no influence on the Islamic educational system (secular education

did not exist) and the formation of Islamic clerical personnel.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1791 triggered the establishment of the Spiritual Assembly. The central authorities were very concerned about the Turkish influence on the empire's eastern frontiers and in connection with the activities of mullahs educated in Middle Asia, especially in the madrasah of the city of Bukhara. Officials were detached to the border governorates in 1788 to suppress any anti-Russian propaganda and develop corresponding orders for the local authorities. One of them, councillor of the local Ufa administration and well-known politician D. Mertvago, not only fulfilled his assignment, but submitted his own proposals that an official institution of the Islamic clergy (*ukaznoj mullah*) should be created, whereby the right to religious activity would be granted exclusively by the state. The key idea of the official's project was that without a decree stating the title, it was forbidden to occupy the post of imam as well as to teach at a *maktab* or a madrasah [Mertvago, 2006, pp. 44–46]. These proposals were submitted to the Governor General of Ufa and Simbirsk, O. Igelström, who had a wealth of experience in administering an Islamic region. Following Russia's annexation of the Crimea on August 16, 1783 O. Igelström led the *zemsky* Government, made up of the Shirin bey Makhmetsha, Hadji-Kazy-Aga and qadi'asker Muslenden-Efendi. On his instructions, an inventory of all Crimean mosques was taken and a policy of active cooperation with the Islamic clergy was implemented. The administrative structure and principles of leadership the region's Islamic spiritual community remained the same,

however, it was now fully subordinate to the Russian authorities (for further details see: [Khayredinova, 2003]).

O. Igelström, whom D. Mertvago characterised as a 'man to undertake great affairs' considered his councillor's suggestions very seriously; the project was discussed by the Ufa local administration and eventually put before Empress Catherine on May 1, 1788. In Ufa it was suggested to establish a 'special commission' headed by the chief akhund. O. Igelström intended to entrust this institution with the examination of applicants for spiritual positions. The local administration was to be vested with the final approval for akhunds, mullahs, or muezzins. Despite the limited functions of the commission, the Governor General wanted to exercise strict control over it. At each meeting of the institution it was suggested that 2 members of the Supreme Rasprava (judiciary committee) and provincial prosecutor be in attendance [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 934, part 4, file 43, 144 reverse].

The project itself claimed the management of Islamic spiritual affairs exclusively within the framework of the Ufa and Simbirsk namestnichestvos and in terms of justification it supported the history of the regulation of state-islamic relations in the territory. The policy of religious tolerance was implemented here immediately after the annexation of Bashkiria by Russia. According to legend, after the conquest of Kazan in 1552, the tsar's ambassadors brought charters to the Bashkirs, proclaiming: '...let no one flee, and let everyone stay true to their own faith and follow their own customs'. A Bashkir shajare also mentions the Tsar's decree '...which contained special provisions for our land and religion...they promised and swore to never force the Bashkirs, who professed Islam, to convert'. The territory's four monasteries, active at that time, were accumulating land and did not make any attempts at an active missionary policy. The Senate's decree 'The Commission on Non-Christians for the Investigation of Spiritual Issues' of November 12, 1751 about the institution in Orenburg was confirmation of the policy of religious tolerance in

the territory. The commission was responsible for considering and preventing cases of forced conversion to Orthodoxy. Even the smallest missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the territory met with Bashkir resistance. At the end of 1788 and the beginning of 1789 the Bashkirs of Troitsk and Chelyabinsk regions rebelled in response to the actions of the missionaries-preachers, sent by the Tobolsk Eparchy. In order to prevent another Bashkir rebellion, the government resolved on February 7, 1789 to suspend for a time missionary activities and to recall missionaries from all the eparchies [Azamatov, 1999, p. 20]. Only isolated incidents of religious oppression were reported in Bashkiria, no mass persecutions of Muslims were observed. Here there were no limitations on the construction of mosques, their closure or destruction. 'The building of houses of prayer has been unimpeded since our Bashkir people submitted to the glorious Russian orb and sceptre,' wrote delegates from Ufa Province to the Ulozhennaya Komissiya in 1767 [Kulbakhtin, 2005, p. 92]. The region had educational institutions, preparing hundreds of imams. Kargalinskaya sloboda (Seitov posad or township), founded in the 1740s, became a centre for training religious personnel. 18th century At the time of the Spiritual Assembly's founding there were 4 mosques and a madrasah functioning. It was in Kargaly where the examinations for the position of akhunds took place. For instance, Abdulla Muslyumov, elected by the elders and mullahs of Iset province to the position of akhund, took his exam there in 1771 and only afterward received the governor's decree.

It should be noted that the Bashkirs, due to the small numbers of their own religious personnel, readily accepted Tatar mullahs into their communities. For example, in 1722 the Bashkirs of Kazan doroga appealed to the Governing Senate for permission to keep 3 runaway mullahs and 2 abyzes '...for the lawful administration and maintenance of their mosques, as well as for the instruction of children' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1936, p. 296].

The local authorities initiated regulations that could be interpreted both as supporting the Muslim community and interfering with Islamic issues. For example, on June 4, 1772 the Ufa Provincial Chancellery issued a decree to the elders of Ufa uyezd as well as to the Siberian and Nogai roads whereby the imams were to order adults and children to attend mosques. The elders and elite were obliged to inform the chancellery of the quantity and condition of mosques, and if they were old to build new ones. Besides this, they were to report any immoral deeds in their parish immediately and in cases of disrespect to the canons of Sharia by the inhabitants, take decisions regarding punishment. Officials were to show respect for imams and muezzins in order for them to perform the 5 daily prayers. All these governmental measures were aimed at ensuring Muslim prayer for the welfare of the head of the Russian state, Empress Catherine II. The unfulfillment was cruelly punished: the first time—whipping; the second—caning, after that with a knout or leather lashes [Maglyumat, 1909, pp. 706–707].

The majority of cases in Bashkiria were heard in sharia and arbitration courts. It was not uncommon that during the pronouncement of a judge's decision, mainly akhunds and mullahs, referred not only to the rules of Sharia, but to common law as well. For instance, those found guilty of repeated theft would be tied to a horse's tail and the horse was let out at a full gallop. In this way, local judiciary systems took into account the national and religious particulars of the inhabitants of Russia's fringes. While taking efficient measures to monopolise the right of prosecution for grave offenses, the tsarist government still provided the non-Russian peoples with alternative procedures to try family and marital, proprietary and minor criminal cases by elected judges [Voropanov, 2008, p. 62]. In the orders of the Bashkirs and Tarkhans from Ufa province to the delegates of the Ulozhennaya Komissiya on March 23, 1767 and signed by elder Alibay Murzagulov, it suggested the exclusive right of elders to hold arbitration court according to the rules of Sharia, and if the elders 'could not decide a

case, then to send it to the akhunds'. The authors emphasised the fact that the authorities should not interfere with the hearing of such cases [Vasilyev, 2000, p. 177].

At the same time, the authorities reported the deterioration of the religious situation in the territory [Azamatov, 1999, p. 21]. This was seen in the fact that part of the imams took part in the Peasant War of 1773–1775 on the side of Pugachev. The mullahs of Kazan darugha, Suleyman and Salim Mustafin signed a letter to Pugachev about the delivery of cannons for his Ufa campaign; while the mullahs of Siberian road, Aladin Bektuganov and Yakup Tlyaumbetov, Adil Bigashev commanded armed formations of rebels [Gvozdikova, 2000, pp. 61–62]. Some religious figures came on to the administration's radar through actions which the local authorities found inconsistent with the objectives of public safety. For instance, in 1785 the mullahs Gabdrakhim (possibly the well-known religious educator Gabdrakhim Utyz-Imyani [Kemper, 2008, p. 45]) and Yagafar, who were popular among the Bashkir population, were prosecuted for propaganda in Akhunovo, Troitsk uyezd, for Sufi teachings and for a call to rebellion against the 'disbelievers'. The mullahs were released following a short imprisonment. They tried to drop off the authorities' radar screen and left their places of residence; Gabdrakhim even took his family to Kabul [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, c. 7, l. 2, f. 2753, s. 5 reverse, 1314].

In his report to the Russian empress O. Igelström emphasised the fact that the enactments issued during the reign of Tsarina Anna Ioannovna to establish control over the territory's Islamic clergy had become obsolete and inefficient. He meant the decree of February 11, 1736, which was adopted at the suggestion of head of Orenburg expedition, I. Kirilov and directed against the representatives of the higher clergy—the akhunds. The territory's ruler doubted the loyalty of all 10 akhunds, descendants of the Kazan Tatars, to the Russian crown and claimed their activities were in no way tracked. The number of akhunds was reduced from 10 to 4, that is to one akhund per administrative unit—daruga. The Voivode chancellery approved akhunds and issued permits to

build mosques and schools. However, multiple changes to the administrative structure and lack of control over the activities of the Islamic clergy led to the quantity of akhunds, mullahs, and azanchis becoming 'limitless'. O. Igelström attributed the growth of the Islamic clergy in the territory to material reasons. In his opinion, many claimed spiritual titles 'to enjoy more freedom of migration on the pretext of promulgating their faith, an under which pretext they can also go abroad'. The wandering mullahs or 'vagabonds', as the Governor General usually called them in his papers, posed a potential danger to the state being financially and spiritually independent of it and free to form their community's public opinion. O. Igelström established a small annual allowance of 680 rubles in silver for the institution. 'The small expenses, the Governor General wrote to Catherine II, would ensure the benefit of increased loyalty of all the peoples adherent to the Mohammedan law as they would know that Your Majesty's empire respects their faith' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 934].

During the course of correspondence between the Governor General and Empress Catherine II, the idea of a regional authority grew into a project of centralising the administration for the spiritual affairs of all Muslims in the country. The territorial competence of the Ufa Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly included all the governorates except for the Taurida oblast. Mukhammedzhan Khusainov (1756–1824) had the honour of becoming the first mufti—the leader of Russian Muslims. He belonged to a venerable line among Muslims, his grandfather Mansur khazret was the first inhabitant of the Volga Region to travel to Bukhara and he was the author of the book 'Tarakayibiya Mansuriya, written in Persian [Yakupov, 2005, p. 13]. A special decree about assigning him to the position was issued on September 22, 1788. Long before this event he had come into view of the Russian authorities. In the 70s of the 18th century, M. Khusainov was in Bukhara and Kabul, where besides training in a madrasah, he gathered information for the Collegium of Foreign Affairs. After returning from abroad he served

as an officer in Orenburg. He followed in the wake of O. Igelström's policy that relied upon peaceful colonisation, which contrasted with the military expansion to the Kazakh Zhuzes by the sultan-orientated supporters. The Governor General used people who knew how to complete the tasks set forth by diplomatic means for the implementation of his long-term plans. The choice of the Governor General fell on Mendiya Bekchurin and Mukhamedzhan Khusainov. The former already had experience communicating with prominent people in the Junior Zhuz, where he had gone to for negotiations in 1778. M. Khusainov, quickly evaluating the new trends in the policy toward the Kazakhs, became O. Igelström's faithful assistant. In 1785 he was appointed akhund during the Orenburg Frontier Expedition with a salary of 300 silver rubles. M. Khusainov, in June of the same year, completed his first visit to the Kazakh steppe and achieved good results. In spite of the initial aversion, the akhund managed to establish contacts with the elders, deliver the letter of the Ufa namestnik, and to discuss the delegation's visit to Orenburg, which took place in July 1785. M. Khusainov's visits to the Junior Zhuz in September of that year and in 1786 brought him renown as a skillful diplomat, who thanks to his personal qualities, was able to enhance Russian influence in the steppe. The akhund's merits were appreciated by the administration. On November 12, 1786 Catherine II sent a rescript to O. Igelström, in which it was said, 'to increase akhund Mukhamet Jan Huseyn's annual salary by 200 rubles and grant him the title of first akhund of the territory' for the successful establishment of the Frontier Court [Materialy' Kazaxskoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1940, p. 65].

The opening of the Spiritual Assembly happened a year after Catherine II issued her decree—on December 4, 1789. It took time to find a suitable building, develop the apparatus, and appoint members to the assembly from among the Islamic clergy of the Kazan guberniya in accordance with the decree. In the latter half of the 19th century various governmental structures working on the programme of reforming the Spiritual Assembly tried to justi-

fy the tightly restricted choice of its members from one governorate. Discussing the issue in 1880, the Spiritual Department for Foreign Religions under the Ministry of Internal Affairs inferred that the decree used the term 'Kazan Tatars' to denote Tatars from the entire territory of Russia except for the Crimea, which had a special Islamic administration. Consequently, it was suggested that the elections of assembly members not only be held in Kazan guberniya, but in other regions as well [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 821, inv. 8, file 607, pp. 39–40]. The Kazan guberniya administration attributed the governorates's privileged positions in forming the higher posts of the religious establishment to the administrative unit's large territory at the end of the 18th century [Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan, fund 295, inv. 4, file 12065, p. 3]. Mufti Salimgarey Tevkelev explained it as follows: '...the Mohammedan clergy of Kazan guberniya at the beginning of the 19th century was comparatively better trained and learned than that of other governorates' [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 821, inv. 8, file 611, p. 83 reverse]. But, based on the authorities approach to the creation of the institution, we can assume that in determining the choice of members from the Kazan guberniya, the government was primarily based upon the loyalty of the local Islamic clergy to the authorities. The mullahs living in Ufa and Orenburg guberniyas did not command such confidence, which is reflected in the documents of the period.

The first members of the Spiritual Assembly Fakhretdin Abdrashitov, Seyfulla Murtazin, and Feyzulla Adilev were elected by the Islamic clergy of the Kazan guberniya and arrived in Ufa in December 1789. The law did not specify any term for their position, so the members appealed to the Governing Senate in May 1793 for permission to resign in view of the considerable financial losses. The Governing Senate defined the Spiritual Assembly as a middle governmental institution, which meant the term in office was 3 years, therefore there was no obstacle to the dismissal of the members [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 23, No. 17146, p. 453].

The Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly was opened in the city of Ufa, which had no mosque and at the end of the 18th century was home to only a few dozen Muslim inhabitants, became the centre of Russian Muslims for many years. In determining the location of the Spiritual Assembly, it was taken into account that Ufa was a provincial city with all the organs of governmental administration and that it was located in the center of a large territory with an Islamic population. Besides, the local authorities took the initiative in establishing a spiritual institution. It was another governmental body within their governorate. The religious institution was named the Ufa Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly until it was relocated to Orenburg along with other governmental bodies when Ufa namestnichestvo became Orenburg guberniya in 1797.

It was renamed the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. In late 1802—early 1803, The Spiritual Assembly was relocated back to Ufa [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 990, p. 1; Ocherki BASSR, 1956, p. 255; State Archive of Orenburg oblast, fund 6, inv. 2, file 942, pp. 14 reverse–15]. The institution initially occupied a small three-windowed wooden outhouse near the mufti's home [Shirgazin, Kalimullina, 2005, p. 13].

A. Igelström held a number meetings with the Islamic population to clarify the purposes of the new religious governmental body. However, the local Muslims had their own opinion on the Spiritual Assembly's mission. For instance, Bashkir starshinas advocated freedom of migration for Islamic clergymen. Representatives of the Bashkirs and Mishar Tatars of Verkhneuralsk uyezd declared at a meeting with the Governor General in February 1789 that 'Christian clergymen travel from village to village to ensure proper divine worship at churches; their clergymen should also be allowed to travel from village to village to present the proper interpretation of the law to the population' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 7, inv. 2, file 2753, pp. 5 reverse, 14–15]. The deputation mentioned the lack for clergymen to justify their request for freedom of migration. The Governor General, who held that mullahs' travel was largely harmful to the

'public good', diplomatically rejected the delegates' suggestion. The Mullahs subsequently had to appeal to the governorate authorities for permission to travel both within the country and abroad (Hajj). Moreover, even a short-term absence brought about removal from office.

At the opening ceremony of the Spiritual Assembly in December 4, 1789, mufti Mukhammedzhan Khusainov delivered a speech-charged with philosophical maxims and praise of the Russian monarch. In particular, he said: 'The son of Russia is delighted to be Catherine's subject...But who is that lucky man? Is it only the one guided by the evangelical spirit? To think so would be wrong. The wise mother disregards religious differences and only judges by the devotion of the heart'. He further mentioned such merits of the Empress to the Muslim community as 'showing tolerance to our faith, granting us freedom to profess it, printing the holy Alquran, building mosques and Mohammedan schools'. He encouraged his brothers in faith to stay true to Catherine II as '...ardent defenders of common welfare and peace at all times' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 2, file 934, pp. 81–82]. Mufti M. Khusainov at first viewed the Spiritual Assembly as a diplomatic body to pursue Russia's interests in Kazakhstan and Middle Asia and take counter-measures to isolate the Islamic ummah from the emissaries of the neighbouring states [Zagidullin, 2007, pp. 74, 75]. In his letter of gratitude to the Empress dated November 12, 1789 he called himself 'Kirghiz-Kaisak mufti'. Following the establishment of the religious institution, the mufti took active measures to expand his spiritual power in the south. He sent letters of instruction to Horde at the insistence of the Ufa administration in January 1789, acting as the 'spiritual teacher of the Kirghiz-Kaisak people'. In particular, M. Khusainov emphasised the following fact: 'mullahs from among you and the people could not interpret the Alquran without my permission'. The mufti criticised Russia's enemies relentlessly for using the idea of Islamic unity to initiate military conflicts in the country. 'Even though we are united by our faith,' he wrote, 'there is a great difference

between the Muslim subjects of the Turkish sultan and those of our most august monarch, since every monarch has a unique way of ruling, and what is suitable for the other may not be acceptable'.

He believed that some mullahs were leading the peoples to death by encouraging Russian Muslims to support the Ottoman Porte. He appealed to Muslims to keep calm and obedient to the Russian Empire as the only country that could ensure a growing wealth for all adherents of Sharia [Azamatov, 1999, p. 23]. In the winter of 1789, M. Khusainov went to Uralsk for two months to meet with Kazakh starshinas and clergymen and instruct them to keep calm.

The mufti had to neutralise the possible influence of Sufi philosopher from Chechnya, sheikh Mansur, on the Junior Zhuz rulers. The latter referred to Sharia in his letters sent at the end of 1789 to directly encourage Kirghiz-Kaisak Kazakh starshinas to raise their arms against Russia, in particular, to besiege Astrakhan. M. Khusainov paid another visit to the Steppe in the spring of 1790 to meet with Kazakh family leaders and persuade them that sheikh Mansur's activity was illegal. The government regarded the mufti's trip as successful, since one of the most reputable leaders Srym Datov declared it impossible for them to join the sheikh's movement [Ryazhev, 2013, pp. 323–326].

The government ensured financial wealth for the first mufti. He was awarded an annual salary of 1,500 rubles in silver and entitled to acquire Bashkir land. In fact, Orthodox clergymen had no right to own real estate under the law of that time. Governorate Prosecuting Attorney N. Timashev referred to that restriction in establishing that 'there is no law entitling him (the mufti as the supreme Muslim hierarchy) to buy land from the Bashkirs'. The Governing Senate's response was as follows: '...the Orthodoxy which is dominant in Russia has nothing to do with tolerance for the Mohammedan law. The Orthodox law does not thus apply to the latter clergy.' The mufti himself applied to Prosecutor General A. Samoylov in 1792 for permission to buy serfs 'for industry and zeal to remain at Her Majesty's service for foreign affairs and for bringing the Kir-

ghiz-Kaisak people to submission to the invincible sceptre of Russia.' Catherine II eliminated any remaining legal differences by entitling the mufti to '...legally buy vacant land from Bashkirs and inhabit such land with non-Christians bought abroad, entitling him and his descendants to sell those' under a decree of January 26, 1793 [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–I, vol. 23, No. 16897, p. 164; No. 17099, p. 399; *Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczjalisticheskoy Respubliki*, 1960, No. 440, p. 560].

Recognising that the situation had changed, led O. Igelström and his successor A. Peutling to scale back the first mufti's ambitions. In 1790, Governor General O. Igelström applied for support of the Empress's secretary prince A. Bezborodko to reject the claims of M. Khusainov, maintaining that '...there are many reasons why the mufti has to be subordinated to the local namestnichestvo administration'. The Governor General suggested the title of 'High Dignity' for the mufti [Azamatov, 1999, p. 42]. O. Igelström's successor, namestnik A. Peutling, also asked A. Bezborodko to protect the governorate authorities from M. Khusainov's aggressive claims in a report dated February 14, 1790. Having received the required support, the administration regarded it as an opportunity to limit the mufti's power and specified that 'his responsibility only includes issues related to the clergy; he must not address any lay issues even if the authorities instruct him to' [Azamatov, 1999, pp. 41–42].

The governmental religious institution needed a legal framework for its activities. On December 6, 1789, O. Igelström submitted a draft instruction on the management of the Spiritual Assembly to the Empress's Chancellery [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 934, part 5, pp. 71–72].

The project specified that the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly would be subordinated to the Ufa namestnichestvo Administration and should be regarded as equal to medium judiciary institutions. This provision appears consistent with the policy of unifying the state administration implemented in the latter half of the 18th century. O. Igelström established a clear clerical title awarding procedure for

azancheys, mullah, and akhund. It was complex and consisted of several stages. First of all, the rural community had to elect the mullah. The zemsky ispravnik (local administration clerk) or canton administrator was to report the decision to the namestnichestvo (governorate) administration. The latter was to verify the elections and send the candidates for examination to the Spiritual Assembly. Two members of the Superior Rasprava (Judiciary Committee) had to attend the examinations, which in the event of any non-compliance could annul the religious institution's resolution. The provision only remained in effect during the last decade of the 18th century. On passing the examination, the candidate would obtain a decree issued by the namestnichestvo (governorate) administration [Materials on the History of the Bashkir ASSR, 1960, pp. 563–564].

Hearing cases pertaining to the Islamic family, marital, and property right was an essential activity of the Spiritual Assembly. The religious institution acted as the highest spiritual court. In its law enforcement practice it was guided by a synthesis of Sharia regulation and Russia's general law. Superior bodies exercised close supervision over the rule-making of muftis and members of the Assembly. The authorities forced the Spiritual Assembly to adopt resolutions prohibiting clergymen from applying Sharia provisions that were clearly in contradiction with the Russian law. The restrictions mostly applied to the system of punishment for violation of Islamic moral rules.

O. Igelström believed quick adjustment of the Islamic custom to that of Europe to be the right solution to any abusive practice in cases of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Nevertheless, most of Sharia provisions still applied. For instance, the suggestion to render obligatory three announcements of any forthcoming wedding ceremony in a mosque and sending documents on all divorces, specifying the reasons, to the Spiritual Assembly was never implemented. The religious institution was physically unable to control all marriages and divorces. It only considered resolutions taken by parish clergymen on applications.

The Spiritual Assembly had a function of control over the construction and maintenance

of mosques. It adopted the practice of applying to civil authorities for permission to build mosques, introduced back in 1735. The Spiritual Assembly was not involved in the procedure. 'Everyone who wants to build a mosque shall apply to the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly for permission; the latter shall consider the request and its justification and report the case to the *namestnichestvo* administration' [Materialy' po istorii Bashkirskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Soczialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1960, p. 565]. Muslims could have one mosque per 100 households, the same ratio as for Orthodox churches. The Governor General did not specify the number of clergymen per religious institution, though the draft project provided for a maximum of 2 people.

The third section of the project which dealt with the Spiritual Assembly's competence, established punishments for specific crimes against religion (omission of prayer, adultery, alcohol consumption, etc.) The Quran provided for corporal punishment for such violations of Sharia. O. Igelström wrote: '...neither an individual clergyman or the Spiritual Assembly shall dare sentence or subject anyone to corporal punishment' [Ibid., p. 566]. He suggested public censure, additional attendance of mosque, and even detention there as a substitute for such punishments.

The Spiritual Assembly was responsible for the examination of applicants for religious and teaching positions. Schools had to be subordinated to mosques; it was forbidden to assign schools to houses or other institutions. The Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly was initially suggested as the body responsible for all schools '...to exercise supervision over the instruction that they offer' [Ibid., p. 567]. Even though the institution had no significant powers and opportunities to control the system of *madrasahs* and *maktabs* or develop curricula, it appeared committed to the elimination of the scholasticism and superficiality of Islamic education and introduction of secular subjects and the Russian language to the curricula.

The school establishment procedure was similar to that for mosques. All school teachers (*mudarrises*) who were approved following

examination at the Spiritual Assembly had to submit student name lists to the Governor General on an annual basis. However, the provision was never implemented.

As soon as the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly was established, it began to function as a body for appellate proceedings by hearing cases of abuse and improper conduct by Islamic clergymen. Inferior and Superior *Raspravas* as well as other state administrative bodies had been swamped with complaints by Muslims for decades. The institutions had been unable to settle the disputes as their officials were unaware of the Islamic legal regulations and custom. The government ordered that 'anybody...who is not satisfied with a decision made by a mullah or an *akhund* shall report his dissatisfaction to the Spiritual Assembly and apply to the latter for investigation'. The religious institution was at the same time a supervisory body for mullahs and *akhunds* [Ibid., p. 563]. The population often took advantage of it to remove clergymen with histories of unseemly behavior with the help of the Spiritual Assembly.

During the first years of its existence the Spiritual Assembly was occupied with reassessing *akhunds*, mullahs (*imams*), and *muazzins* (*azanchies*). The government wanted to reduce the number of clergymen materially by removing anyone unsuitable by means of examination. Quite naturally, some clergymen found the conferment of religious titles by the government (and a Christian one) inconsistent with the key principles of Islam. For instance, famous Muslim illuminator *Gabdrakhim Utyz-Imyani* (1754–1834), having returned home from Middle Asia in 1798, refused to accept the appointment procedure set out in the decree on the establishment of the Spiritual Assembly. In his poems '*Gauarif-az-zaman*' ('The Gift of the Epoch'), '*Muzhal-mat-az-zaman*' ('The Key Problems of the Epoch') and other literary works he criticised 'official mullahs' and subsequently maintained that the secular authorities must not interfere with religious affairs and that mullahs appointed by governmental orders following examination by the Spiritual Assembly were not only ille-

gal but enemies of the people and Islam. Yet, most of mullahs did not mind the innovations and wanted to pass the examination in Ufa to take their office.

In 1790 the confusion concerning the establishment of the institution and its status enabled the Spiritual Assembly to award titles independently of the *namestnichestvo* government. The legal procedure was introduced in 1793 through the efforts of a prosecuting attorney from Ufa. 789 people took the examination at the institution over the period of a year. 8 of the candidates were appointed *akhunds* and 7 *mukhtasibs*, while the rest became mullahs and *muezzins*. It took the Assembly several years to examine all the candidates, since many of them had to travel hundreds and thousands of kilometers until they finally arrived in Ufa after several days or months on the road.

The Address to Imams of November 8, 1790 was one of the first documents issued by the Spiritual Assembly. It emphasised that divine service in honour of Catherine II was as obligatory as worship of Allah. Failure to pray for the empress's health and the national well-being was to be regarded as equal to violation of Sharia. Anti-alcoholic measures were another keynote. The document reported that part of Muslims suffered from the addiction, especially in towns and markets. The Islamic clergy was instructed to embark on a preventative community policy.

It is another matter whether the goals set for the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly upon establishment were implemented. The answer is ambiguous. It is safe to say with certain reservations that governmental agencies were able to establish control over the Islamic clergy and improve the adminis-

tration of areas with dense Muslim population. Nevertheless, the official (appointed) mullahs were able to establish themselves in the Islamic community. Their importance continued to grow due to their exclusive right to perform religious rituals, wedding and divorce activities, deliver public education and provide educational services (teaching at *madrasahs*). Other clerical positions, for example *abyzes* gradually ceased to have any influence on the population. The Islamic clergy generally became the government's stronghold on power, especially since it performed a number of administrative functions (keeping parish registers, *de facto* notarial responsibilities, involvement in military conscriptions, etc.). On the other hand, some representatives of the large Islamic clergy had a special opinion on a number of social and political issues. It is beyond doubt that the threat of large-scale rebellion, led by mullahs (*Batyrsha Galiyev*, *mullah Murad*), which often involved military actions, subsided significantly. However, in the 19th century mullahs continued not only to take part in anti-government movements but also to lead them.

The government failed to use the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly to restrict the number of mosques and Islamic clergymen. The number of mosques in the Orenburg Governorate alone doubled and that of imams and *muezzins* increased by a factor of 2.5 over the 19th century. The *mufti* and *qadis* were always under suspicion of promoting the interests of the Islamic clergy.

All these factors made the government consider closing down or transforming the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly several times, but for various reason the issue was always postponed.

§2. The Development of Theological Thought in the Volga-Ural Region in the Latter Half of the 18th—the Beginning of the 19th Centuries

Gulnara Idiatullina

The establishment of trade relations with Middle Asia in the latter half of the 18th century led to an increase in the number of people willing to gain knowledge in 'the sacred Bukhara'.

Along with training in the Bukhara *madrasahs*, many *shakirds* sought to acquire knowledge of the secrets of Sufism and became pupils of local sheikhs. Having returned from their trav-

els into the depths of Asia, the followers of the tariqa actively disseminated its ideas in their homeland. Most of those who followed the path of tasawwuf on the cusp of the 18–19th centuries received initiation from the sheikhs naqshbandiyya-mudzhaddidiyya Faiz Khan Kabuli (died in 1802) and Nijaz-Kuli Turkmani (died in 1820/21). It was the pupils of these sheikhs who left the most noticeable mark in the history of regional theological thought.

It is known that before settling in Bukhara, the sheikh Nijaz-Kuli Turkmani studied in Khwarezm for some time and he acted as a murshid there. Turkmani became known as an advocate of pure Islam, free from heresy and paganism, the diligent adherent of strict observance of Sharia. Observing the embezzlement of the treasury and the arbitrariness of the officials at court of the Bukhara emir, he wrote with bitterness about the degradation of morals and non-observance of Sharia by his contemporaries. The large number of his followers is evidence of understanding and support which he found among his audience. The phrase uttered by emir Khaidar after the death of the sheikh provides an eloquent testimony of the extent of his influence and charisma: 'In Bukhara there were two emirs. Now there is only one'. Communication with the sheikh, undoubtedly, left a deep mark in the souls of his followers. The popularity and deep respect which the sheikh Nijaz-Kuli commanded were expressed in the lines of his pupil and a poet Abu-l-Manix Kargali (died after 1833): 'Name Niyazkolıy, morşıde zaman, Torekmeni diyu megrufe jihan' ('His name is Nijaz-Kuli, the mentor of the era, Turkmani—is known to all the Universe').

The sheikh Turkmani was the mentor of, at least, fourteen people, natives of the Volga-Ural Region—many of them later became the teachers of madrasah [Ramzi Mohammad Murad, 1908, p. 425]. Another famous sheikh Faiz Khan Kabuli, according to sources, trained fifteen people who arrived from the far North, among his followers were ishan Valid Kargali, Gabderaxim Utyz-Imyani [Ibid., pp. 434–435].

Thus, the influence zone of mujaddidiya reached the Volga and the Cis-Ural region. The

strict preaching of tariqa, full of ideas to return to the pure sources of Islam, to reject vicious innovations and to strictly observe Sharia, found many supporters here. The realities of the surrounding world provided a fertile soil for the growth of discontent and critical moods. Apart from the xenophobic attitudes to 'the false Sufis', another confrontation was emerging in the community—the opposition between some part of the ulama and the Spiritual Assembly. Through this institution the government expected not only to look good and attract supporters among the Muslims, but also, by skillful manipulation of its appointees, to gain complete control over the situation among 'non-Christians'. Therefore, it also reserved the prerogative of appointing the mufti, and by doing so it violated the principle of mufti election by the community. Greed and corruption by the first mufti Mukhammedzhan ibn Husain (1758–1824) led to nothing but discontent and condemnation on the part of the ordinary mullahs. As a result, the formation of the Spiritual Assembly led to the differentiation of local clergy, its division into 'decree' and 'non-decree' mullahs, claiming the traditional right of imam appointment by the community.

The negative attitude to the mufti is openly expressed in a qasida by the ishan Valid Kargali (died in 1802 or 1803). A follower of sheikh Faiz Khan Kabuli, he spent much time near his mentor and repeatedly visited Kabul later. The fact that, according to Kabuli's will, Valid Kargali was entrusted with washing and burying him, illustrates the degree of his authority and closeness to the sheikh [Märcani, 1989, 245 b]. The qasida of ishan is akin to a poetic accusation, where the deeds and the way of life of the mufti Mukhammadzhan b. Husain against him. The habitual reminders of the transience of being and the illusory nature of wealth are concluded with an appeal to return to the true path. He tries to convince the mufti to spend his riches on good purposes—on construction of mosques, education, helping people in need.

Ommät irsen, sonnäte tot, kïyl bidgät-tän ictinab,

*Ber täkuäga tägauen äiläyub kīyl ixtisab,
häm şrigat, häm tarikät, häm xakikät ik-
tisab,
oyläyub sidkī dilendän, ähle xakka intisab.*

*If you are a man of community—adhere to
Sunnah, avoid the bid'a
Join the holy together with others
And acquiring [the degrees] of Sharia,
tariqa, hakikhat,
With a pure heart you will belong to people
of truth.*

The way in which Valid ishan interprets the concept of righteousness is notable. Along with the idea, typical of Sufism, of the 'people of truth', who had passed through the corresponding stages of the 'path', there is also an appeal to follow Sunnah and to refuse from the vicious bid'a, in the manner of the mudzhaddi-diya tradition.

The bitter irony of his younger contemporary—Tadzhaddin Yalchigul (1768–1838), expressed in the words—'Sanma, yimäs sufi sugannī, kabagın dāxi kuymas bulsa annī' ('Don't think that the Sufi doesn't eat onion, if he finds it—he won't leave the peel')—was also directed against the deceitful ishans, under the guise of ascetics trading in the Sufi values, distorting the essence of the doctrine. In 'Risala-i Gaziza' (commentary to 'Sabat al-adzhiz-in' by Sufi Allahyar) Tadzhaddin Yalchigul sharply criticizes a certain group, calling itself 'people of ecstasy' (ahl al-dzhazb), who refer themselves to the tariqa, but actually are 'Allah's enemies, they are from the devil'. The representatives of this sect, according to him, had once been scattered about Kashgar, Balkh and Bukhara, but then disappeared from these places, although they were still present in the lands of Bulgar, especially near the river Syun.

In Yalchigul's works much attention is paid to issues of 'orthodoxy', connected with the definition of 'a direct path' (sirat al-mustakim). He writes that the Prophet's companions possessed a pure belief, and they all were demonstrating the true path. He urges those who have taken a tasawwuf path to choose the tariqa of moderation—tariqat-i i'tidal, which is also the way of Sunnah. 'Fifteen groups call them-

selves people of tasawwuf, fourteen of them are false. Only one of them enters savad a'zam (the righteous majority), it is called tasawwuf-I sunnah',—he says. Together with the requirement of being moderate and avoiding religious extremes, Yalchigul considers the knowledge and observance of norms of fiqh as a necessary condition.

*Xäzar it, kitmäden rah zälälä.
Soluk äylä tarik igtidalä.
Keşe ber yul ilä ulmaz xodai,
Mägär idär soalä iktidai,
Väli ulan ulır fıkıh ilä mäusuf
Idä häm nähi monkyar, ämre megruf.*

*Be careful, don't take the false road
Adhere to the way of moderation
There is no other way to God than
Following Him (the asked one)
Only he has the understanding (of fiqh) is
pleasing to [God],
The one who forbids the blamed and rules
the approved.*

Obviously, the divergence of views of local academics concerning educational issues increased and often took various forms. The echo of these disputes is clearly shown in 'The Will' (Vasyatname) of Yakhya ibn Safargali al-Bulgari (1758–1838). He disapproves of the state of teaching, the disregard for the true sciences of Sharia, bragging and idle talk among his contemporaries, who are engaged only in gluttony.

*Modärrislär gajäib tädris idärlär
Şärigat gıylemene tälbis idärlär.
Cähalätlärne vä gıyrfan sanarlar,
däxi şiklärne ikan sanarlar.*

*Teachers teach in strange ways,
Distorting the science of Sharia...
Ignorance is taken for knowledge,
What is doubtful is considered trustworthy.*

He claimed that only those who strictly observed all orders of Sharia could be considered the orthodox (the people of Sunnah).

Apparently, in the latter half of the 18th century the practice of scholastic discussions from

Middle Asia becomes wide-spread. As Marjani wrote, the dispute on such issues of kalam as divine attributes, the possible and the necessary (life) was started by Ishniyaz ibn Shirnizy al-Horezmi (died in 1205/1790) with the book 'Akaid al-bulgariya', he was also an initiator of the campaign for the abolition of the night prayer [Märcani, 1989, 243 b.].

The topics of many poetic works of that period leant on the traditional material contained in the available theological and legal literature. Quite often they discuss the topical issues of fiqh and kalam. Thus, the thesis on the number of divine attributes (the most controversial point in the old polemic with the Asharites) was expressed in poetic form by Gabdelmanan Muslimi (1724–apprx. 1784) in the manner of Maturid dogmatics

*Ireşmiyâ gakıl kupter sıyfati
Sikezder berkelgän anñ sıyfati*

*His attributes are so numerous that reason
will not capture them,
Eight of His attributes are established.*

Further the author enumerates and explains in detail each of these divine attributes—knowledge, power, will, etc.

We come across the poetic presentation of the legal views concerning the acceptability of Hadith of category habar al-vakhid (having one author in the basis) in Kul-Muhammad's work (18th century)

*Ägär sabit ulırsa ber närsä
Xäbär vaxid ilä ul eş belensä,
Imamnardan aña icmag yuk irsä
Ana inkyar kılırsa ber kem irsä,
Kyäfer dägel—moselman bişik ul käs,
Xäbär vaxid monkir kyäfer ulmas.*

*If something is firmly proved,
It is confirmed by the legend of one [author]
But there is no consensus among the imams
in this respect,
And somebody tries to deny it,
He is not a kafir and there is no doubt that
he is a Muslim*

*The one who denies habar al-vakhid cannot
become a kafir.*

It is obvious that at the turn of the centuries such a keen interest in various categories of sources, their examination through the prism of belief–disbelief, amongst the local ulamas, were not only an echo of their theological and legal studies, but to some extent, a reflection of the ongoing discussion. It is possible to assume that a certain tendency was emerging in these circles—it was the attempts of reconsideration and withdrawal from the previous paradigm of law-making, the search for new argumentation, which led to the natural strengthening of interest in Sunnah and the heritage of early Islam.

One of the brightest representatives of the theological thought of the latter half of the 18–the beginning of the 19th centuries was Gabderakhim Utyz-Imyani (1754–1834).

Gabderakhim b. Usman Utyz-Imyani al-Bulgari was born in the settlement of Utyz Imyan (modern Cheremshansky district of the Republic of Tatarstan). The father had died before his birth and at an early age the boy lost his mother too and was cared for by his relatives. His extraordinary gifts were noticed by the contemporaries already while he was studying with the local mullah. Later Gabderakhim was trained in Kargala's madrasah with the famous sheikh nakshbandiy-mujaddidiy Valid ishan. Perhaps, as early as that time, with the sheikh's participation, his critical attitude to a certain part of local clergy was shaped. In 1788 (possibly being under threat of prosecution by the Russian authorities for his anti-governmental religious propaganda), the young theologian with his family went to Middle Asia. First he settled in Bukhara where he studied and for some time he fulfilled the duties of an imam of the Magok-i-Attar mosque. In the recollections of his contemporaries he also remained as the restorer of the well-known manuscript of the Quran, which according to the legend belonged to the righteous caliph Usman.

After Bukhara, apparently, without staying anywhere for a long time, he wandered about many cities—Samarkand, Balkh, Herat, Kabul, etc. In Kabul Gabderakhim met the mentor of

his teacher Valid ishan, the sheikh Faiz Khan Kabuli and became his follower. In 1798, after his wife's death the theologian with his children returned home. Not being officially appointed by the mufti to the position of an imam, he moved from one village to another, teaching in local madrasahs and preaching. Having been to several places, Utyz-Imyani finally settled in the homeland of his father in the village of Timyash (modern Timyashevo of the Leninsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) where he lived until his death.

During his lifetime, Utyz-Imyani's sharp criticism of a certain part of ishans and ulama earned him the reputation of a famous 'opponent' [Kemper, 1997, p. 79]. Marjani's reports showed that such an attitude resulted partly from his rather eccentric behavior and judgements during his stay in Middle Asia. So, for example, with the words 'Imams are stupid, they can't even read properly' he refused to go to prayer or answer the questions of the emir Shah Murad. He said that he 'didn't hear the adhan because he had taken the voices of muezzins for the cry of donkeys'. Referring to the fact that the necessary condition for Friday and feast prayers is a Misr (a Muslim city), and the country of the Bulgars is a dar al-harb (the territory of war), he declared such practice invalid. The frames of the mosque seemed similar to the crosses to him, and having called the mosque 'church', he stopped visiting it at all. He also considered reading books on logic and philosophy forbidden [Märcani, 1989, 290–291b.].

The written heritage of Utyz-Imyani includes works in the Arab and Persian languages on Islamic ethics, law, theology, linguistics, poetic works in the Turki. All his works are imbued with the desire to revive the pure sources of Islam and to refine them from the vicious innovations. Utyz-Imyani listed among his reasons the moral degradation of his contemporaries, on the one hand, the withdrawal from early traditions of the Islamic law and Sufism, on the other hand, the borrowing of the Russian customs.

In matters of law Utyz-Imyani supported taqlid (following the recognised authority). In his opinion, a mukallid had to accept the de-

cision of a mujtahid without any argumentation, as the words of a mujtahid already were a sufficient proof. Emphasising his commitment to Abu Hanifa, however, while considering some of his interpretations insufficiently strict, he gave priority to the interpretations of the imam's pupils—Abu Yusuf and Muhammad Shaybani or other men of law of the same madhhab. He showed such 'selective' taqlid while solving the question of night prayer in the clear summer nights of northern latitudes. 'Risala-yi shafakya'—'The treatise on the sunset' is devoted to this subject. Considering the disappearance of red glow a doubtful criterion and the nightfall—a more important one, he supported the abolishment of night prayer. He demonstrates the same approach towards the Friday and feast prayers.

Utyz-Imyani's works, devoted to Islamic ethics, such 'as-Sayf as-sarim' (Sharp sword), 'Jawahir al-bayan' (The jewellery of explanation) and 'Inkaz al-halikin min al-mutakallimin' (Rescue of the perishing from the mutakallims), represent a moral lecture, sometimes taking the form of a sermon. These treatises are marked by the influence of 'Maktubat' of Sirkhindi, 'Ikhyat ulum ad-din' of Gazali, 'at-Tarika al-Mukhammadiya' of Birgivi and they abound in quotes. Moreover, Utyz-Imyani created dictionaries of difficult concepts from the works of Sirkhindi and Gazali, and also 'Dzhami' ar-rumuz' of Kukhistani (died in 1534) and the linguistic commentary to the poems of Sufi Allahyar.

In 'Inkaz al-halikin min al-mutakallimin' the author criticises the representatives of kalam who fell under the influence of the Greek philosophy and distorted the doctrine about the faith. In 'as-Sayf as-sarim' where the influence of Birgivi is felt most of all, Utyz-Imyani advocates strict asceticism (zuhd), he urges not to be tempted by transient worldly goods and pleasures, to be careful (ihtiyat) in doubtful things, to be content only with the most necessary things. The true ascetic is the one who rejects everything, except God, who 'exchange perishable snow for eternal jewellery'. He considers the prophet 'Isa (Jesus), saying 'The world is a bridge, cross it, but don't settle there', the ideal of asceticism. Here he subjects the false sheikhs, neglecting the rules of Sharia, to sharp

criticism. He pays attention to this subject in 'Dzhawahir al-bayan' too. While emphasising that the Naqshbandiyya tariqa is the way of companions, based on the observance of Sunnah, and the avoidance of the bid'a, he, however, considers following the tariqa only desirable (nafl) and in certain cases even dangerous, since excessive submission to the sheikh can distance a murid from the fulfillment of his obligatory orders. He rebukes the sheikhs who focus on the attainment of ecstatic states and ignoring the rules of Sharia.

After his dominating sermon advocating following Sunnah, he devotes great attention in 'Dzhawahir al-bayan' to the explanation of the malevolence of bid'a. Utyz-Imyani's position in defining the bid'a was extremely rigid. He does not recognise 'good innovations', and any act or statement that does not comply with the Quran and Sunnah is a bid'a and delusion for him. He considered this the opinion of the pious companions. Therefore, it is necessary to beware of any innovations, the person, considering a bid'a pleasing to God, becomes a disbeliever. The rigorousness of his views was most clearly expressed in the attitude towards the non-Christians. Utyz-Imyani considered it impossible to accept the strange Russian customs and morals which he referred to as bid'a. It was reflected in a number of his works: 'Risala-yi-dibagat' (The treatise about the currying of skins) concludes that the use of furs favoured by non-Muslims is inadmissible, since the requirements of purity of manufacture imposed by Sharia are not fulfilled. In 'Risala-yi irshadiya' ('The didactic treatise') he gives reasons for the idea that all intoxicating drinks are forbidden. He also declares wine yeast, and respectively, dough made from it as forbidden; in 'Zamm shurb ash-shay' (The dispraise of tea drinking) tea falls into the same category.

His poetic works also refer to similar motives of accusing the ishans:

*Fena ilä bekadin geb orarlar,
Morakib suretende ultürirlar...
Soraldi xer berendin xokme islam,—
Nä belsenler bu comle caxil ve xam!*

*They argue about 'fana' and 'baka'
[disappearance, dissolution of an ego]
They sit, looking like people immersed
in ecstasy...
When they were asked about
the prescriptions of Islam
It turned out that these ignorami
knew nothing!*

(Gavarif az-zaman
[Tatars poeziyase, 1992, 178 b.]).

According to the poet, these false Sufis have no idea about a true tasawwuf, they deceive common people (havam an-nas) for profit and cause discord. The Orthodoxy in his understanding is inseparably linked with the observance of Sharia:

*Tekellyamge motabik kelse exual,
Şerigetke muafik kÿlsan egmal,
Ulirsen pak moselman, ehle sonnet,
Veillya sena dirler ehle bidget.*

*If your deeds correspond to your words,
Your acts are coordinated with Sharia,
You will become a true Muslim from
the people of Sunnah,
Otherwise, you will be called a person
who brings in bid'a.*

In Utyz-Imyani's works the ideas of his predecessors, advocating the strict observance of Sharia and rejection of vicious innovations, become even stronger.

Another outstanding contemporary of Utyz-Imyani and his opponent in some issues was Abu-n Nasr Gabdennasyr b. Ibrahim Kursavi (1776–1812). The sources differ in definition of the place and time of his birth—near 1185/1771–72 in the settlement Verkhnyaya Maksa near Kazan (modern village Verkhnyaya Masra in the Arsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan), from where his mother originated [Märcani, 1989, 253–255 b.], or 1190/1775–76 in the neighbouring settlement Kursa (modern settlement Verkhnyaya Korsa) [Ramsay Muhammad Murad, 1908, p. 416; Fäxreddin, 1903, 95 b.].

Kursavi went to the primary school of the madrasah in the settlement of Machkara (modern settlement Mascara in the Kukmor district of the Republic of Tatarstan) and was taught by Mukhammadrakhim b. Yusuf Ashyti-Machkaravi (died in 1232/1816–17). Later he went to Bukhara where he met the sheikh Nijaz-Kuli Turkmani and became his follower. In Bukhara, he was not content with the traditional curriculum of the madrasah, and Kursavi actively educated himself. The well-known book of the imam Gazali (1058–1111) *‘Ihya ‘ulum ad-din’* (Revival of sciences about faith) had a particular impact on him. Perhaps, after reading Gazali's books and his biography (where he described going through a difficult transformation of soul), he experienced an impulse to revise the traditional values and to distance himself from the traditional doctrine of kalam, to criticise the late theological and legal literature.

His active participation in debates (*munazara*) where he openly stated his views, and his early works (the commentary to *‘Sharkh al-Akaid an-Nasafi’* of the theologian Taftazani) led the majority of the Bukhara and local academics taking a negative attitude to Kursavi. After his return, with the help of rich relatives, Kursavi took up the posts of the imam-hatib and a mudarris in the madrasah of the village of Kursa, while continuing to work on his compositions. In about 1807 Kursavi went to Bukhara again and took part in the discussion on a number of theological problems.

The main debate revolved around a correlation of the essence and attributes of God. Opposing the fixed notion of the obligatory following the dogma of the Maturidit or Asharit interpretation of the quantity (eight or seven) of intrinsic divine attributes, Kursavi claimed that the only solution is to address God using definitions given in the Quran, which says nothing about their quantitative limitation.

The assembly of scholars, called in April, 1808 in order to clarify the theological beliefs of Kursavi, issued a fatwa signed by the theologians, muftis and the emir, according to which any Muslim who did not recognise the set number of divine attributes was considered an apostate and was subject to the death penalty. No one knows what the destiny of Kursavi

would have been, if sheikh Niyaz Kuli had not intervened. Threatening a mutiny, he did not allow the young theologian to be punished. However, Kursavi was made to take back his words, and his works were publicly burned. Following the advice of the sheikh, he secretly fled from the city.

After returning home, Kursavi continued teaching in a madrasah where he held classes according to his own curriculum. Instead of the standard *sharkh Taftazani* his shakirds studied *‘Sharkh al-Akaid’* of the mudarris himself. Soon the local ulama received a letter from Bukhara which described the charges against Kursavi in detail. The discussion which began in Bukhara gradually escalated and divided the local academics into two camps. The theological disputes on the essence and attributes took place both in oral and written form. The opponents of Kursavi tried to antagonise mufti Mukhammadzhan b. Husain against him. On November 11, 1810, Fatkhulla Uruvi (died in 1843) sent a denunciation to Spiritual Assembly where in addition to ‘slandorous fabrications on the honourable imams at-Taftazani and ad-Davvani’, ‘the dissemination of wrong beliefs’ and ‘corruption of youth’, there were such charges as the claims on *ijtihad*, non-observance and denial of Friday and festive general Namaz, the neglect of a compulsory procedure of examination before the mufti [Fäxreddin, 1903, 108–109 b.].

Kursavi was rescued by his supporters and the connections of his influential relatives and friends. The mufti preferred to take a neutral position in this case.

In spring 1812 Kursavi and his brothers went on a Hajj, but arriving in Istanbul during a cholera epidemic, he died in the last decade of Ramadan (September).

The heritage of Kursavi known today includes more than ten works on dogmatics and the Islamic law in Arabic, and also the only work in the native language *‘Haft-i-yak tafsire’* (Interpretation to 1/7 of the Quran). Moreover, there are certain extant fragments from the letters of the thinker where he states his opinion on some questions of dogma.

One of the early works of Kursavi which he began to write in Bukhara, *‘Sharkh al-Akaid*

an-Nasafi al-kadim'—represents the notes to Taftazani's commentary on dogma of Nasafi. Upon his return he created a full commentary 'Sharkh al-'Akaid an-Nasafi al-jadid' (The new commentary to 'The Dogmata an-Nasafi') on its basis.

The topic of divine attributes (*sifat*) forms a large part of his work. There had been an old dispute over the amount of intrinsic attributes (eight or seven) between the Maturidites and the Ascharites. Kursavi was against their limitation in number and also against any reasonings concerning their eternity, creation, relationships between them, etc. He considered them as the influence of the alien elements of the Greek philosophy into the Islamic doctrine and, according to Kursavi, they interfered with the concept of unity (*tawhid*) which he defended as the fundamental principle of Islam. Due to this, he was sometimes accused of adhering to the school of the Mu'tazila. 'Risala fi isbat as-sifat' was no doubt aimed at proving the groundlessness of such charges. The work aimed at disproving the Mu'tazila is also devoted to the topic of attributes and, in its essence, is directed against the same ideas of the Asharite and the Maturidite theology that were criticised in his commentary to 'Akaid' of Nasafi.

An especially well-known work by Kursavi was the 'al-Irshad li-l-'ibad' ('The admonition to the people [worshipping God]'). The treatise is mainly focused on the issues concerning the sources and the principles applied in the Islamic law-making (*usul al-fiqh*). It also reflected the elements of doxography and the basic ideas of Sufism.

The work is exaggeratedly polemic and is directed against the contemporaries of Kursavi, the 'ignorant academics', the adherents of *taqlid* (noncritical imitation of the authorities of the past), in the belief that 'the values of the Quran and Sunnah were replaced by the books of *kalam* and *fiqh*' and that the Hadith could use only *mujtahid* as the proof. Rejecting such statements, Kursavi urges to refer directly to Sunnah, and emphasises the clear benefits of the Hadith over *fatwa* of men of law. Kursavi consistently defends the acceptability of

the Hadith with only one chain of communication—the so-called *habar al-vakhid*—as the legal arguments. The legal force of authentic legends is all the more obvious to him. The passing of time and the number of intermediaries complicate the verification of data, which is why it is necessary to address the collections of works of such trustworthy imams as Bukhari, Malik b. Anas, Muslim, Tirmizi, Abu Daud, Nasai. A careful examination of the *isnad* and the text of the Hadiths fulfilled by them is worthy of credibility. Thus their collections can serve the purposes of defining the authenticity of any Hadith with the help of comparison [Kursavi, 1903, pp. 23–24].

The treatise places importance on the problem of *ijtihad* (independent search for the arguments and making a decision on any issue). Kursavi, when explaining the meaning of the term, clearly defines the sphere of the use of *ijtihad* as the sphere of *furu'*—religious 'branches', and issues of *fiqh*. Under no circumstances *ijtihad* applied in *usul*—the fundamentals of the doctrine—and *qua'tiyat*—where there are clear unambiguous indications of sources. Refuting the commonly held ideas that 'the doors of *ijtihad* are closed', 'the *mujtahids* disappeared many centuries ago', Kursavi lists the main requirements for a *mujtahid*. Besides having an immaculate reputation and a perfect knowledge of the Arabic language, he has to be well versed in the Quran and Sunnah, there solutions of the *ijma* on various issues, to master the methods of *kiyas* and to understand the conditions of its application. Any decision made by him should not contradict these sources.

Ijtihad, in Kursavi's understanding, was not only the right, the privilege of the intellectuals, but it was the duty imposed on any educated Muslim to the extent that he was capable of. There is only one truth in the issues where *ijtihad* is applied and therefore, a *mujtahid* cannot be free from a mistake, he can in equal measure be mistaken and be right. The effort made for to acquire the truth justifies a *mujtahid* even if he comes to the wrong decision, because the Prophet claims: 'If a *mujtahid* has tried hard and is proven right—two awards are

given to him, if he was mistaken—he gets one'. Thus, Kursavi emphasises the devoutness of the very act of *ijtikhad* which takes the form of a service and therefore a non-deliberate mistake cannot be considered as a sin.

All this concerns the sphere of *furu*, however, the situation with the issues of dogmatics (*i'tikadiyat*) is the opposite: 'A person who makes mistakes in the pillars of faith and dogma is blamed and is even accused of delusion or disbelief' [Ibid., p. 27]. Insisting on the commitment to the Quran and Sunnah, Kursavi emphasises the absolute and permanent character of their ideas relating to the matters of faith. *Ijtikhad* can be applied only to the solution of specific questions, to the development of new norms concerning human relationships.

A clear example of *ijtikhad*'s use is Kursavi's attitude to such questions as a night prayer during the summer period and Friday prayer in local settlements when there are no necessary signs and conditions for it: that is the absence of the sundown, the existence of big cities with cathedral mosques. In both cases Kursavi advocates obligatory implementation of the stipulations strictly fixed by the Quran and Sunnah, while the existence of the necessary conditions under the compelling circumstances is, in his opinion, less significant. Here his position differed dramatically from the views of Utyz-Imyani who supported the abolition of both night prayer and Friday prayer.

According to Kursavi, the ignorance, spread among academics due to sloth and passivity in studying the Quran and Sunnah, led to the dissemination of a *bid'a* (harmful innovations). This issue also reveals the difference of the author's particular approaches concerning innovations: religious cult (*'ibadat*) and the sphere of human relationships (*mu'amalat*). In the case of *mu'amalat*, if there is no special prescription of Sharia, the innovation is considered good and permissible. As for the issues of *'ibadat*, any action which is not confirmed by one of four legal sources is a *bid'a* and delusion, therefore, it is forbidden.

Kursavi considered the eradication of *bid'a*, the return to the Quran and Sunnah, the revival of the norms of early Islam, including the practice of *ijtikhad* as the way to re-

form the society. Careful examination of the arguments is a precondition for acceptance or refutation of any fatwa, which, in his opinion, corresponds to the principles of both early companions, and founders of *madhhab*, including Abu Hanifa himself. Abu Hanifa's *madhhab* has nothing in common with these ideas which are attributed to him by ignorami, claims Kursavi. Since Abu Hanifa allowed his companions *taqlid* and the conversion from one *madhhab*, and forbade fatwa, without knowing its grounds; whereas they did exactly the opposite. Only the observance of these three rules guarantees adherence to the principles of Abu Hanifa who was a successor of the line of early community. His *madhhab* was 'how Ibn Mas'ud acted',—one of the closest companions of the Prophet. In this rather peculiar manner, the reasonings of Kursavi seem to offer an apology for *hanafizm*.

An advocate of strict observance of the Law, Kursavi repeatedly focuses on the legality of being accused with *kufr* (unbelief). His concern with this subject is not casual, given that he had to undergo such a difficult situation himself. He believed that two difficult conditions needed to be fulfilled to pass such a terrible sentence, first, it is necessary to make the inner beliefs of the person clear. However, very few people are capable of understanding even themselves, not to mention someone else. The second condition is the reliable knowledge of what actually *kufr* is. This is also difficult to fulfill due to the lack of a precise definition in the sources (The Quran and Sunnah). Only he who has attained the perfection of moral and intellectual qualities, and has freed himself from the influence of the vile passions, is capable of it. Only following these conditions, can one draw a conclusion about the presence or absence of *kufr*. Moreover, to accuse any person of unbelief, one needs his own testimony, evidence and 'obvious signs' are not taken into account.

In the reasonings of Kursavi on the criteria of unbelief, the succession of a long tradition, ascending to Abu Hanifa, is also traced. The Great Imam approached this question very carefully and he also warned his followers against hasty charges of *kufr*. The position of

Kursavi is significant not only by the courage of his beliefs and the independence of his views, but also by the example of well-grounded religious tolerance, so rare in that era.

Being a supporter of Gazali, whose influence is especially notable in chapter about *tasawwuf*, Kursavi condemned the vulgar manifestations of Sufism, solemnisation not prescribed by Sharia (a fee for reading the Quran, the administration of a *du'a*), as well as adherence to the ideas, alien to the sources of faith. The fact that most of contemporaries, as Kursavi wrote, considered themselves the followers of this doctrine, without understanding its true meaning and purpose, inspired him to outline the basic points of the Sufi doctrine and Sufi practice. The moral and the ethical principles of Sufism, which he sought to reconcile with the traditional doctrine, were of great value for him.

It is possible to say, with some degree of confidence, that during the 18th century there was a gradual strengthening of the revivalist moods in the Islamic society of the Volga region and the Cis-Ural, which was reflected in the literature of that period. This took place as part of the process of Islamic purification which involved many regions. The basic ideas, including the aspiration to revive the authority of Sunnah, the strict observance of Sharia, and

the criticism of *bid'a*, were equally inherent in Ahmad Sirkhindi and Mehmed Birgivi doctrines. They clearly were key sources for the dissemination of the revivalist ideas in the Volga-Ural region. Thus, emerging within 'moderate' Sufism and under the direct influence of the Gazali doctrine, it predetermined in many respects, the specifics of this movement: the interlacing of the ideas of Salafism with the Sufi doctrine, the appeal to the legal principles of early Islam and the increased attention to the ethical aspect of the doctrine.

From the last quarter of the 18th century, as a result of easier contacts with Middle Asia, the spiritual and intellectual life of the Muslims of the Volga and Cisural regions considerably revived and gained entirely new features. Tatar society was not confined to the sphere of *adhab* in the form of poetic didactics, and was developing issues of 'orthodoxy' at the level of classical theological tradition. The special role in this process belonged to pupils of the Central Asian sheikhs *mujaddidya*, to Gabderakhim Utyz-Imyani and Gabdennasyr Kursavi. Despite the differences in their views, what united these thinkers was the criticism of the recognised authorities, the contents of the official Islamic doctrine of their time and the aspiration to revive the purity of faith and to return to the sources of early Islam.

§3. The Image of the Ancestors and the Identity of the Tatars in the Context of 'a Divine City of Bolgar'

Iskander Izmaylov

The identity of the Islamic population of the Volga-Ural region in the early modern times continued be confessional and class in character. The most important element of self-consciousness of the Islamic population was related to the historical past. In this regard, it is believed that 'cultural and historical identity of a society is inherently a problem of its subjectivity in the historical process, interpreted here as the realisation of a particular cultural tradition' [Gibadullin, 2005, p. 118]. This subjectivity develops, both in general and in particular.

A nation does determine its place in history, but through the self-determination of all members of this community. Here there is a special dialectical relationship: on the one hand, the position of each individual depends on the collective consciousness and traditions, but it too depends on the state of mind of each and every one of its members.

We can say that in general terms the history of a nation is a collective memory of the generations. For us, in this case, there is little relevance in history as the collective memory,

and a history as a science researching the past. After all, the development of the mass media and universal secondary education have contributed to the gradual blurring of any difference between them. In the collective memory of the people, only the memories within one or two generations are more or less original. The broad masses of the people know about the distant past not from family legends, but from books and media sources. This is akin to an echo of the voice of the people, repeated many times, distorted, and articulated through the writings of historians.

Tatar thinkers and historians in the late Middle Ages and early modern times based on the earlier historical writings, began to develop their own tradition, which differed to some extent from the legacy of the Golden Horde's historical writings [Izmaylov, 2009, pp. 653–658]. The new concept firmly established the idea of continuity of the Bulgars and Tatars, but based on the decisive influence of the Bulgarian religious traditions. In its favour, according to the authors, it is possible to mention the spread of Islam, the development of urban civilisation and historical oral traditions. Volga Bulgaria has always occupied a special place in the works of Tatar historians. This is especially true for the period of the establishment of the nation. According to all sources, the development of the Tatar nation took place in several stages [Iskhakov, 1997b, pp. 61–90]. The first was associated with the emergence of the Islamic nation. Moreover, the 'Islamic' community was often and specifically interpreted by ideologues as a 'Bulgarian' community. Hence the widespread tendency of the search for the Bulgarian origins and, particularly, underlining of 'the ancient Bulgar's sanctity' and its traditions as 'truly orthodox'. They were characterised by a cautious and negative attitude toward Tatar identity (the tradition of Serving Tatars and 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name').

The establishment of the Bulgarism as a written tradition can, obviously, be traced back to the period of the Kazan Khanate, when the idea of the 'chosenness' of Chinggis Khan's family and his descendants became transformed, in combination with the traditions of the Bulgarian history [Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 99–105;

Izmaylov, 2006 pp. 99–128]. However, the defeated rebellions of the Tatars and Bashkirs under the banner of 'the descendants of Chinggis Khan and 'the rulers of the Jochi family', contributed to frustration and hopelessness regarding methods of warfare and the 'Chinggisism' ideology. The familiar mono-cultural environment of the Tatar medieval society in which the values of Islam played a decisive role, was destroyed by the Russian tsardom when Islam lost its former dominant position. The Tatars' customs, and their very culture were subjected to restrictions and persecutions. Pressure was increased on the military and service class nobility (even those loyal to Moscow), who had lost their lands and a privileged position in the Tatar society.

In such a crisis for the Tatar society and the almost complete destruction of the nobility's secular political culture, the religious leaders assumed a leading role. They put forward the ideas of overcoming these difficulties in a very particular way—through spiritual renewal and achievement of the 'Divine Castle'. Moreover, it is not so much a real earthly town as an empyrean, 'heavenly' or 'spiritual' Castle. The way to achieve (or rather to find) it was thought to be through the creation of a community of social justice (since 'the injustice ruined the saintly city of Bulgar'). Under the conditions of the Volga region, the idea of social harmony (very close to the original, 'unspoiled', 'traditional', and 'original' Islam) was intricately intertwined with traditional views of the special sanctity of the ancient city of Bolgar (they certainly were saturated with elements and symbols of the former Bulgarian ethnopolitical consciousness). This resulted in establishment of the social, political and religious thought trend, the symbol of which was the 'holy city of Bolgar'.

In the world culture, a similar phenomenon in social anthropology had become known as the 'crisis cult' [La Barre, 1971, pp. 3–44], by which he meant all the various messianic and millenarian (that is, seeking to create a kingdom of eternal prosperity) movements. Crisis cults are mass, emotional, and irrational movements aiming at overcoming difficulties, breaking the deadlock in the conditions when the solution of the problem in reasonable ways

is either impossible (failure of the armed rebellions and Utopian plans for the creation of an independent city of Bolgar within the Russian Empire), or may require from the society such efforts and self-restraints, which it is not yet ready to take (general rebellion or civil disobedience campaign). Adherents of the crisis cults are unable to save people from frustrating negative phenomena, but create the illusion of redemption. As a rule, crisis cults claim the ability to overcome not only the particular difficulties (the causes of them), but to solve the basic existential problems (finding of the life's meaning, unearthly bliss). They promise eternal happiness and well-being for all supporters (but only after coming to power), and death to all those who oppose the movement, or are indifferent to it. Only by setting such important tasks is it possible to mobilise supporters and for a while at least get them to forget about the real suffering and losses.

The millenarian notions of 'the holy city of Bolgar' had been superimposed on this context not only as a form of experience from the great past, but also as the future 'millennial tsardom of justice' for faithful Muslims. Most likely, this is the sense to be understood in the praising of holiness and spiritual perfection 'of the city of Bolgar' (Utyz-Imyani, Gali Chokry), as well as the political proclamations calling for efforts to the Bolgar's revival (mullah Murad, Batyrsha). For example, mullah Murad directly preached to his supporters that 'it is time' to revive the very 'city of Bolgar' [Khasanov, 1977, p. 58; Gaynutdinov, 2000, pp. 8–12].

Definitely, it is only in this context that the allusions to the history and origins of the spiritual tradition should be understood. In any case, the term of 'the divine city of Bolgar', and its derivatives are very real as spiritual symbols, but are ephemeral on a real ethnopolitical map. The search for its traces are akin to trying to discover the 'Third Rome' or 'New Jerusalem', and the 'discovery' of the holy city of Bolgar" on the site of the ruins of the Golden Horde's Bolgar is similar to the desire to restore the 'Temple of Solomon' on Mount Zion. The ideas of the Bolgar's past greatness were also supported by the Eastern historical

and geographical tradition, where the idea of the Volga region as Islamic territory and 'the country of the Bulgars' had already been widespread since the 10th century, as an element of the 'world picture' for the eastern intellectuals. Being taught in madrasahs (and this both in the Middle Asian ones—since a considerable part of the Tatar clergy studied in Middle Asia—and in the ones in the Volga region) such traditional formulas were constantly reproduced throughout the entire learning process.

'Holy Bolgar' represented the cult of the crisis for the Tatar society. It was particularly widespread in the religious environment as the banner of the struggle for freedom and faith. Mullah Murad, Batyrsha and many others, leaders 'seeking the City' managed to unite the Islamic Ummah and to bring pressure on the royal government. Their struggle was crowned with some success: in 1784, the authorities partly acknowledged the noble rights of the Islamic Tatar nobility, and in 1788 the Muslim Spiritual Board was established. All this reduced the degree of intensity of the struggle, and to some extent, reconciled the Muslim Tatars with the authorities. The ideologists of Islam and the 'Bulgarian traditions' began to pay more attention in their works not to the struggle against the tsarism and spiritual confrontation, but to the establishment of Islamic 'Bulgarian' traditions, collecting information about the holy places, legends and lore (for example, the works of Husamaddin Ibn-Sharafaddin, Tajaddin Yalchigul, Muslimi, etc.) [Galyautdinov, 1990; Möslimi, 1999; Ämirhan, 2001; see also: Frank, 1998; Frank, 2008].

Such a complex socio-political situation saw the formation of the 'Muslim' ethno-cultural community in the Volga Region in the 17–19th centuries. [Iskhakov, 1997b, pp. 68–70; Tatars, 2001 pp. 141–142]. The consolidation of the Turkic Muslims based on the religious identity was caused by the exposure to a number of factors. Firstly, the strong pressure of imperial power seeking to completely eradicate the Muslims on their territory and to pursue a policy of forced Christianisation and Russification that easily resulted in unification of fellow believers for the purpose of collective opposi-

tion to government policy. Secondly, after the final de-classing of the military serving aristocracy, the role of the leaders of the Islamic communities had been taken by the members of the clergy who had played an important role in the resistance, including the armed one (Batyrsa's rebellion) [Gilyazov, 1997, pp. 13–21]. However, contrary to the opinion of some authors who misunderstood the nature of ethnic identity [Khabutdinov 2008, p. 4; see critique: Iskharov, Izmailov, 2007 p. 169–200], there was no 'Bulgarian' ethno-national identity, and no active promoters in terms of the 'Abyzes's movement' have been found in recorded sources.

Historians, well versed in these matters, clearly indicate that the term of *tahallus 'al-Bulgari'* or an appeal to Bulgarian roots 'is free from any ethnic burden and does not replace it' [Kemper, 2008, p. 32]. Moreover, it can be said that this entire 'Bulgarism' had literary origins and appealed to tradition, and the mythical ancestors, outlining a scope commensurate to the modern realities of the 'Islamic' nation in the middle of the 18–early 19th century. As German Islamic scholar and historian M. Kemper wrote in this connection, 'this "Bulgarian literary space" corresponds to the territory inhabited by the Muslims between the middle Volga and the Urals, covering in the East the villages of the Urals, in the South-East, Kargala sloboda near Orenburg...the territory to the South and North of the Kama River to Kazan, as well as the right bank of the Middle Volga; to the West and North of this "Volga Bulgaria" is delimited by the territories of the Chuvash, Mari and Udmurt, which in the 19th century were Christianised, and along the Volga reaches New Kulatki near Saratov' [Kemper 2008, p. 31]. In other words, the area of this 'Bulgarian' identity covers the territory where a new consolidating community was formed: an 'Islamic' nation. Thus marking it in a special way by showing what heritage the Turkic Muslims will never repudiate.

The essence of this 'Bulgarian discourse' is expressed in a wide range of, relatively speaking, 'historical texts' (see modern editions: [Galyautdinov, 1990; Möslimi, 1999; Ämirhan, 2001]) has been brilliantly analyzed by A. Frank ([Frank, 1998], see Russian trans-

lation: [Frank, 2008]). The author emphasises that this historiography, fueled by ancient legends and perhaps with no direct written tradition dating back to the historical writings of medieval Bulgaria, served the objectives of unification of the Volga-Ural Islamic community through connotations meaningful for it, and was expressed as a special form of social and political protest [Frank 2008, pp. 57–66]. Judging by the text of this 'Bulgarian' historiography, some of the points constituted significant moments for the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region. Firstly, their rootedness in this territory from ancient, almost mythological times. Secondly, the adoption of Islam in ancient times, and from the hands of the Companions of the Prophet himself, bequeathing the foundations of faith, and any departure from its purity would lead to the death of the country and people. Certain correlations with the Quranic traditions only made these eschatological predictions more convincing and authoritative, making apostasy to be considered the gravest of the crimes both to the community, and to the ancestors. Third, already in the distant past the Muslim Bulgars had an advanced state, whose genealogy had been intertwined with the family of the Prophet and his Companions. Fourth, the ancient ties of the Muslims from the Volga region with the fellow Muslims from the countries of the East which introduced them to the 'historical' peoples.

With the lessening of imperial pressure on the Tatars in the aims of their Russification and Christianisation, as well as the proclamation of a policy of religious freedom, the vector of this historiography changed a little, reducing the anti-Russian orientation, but on the whole retaining its main elements [Frank, 2008, p. 67]. In many ways, such stories were based on rich oral and written traditions of historiography, which, indeed, could be traced back in part to the Bulgarian historiography. At least part of the legends that became the basis of the 'Bulgar' discourse have direct analogies and correlations with medieval texts (for details, see: [Izmaylov, 1996, pp. 97–113; Frank, 1998, pp. 12–20, 61–67]), which leads to the conclusion that some historical oral traditions of the

Bulgars in a transformed form could have been preserved until the 18th century. First of all, these are the legends of the 'the early history' of the Bulgars—their acceptance of Islam and the role of Islamic preachers in these events. The structure of the narrative itself is about the same: the sickness of the Bulgars' ruler, his curing by an Islamic righteous man, adoption of Islam by the ruler of Bulgaria and a victory over the enemies with the help of the divine will. The differences are limited to some details; in fact, only in the medieval version is reference made to a faqih from Bukhara, and the legends and historiography of the late 18th century are concerned with the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad. However, it is impossible not to notice the fundamental difference between the medieval discourse and the bookish 'Bulgarism' of the 18th century. The Bulgars' historiography describes the origins of its history, explaining the vector of the future development, while the latter 'Bulgarism' was oriented to the past in an effort to discover the reasons and conditions for the loss of the 'golden age'. While for a medieval mind, history was an event experienced with direct and strong connections, for the authors of the 'Bulgarian histories', it was a time bygone long with 'a lost connection in time'. There is another difference: for the medieval authors their historiography served to justify their collective identity, whereas for the authors of the 18–19th centuries, the 'Bulgarian' discourse was not the basis for their identification. Briefly, this can be formulated as follows: all the Bulgars were Muslims, but not all of the modern Muslims are the 'Bulgars' in their spirit and way of life. 'Bulgarianism' was a goal, rather than a reality, rather a process than a state. In their view, 'Bulgarianism' (like the 'Golden Age') could be attained through a righteous life full of religious zeal. In other words, emphasising their 'Bulgarianism', the authors of the 18–19th centuries meant neither the ethno-cultural nor caste affiliation, but their spiritual relationship to traditional 'pure' Islam, which allegedly existed in the distant past.

Moreover, judging by the works of the 'Təvərihy Bulgaria (Bolgar tarihiy)' type, the 'Bulgar' commonality was interpreted by ideo-

logues themselves as a 'traditional Muslim identity', that is 'pure faith', which allegedly had been preserved by some clergy, while the Tatar aristocracy, steeped in the sin, led the country to ruin. Hence the widespread passion for the search of the Bulgarian origins and particularly the emphasis on the 'sanctity of the ancient Bolgar', its traditions were seen as 'truly faithful', and whose decline was caused not so much by external factors as a result of the weakening of faith and apostasy. In this sense, this tradition was characterised by a cautious attitude to the immediate history of the Tatar Khanates, since, following this logic, the followers of 'Bulgarism' believed that their rulers had been guilty of derogation from the purity of the faith. They were characterised by a cautious and negative attitude toward Tatar identity (the tradition of Serving Tatars and 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name').

However, this trend should not attribute an overly ethnic importance to such anti-Tatar invectives, nor provide for a some kind of 'Bulgar' ethno-cultural community led by the abyzes. This position has been subjected to quite fair criticism, pointing to the obvious political connotations of 'Bulgarian' identity, as well as the contingency and interlaying of Bulgarian and Islamic identities, and the fact of latent existence inside it of the other types of self-identity, especially class-based and tribal ones [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 22–33].

First of all, there is the matter of Tatar identity. It is obvious that its original representatives were the Serving Tatars, however, under the de-classing conditions the Tatar aristocracy, having lost its class privileges, ended up almost in the same position as the taxable class, although they retained their genealogy and perceptions regarding their belonging to the Tatar family. At a time when the Empress Catherine II returned certain class privileges to a part of the Serving Tatars, they become the de facto leaders of the Islamic communities, holding elected and spiritual posts. Some researchers prefer to ignore the presence of this social stratum with a special name and distinct identity. The proof of its actual existence can be found in numerous sources. These include non-ethnic

Russian state legal documents, Tatar sources, and folklore works (dastans 'Edigü', 'Chura Batyr', 'Tahir and Zuhra' 'Haernise baite' and others), genealogies, handwritten dictionaries and calendars as well as acts and materials from the 17–18th centuries. It should be emphasised that the latter were particularly intended for internal use and did bear any traces of the 'external' influence. These and other materials clearly demonstrate that among the Muslims of the Volga Region since as early as the 17th century, along with the Islamic identity, a special Tatar identity formed [Iskhakov, 1995a, p. 77–83.; Iskhakov, 1996, pp. 30–33, 73].

In the light of these facts, the 'Bulgar' identity of the Muslims in the Volga-Ural region is not so much evidence of actual preservation of the Bulgarian identity from the early Middle Ages, but rather a mental construct, first uniting the Muslims in the struggle for freedom and faith in the form of a crisis cult, and then becoming a protective traditionalist idea seeking to unite Muslims around the purity of the faith of the Volga Muslims, who rejected all innovations coming from the East to threaten this integrity. Gradually, as the Empire lessened the external pressure, the Islamic community saw the processes of demarcation take place within it. Tendencies of localisation of own identity began to appear within the larger Islamic nation. Under these conditions, the 'Bulgar' identity becomes even more of an ephemeral structure. In a short time, its integrity would be further undermined by new mental constructs, primarily by the growing Tatar identity.

It is obvious that the basis of all of these tendencies was formed by the caste, political and even socio-economic interests of the more elite society, especially Kazan and related to it regions [Kemper, 2008 pp. 216–247]. Taking Sufi piety as a basis in justifying the accumulation and multiplication of wealth (a kind of 'Islamic-protestant spirit of capitalism' as it is aptly called by M. Kemper), the Tatar merchants began to form a new Tatar identity, which, however, could not ignore the Bulgar tradition. The evidence of the struggle between different identities is in a certain sense represented by a letter sent by a Tartar M. Muslimov to the editor of the magazine

'Son of the Fatherland' in 1815, in one of the publications of which Napoleon had been called the 'Corsican Tatar' (from the context it is clear that the word 'Tatar' replaced another simple Russian word). The outraged author in his rather caustic letter clearly implied that the Tatars, even though they were wild people, were in the military terms much higher than the French emperor as they did conquer Russia (see: [Burmistrova, 1993, pp. 56–59]). The letter was written rather wittily, but it is quite impossible to designate it as 'the official Tatar historiographical trend'. It is obvious that the author is simply poorly versed in the problems regarding development of the Tatar social thought in general, and Tatar historiography in particular. The idea that Tatars are descendants of the wild Asians, more resembles the Eurocentric theories than the Tatar historiography. On their way they had to give up not only their previous historiography, but to develop their own, more scientific and modern one. In many ways the success of this project was associated with the rapid development of historical science in Russia which for some time had focused on the history and origin of the Tatar people.

Volga Bulgaria has always occupied a special place in the works of Tatar historians. Trying to create a new historical tradition, the Tatar public figures could neither avoid any question regarding the place of the Tatars in the history of medieval Bulgaria, nor ignore the crucial role of the Ulus of Jochi. In the development of its tradition the emerging Tatar historiography was walking on thin ice. Maintaining continuity with the old traditions and earlier historical narratives, it asserted the idea of continuity of the Bulgars and Tatars, but emphasising the decisive influence made on the history of the ethnic Bulgarians from the ethnic, cultural and social processes occurring during the Ulus of Jochi period. This tradition was just beginning to appear at the end of the 18th century, and would be fully implemented in the middle of the 19th century in the works of the great Tatar thinker and historian Sh. Mardjani, who determined the basis for a new Tatar identity which absorbed within itself the former traditions, including the Bulgar tradition.

CHAPTER 8

Development of the Tatar Culture in the 17–18th Centuries

§1. Tatar Script

Zavdat Minnullin

The functional development of the Old Tatar language and therefore the written language in the 17–18th centuries varied both temporally and spatially. As a result of the collapse of the Tatar States (Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and Kasimov Khanates), the Tatar script ceased to serve their own public structures. At the same time, even after the events of the latter half of the 16th century, which were catastrophic for the Tatars, the range of use of the Tatar script was greater than its ethnic territory, that is the Volga and Cis-Ural regions. First of all, the Old Tatar language continued to play a role of a parallel diplomatic language in the Russian State.

Of course, this was not a new phenomenon, but a consequence of a long historical tradition on the one hand and a result of expansion of the Russian territory, and the establishment and development of diplomatic relations with the Eastern peoples states on the other hand. Writing about the history of the Russian-East relations and tracing the fate of the embassy to India dated 1675–1677 headed by Muhammad-Yusuf Kasimov, academician V. Bartold wrote as follows: ‘Kasimov was one of those Tatar personalities, who rendered a great service to Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries in its relations with Central Asian and even East Asian countries. Thanks to the Tatars in the Russian service, the Russian government had many translators required for relations with the governments of Islamic countries; this partly explains why Central Asian languages were studied in Russia to a lesser extent in the 18th century than languages of the East Asia. The Tatar language was for a while used in diplomatic relations between Russia and Persia. Charters written in the Persian language were probably translated into Rus-

sian by the Tartars and written in the language of Russian official papers...’ [Bartold, 1977, pp. 372–373].

It should be emphasised that use of the Turkic (later the Old Tatar) language in the Russian-Eastern correspondence goes back to ancient times. In Eastern Europe, official documents were mostly written in the Turkic language in the so-called the Golden Horde period.

The Tatar written language began to be used even more widely in the 16–18th centuries, as evidenced by numerous historical sources. There was a ‘Tatar Chancellery’ in the Posolsky Prikaz, which was fully formed in 1549. In the latter half of the 17th century, there were Tatar translators along with translators from the Latin, Polish, Greek, German, Swedish, Dutch, English, Georgian, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages. In 1689, 8 people out of 22 were translators from Tatar; some of them also knew Turkish. A long historical tradition, and the presence of Tatar translators allowed Russian ambassadors and envoys to receive copies of all the charters in the Old Tatar language along with Russian copies, which were predominant in force in Russia’s relations not only with the Crimea, Turkey and the Turkic-speaking rulers of the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Middle Asia, but also with Iran, India, Mongolia and even China. A publication of a Manifesto of Peter the Great during the Russo-Persian War in the Tatar language, ‘Decrees and Manifestos’ of Ye. Pugachev the ‘Emperor’ and the entire complex of Tatar documents published during Pugachev’s Rebellion of 1773–1775 are also a result centuries-long functioning of the Tatar language and script as a language of Russia’s international relations with eastern countries and its Turkic-speaking

subjects (see more information on this in: [Usmanov, 1994, pp. 123–138]).

On the other hand, the Tatar oral and written language lost its role as a tool of the Tatars' official, state historiography after the fall of the Kazan Khanate. With the elimination of statehood, historiography loses incentives for normal existence and development. A close connection between statehood and the official historiography is clearly demonstrated by 'Jami' al-Tawarikh' ('Collection of Chronicles') by Kadir Ali Beg (1602) created even in such a puppet 'state' as the Kasimov Khanate. Although this work contains praise of Tsar Boris Godunov, some researchers qualify it as a monument to the 'historiography of Chinggisids financed by the Russian state' [Frank, 2008, p. 30]. Some documents of Tatar historical thought which appeared in the 17th and 18th centuries, such as 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' (an anonymous collection) or 'Tawarikh-i Bulgar-ya' by Muslimi, although they claim to be a 'universal' national history, cannot be considered such in the strict sense of the word. M. Usmanov, who performed a detailed analysis of Tatar historical sources from the late feudal period, came to a number of conclusions. First of all, they were beginning to acquire more significance in artistic and literary terms. Secondly, due to the absence of a unifying centre, general-Tatar 'histories' were beginning to develop. Thirdly, an increase in providentialism could be observed, while fourthly, an amateur historian had taken the place of an accountable professional historian' [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 31–32].

In everyday life, the Tatar script based on the Arabic script probably played the most important role. The Arabic-script-based language was used in teaching in numerous maktabas and madrasahs, as well as in the creation or rewriting of manuscripts in various branches of science of that time. The madrasah played the role of scriptorium in the Tatar society.

It was common among the Tatars to write genealogical records—shajara, and local folk historical essays about the history of villages, towns, madrasah and mosques. According to M. Usmanov, 'the Tatar shajara were characterised by a lack of universal, codified, general

national genealogies which, for example, the Turkmen or Mongols possessed. This was due to a different level of social development of the Tatars in comparison with these peoples and an absence of a centre of unity and organisation for the Tatars in the 16–19th centuries, that is a sovereign state able to direct historiography clearly in the feudal direction' [Usmanov, 1972, p. 172]. Therefore, the Tatar shajara of the 17–18th centuries were usually local and family-oriented in their nature.

Shajara initially were part of the oral historical tradition and were orally passed from generation to generation. With the passing of time, the Tatar shajara became a fixed written historical and genealogical records. As a rule the shajara briefly and schematically, sometimes with particular details, describes the origin and the development of a certain people, tribe, dynasty or family. The shajara is a valuable historical source on the ethnic, political and cultural history of a nation.

Later, at the turn of the 18–19th centuries, a new genre of historical literature appeared. It was of a private nature—local folk historical essays, which genetically refer back to former descriptive historical sources of private nature, such as genealogical legends of the 17–18th centuries (see more details in: [Shaikhiev, 1990]).

Dozens of copies of Tatar handwritten calendars have been preserved since the 18th century until the present days. Their chronology is based on various chronological systems: the ancient Turkic, lunar (Islamic) and Gregorian ones. This was no longer an archaic and primitive way of understanding time, but a meaningful structuring of social time, a form of understanding the world both at the level of an individual and on the level of society. The parallel existence of different chronological systems demonstrates the multilevel political structure in the late medieval society. The preserved handwritten calendars expand and enrich the frame of existing Tatar written sources. 'They reflect the level of agricultural development, and the use of knowledge from such sciences as astronomy, mathematics and chronology in Tatar everyday life. Handwritten calendars later served as a basis for the emer-

gence and dissemination printed calendars among the Tatars' [Minnullina, 2006, p. 14].

Seyahat-name (Book of Travels) is another variety of Tatar written sources which have been known since the 18th century. In terms of historiography, such works as 'Ismagil Bik-mukhammedov's Journey to India' (1751) and a 'Book about Muhammad Amin's Journey' (end of the 18th century) are particularly interesting. Seyahat-name are close to the Khadzname which contain narratives of travels and visits to sacred places. Seyahat-name contains a variety of facts about the culture, economy, way of life, customs, and ethnography of indigenous peoples, as well as historical and geographical information about the regions of their residence (see: [Usmanov, 1967, 3p. 88–103; Aleeva, 1993; Aleeva, 2006]).

Thousands of manuscripts were created and rewritten in ordinary Tatar villages scattered all over the vast expanses of Russia. The manuscripts clearly demonstrate ancient religious, cultural and economic contacts between the Tatar and many Islamic eastern nations. Book depositories in Kazan, Saint Petersburg, Ufa and other cities contain copies of manuscripts created in Middle Asia, Iran, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, India, etc. [Arabskie rukopisi, 1987; Dmitrieva, 1987, pp. 407–450; Arabskie rukopisi, 1996; Arslanova, 2005].

A collection of books belonging to a Tatar bibliophile in the 17–18th centuries included various works of literature: along with the sacred Quran, Khaftiyak (seventh part of the Quran) and volumes on Islamic jurisprudence, there are books on Islamic history, hagiography, Islamic jurisprudence, eastern philosophy, geography, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, literature, samples of Tatar folk art, Shajara (genealogies), and documentary monuments. The manuscripts included works of oriental poetry classics such as Attar, Saadi, Hafiz, Omar Khayyam, etc. There were even more copies of works by Turko-Tatar authors from the 13th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, which greatly enrich the base of sources related to Tatar literary studies.

Kazan and Zakazanye were the main centres where manuscripts were created. In the course of archaeological expeditions, books

copied in this region were found in the trans-Ural region, Orenburg steppes and Siberia. In 1744, another centre of Tatar culture appeared near Orenburg: this is Kargaly settlement (Seitov township), which turned into a major center of Islamic education and transit trade Russia and Middle Asia over a relatively short period of time (see: [Fätkhi, 1968, 110–113 b.; Iskandarov, 2005]). There were the following mudarris (teachers) in the madrassah of Seitov sloboda: Gabdessalyam ibn Urai (1700–after 1767), Ishniyaz ibn Shirniyaz (?–1790), Gabdrakhman ibn Muhammad al-Kirmani (1743–1826), etc. Future famous writers, theologians and mudarris studied there, including G. Utyz-Imyani (1754–1834), A. Kargaly (1782–after 1833), G. Rakhmankuli (?–1835), Kh. Salikhov (1794–1867), Nigmatulla al-Esterlebashi (19th century), etc.

What is a Tatar manuscript of the 17–18th centuries? The text design in manuscripts is not really different from that of Arabic manuscripts of other Islamic nations. The initial head phrases and stories, as well as the Prophet Muhammad's name were marked with red and sometimes green. Sometimes headwords were written by hand, sometimes stylized as the 'Kufic script'. Words omitted for whatever reason were written in the margins, and the place where the word should be placed was marked with points or a special mark. Punctuation was used rarely in the Arabic written language. Such punctuation included circles, hearts, stars, etc., which fulfilled a decorative function as well.

As evidenced by preserved written monuments of the 17–18th centuries, the most ancient variety of the Arabic written language the 'Kufic' script, fell from general use by the predecessors of the Tatars ancestors, like other Muslim nations, in the pre-Mongolian period, and was used only in epigraphs and coins. The 'Naskh' script, which was another variety of the Arabic written language characterised by curved lines in letters and italic style was the most suitable for cursive writing and was therefore widespread. As a result of years of practice and improvement, a number of handwriting styles appeared on its basis. These are better known as the classical 'six'. As indicat-

ed by sources, a handwriting called 'nastaa-lik' (nastaaalik-shikaste) became very popular among the Tatars and it occupied a stable position in eastern Islamic countries from the end of the 16th century. As a result of Moscow's colonisation policy in the 16–18th centuries, the process of development of the Tatar written language was interrupted. Therefore, just a few calligraphic manuscripts of this period have been preserved. The stagnation in the art of calligraphy was gradually overcome towards the end of the 19th century. In this period, calligraphy became a compulsory discipline in the curriculum of Tatar schools; dozens of handbooks on Arabic calligraphy were published.

Prior to the invention of paper in the Islamic East, various materials had been used since ancient times: papyrus, leather, parchment, cloth, bones, wood, etc. Paper was used for writing as a replacement for parchment in the 14–15th centuries in Western Europe and in Rus'. Judging by watermarks, this was mainly Russian paper. There is information that the Tatars used Western European paper (for example Dutch) that was used in Russia at the end of the 18th century. Some manuscripts were written even on Eastern, that is Middle-Asian paper. The Tatars even used their own paper. The names of several owners of small paper-producing factories are mentioned in sources.

Ink was made of soot of linen or any other vegetable oil, gum, oak galls and vitriol or alum. The ink recipe included other materials: basma and boiled sugar to enhance the depth of the colour, flexibility and gloss. Judging by numerous manuscripts, we can conclude that people living in the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural regions were able to produce resistant and stable ink in the 17–19th centuries.

A goose quill was the main instrument used for writing (kalam) by the Tatars in the 16–19th centuries. According to K. Fuchs, they also used feathers of a 'turkey cock'. The quill was duly prepared for writing. It was especially important to sharpen and split it correctly, but not everyone was capable of doing this. There were experts in this field, who also worked on a by-order basis, as evidenced by archives. A reed pen was also used for writing, as demonstrated by paleographic data of numerous man-

uscripts of the Volga and Cisural regions of the 16–19th centuries.

The penknife used to sharpen the kalam was called a 'kalam pakese' or a 'kalamtarash'. An inkwell (davat), reed and goose pens, as well as the penknife were placed in a special case (kalamdan).

In the circumstances of a lack of statehood and political disunity, as well the insufficient power of the feudal elite, the market for calligraphic products decreased, especially that of artistically decorated manuscripts. Therefore, the majority of manuscripts are ordinary in nature. However, we cannot conclude that the Tatars had no masters of calligraphy at all. Ivanay, Arsay's son (lived at the end of the 17th century), Ilmi, Utyamysh's son (1700–1740), Subkhan Marjani, Kadermuhammad, Shayakhmet's son, Mustafa Chutai are the names of some khattats (calligraphers) who delighted their compatriots with their art. Gabdunnasyr Sabitov, one of Tatar calligraphers born in 1745, wrote when he was 95 years old, in 1840, that he had copied 223 volumes of manuscripts during his entire life.

The binders for the Tatar manuscripts were made of various materials: conventional 'cardboard' covers consisting of glued sheets of old books sometimes wrapped with pieces of coarse home-made canvas. As evidenced by sources found on Bilyarsk archaeological site (modern Alexeevo district of the Republic of Tatarstan), Tatar ancestors in the 12–13th centuries used metal book covers. Sometimes two small wooden boards, usually lime ones were used as a binder. There were, of course, binders made of high-quality morocco. Leather production was highly developed in the Middle Volga region already in the Bulgarian period. These traditions were also continued in subsequent periods. P. Rychkov, an author of the latter half of the 18th century, had every reason to write that 'there were many craftsmen in Kazan to meet the needs of such a large city, and therefore Russian leather, as well as black, red and yellow morocco leather made in Kazan were considered the best in the whole of Russia'. A well-known artist-bookbinder (sahhaf) Muhammetgali, Gallyam al-Bulgari's son worked in the first half of the 19th century. Sev-

eral leather binders with his stamps have been preserved until now.

There are a number of references in literature about the lack of artistically-decorated manuscripts in Volga and Ural regions (see: [Dmitrieva, 1987, p. 442]), which is the result of ignoring the state of Tatar people they lost their sovereignty in 1552.

The common features in the art of all the peoples of the Islamic East was due to the common form of socio-economic relations and ideology and religion, as well as ethical and norms and aesthetic views. The similarity of artistic styles of Islamic nations was especially evident in manuscripts. Therefore, the artistic and decorative design of Tatar manuscripts was based on the manuscript tradition of the peoples living in the Middle East. However, it was not blind imitation.

The socio-political position of the Tatars in the Russian Empire was reflected in the visual and decorative design of Tatar manuscripts. The disappearance of Tatar feudal lords—the main customers and consumers of expensive manuscripts—defined the features of artistic decoration of manuscripts. There were almost no illustrated images either of a secular or religious nature. Laconism was a distinctive feature of Tatar manuscripts. The text was written inside a artistic frame and decorated with colourful vowel marks, which were mandatory in the Quran. While the main text was written in black, vowel marks facilitating the correct pronunciation of words, were written in red ink or in exceptional cases in gold. Small rosettes distinguishing each verse (Ayah) of the Quran also served as decorative elements. In the absence of ornamental decoration, the text itself played the role of decoration.

It was common for Tatar manuscripts to have floral and geometric decorations on the first 2–3 pages of the text. Ornamental miniatures could be sometimes met at the end of certain chapters. Headings (unvans) of manuscripts or individual works in collections (madzhmua) were marked graphically: with a different handwriting, or a different scale of letters and another ink colour. Colophons (conclusions) in manuscripts were also framed by ordinary or double frames, which seemed

to play the role of custodians of the author's or the scribe's name, as well as of the place and time of book creation. At the end of the author's text, there were often postscripts written by scribes or various owners, who sealed the manuscripts with ring seals to confirm their ownership rights. Handwritten religious treatises often had large margins filled with numerous inserts and comments. Poetry was usually written in two columns sometimes separated by ornamental lines. Tatar manuscripts had oriental pagination, but European pagination could also be met after the beginning of the 19th century.

The documentation of private legal relations was another area where the Tatar language and script continued functioning along with Russian (see more information on Tatar private legal deeds: [Minnullin, 1988]).

When the territory and the population of the former Kazan Khanate were added to Russia in the latter half of the 16th century, the Tatars found themselves in another legal environment requiring different documentation. Private legal relations were recorded in public institutions, predominantly in the Russian language (of course, the oral form of concluding contracts and deals also continued functioning, although to a very limited extent).

However, as seen from sources, Tatar deeds of a private nature, along with similar documents in the Russian language, also continued to participate in the process of written legal registration of various relations among the Tatars. These included the purchase and sale, exchange and mortgage of various property, commodity and credit relations, grants, wills and distribution of inheritance, transition of property in use as waqf, regulation of various conflicts among individuals, elections of an arbitrator, divorces, etc. This is an incomplete list of various areas of civil relations, where Tatar deeds were used for regulation and registration.

The degree of involvement of private Tatar deeds in documenting various private-law relations varied depending on the type of relations. For example, the use of Tatar in the sphere of registering private land relations begins to fade. This was due to the political and legal status of

the Tatars in the Russian Empire, after special statutes were passed prohibiting land transactions between unbaptised Tatars and Russian landowners. However, as shown by individual documents, Tatar private deeds continued to be used in this sphere of private-law relations. The value of such evidence is that they fixed those land transaction, which were not reflected in official documentation written in the Russian language. Private deeds written in Tatar also began to disappear in the field of documenting credit and other relations. At the same time, some spheres of private relations such as divorces were registered only using private deeds written in a native language.

Thus, despite the reorganisation and execution of private deeds by governmental agencies, Tatar deeds continued functioning during the period under examination, since it was an important means of registering and regulating legal relations between the Tatars and other nations of the Volga-Ural Region along with similar documents in Russian.

During this period, Tatar private deeds were mainly executed on ordinary Russian paper in the form of a notebook. The protective function of stamped paper confirming the formal nature of a document, did not play a special role while registering various transactions or contracts.

Private deeds were written in the Old Tatar language, which was characteristic of the period under review. Due to a lack of common rules, spelling was uncertain and inconsistent, which largely resulted from the transcription of Tatar sounds with various letters of the Arabic alphabet.

Within period under examination, mostly since the 18th century, the practice of maintaining Tatar records (especially in urban areas) was largely affected by the culture of maintenance of Russian records in terms of terminology; some elements from western European languages penetrated into the language due to mediation of the Russian language.

Religious clerics were the main executors of Tatar private deeds. They acted as guardians of the traditions of records in their native language. Private deeds could be executed by contractors themselves, that is by ordinary literate people.

Private deeds were signed by counterparts witnesses and religious clerics, with signatures of the latter serving as a certification mark. Due to the private nature of the documents, the sealing of private deeds was not a mandatory condition in the process of registering transactions and contracts.

Thus, both the written material and rules of executing and certifying these documents provide clear evidence of the characteristic features of the existence and status of Tatar private deeds.

So far, we have found and accounted for more than thirty varieties of Tatar private deeds.

It should be emphasised that conditions for more or less stable functioning of the Tatar written language in the period described were far from favourable. Wars and fires, rebellions and missionary pogroms led to the irretrievable loss of many written sources. A significant contribution to the centuries-long criminal history of destroying manuscripts was made by Russian sovereigns and officials of various ranks. For example, in 1742 alone in Kazan and its nearby territory, 428 out of 536 mosques were destroyed. A. Mozharovsky, a historian and a missionary noted that 'some of these mosques had been built before the conquest of Kazan, and others 200 years ago and or even earlier' [Mozharovsky, 1880, p. 89].

An instruction issued to Sviyazhsk province to commissioner Peter Afanasyev on May 27, 1757, prescribed that 'it is forbidden to build new mosques in any region, because under an order of the Most Holy Synod, Tatar mosques constructed after the issuance of the prohibition order, wherever they are located, including Kazan, should be destroyed, and shall not be built again, for which no permission can be given' [Istoriya, 1937, p. 332]. A well-known missionary Luka Konashevich was involved in systematic destruction of other monuments, for example Tatar gravestones with inscriptions (see: [Katanov, 1920, p. 298]).

In 1737, colonel K.-M. Tevkelev, who was at that time in the Southern Ural Region, discovered a Tatar manuscript 'Daftar-i Chingis-name' (the end of the 17th century), with new text added about Tatar-Bashkir rebellions of the beginning of the 18th century. He called

this manuscript an ‘outrageous libel’, reported on it to the Governing Senate, and ordered to find, arrest and punish Mustafa, Kutlugakhmet’s son, the scribe of the manuscript.

Thus, despite all the vicissitudes of fate, Tatar written culture resisted all the challenges in the described period and played a

major role in preserving and developing the centuries-long tradition, which at the end of the 19–early 20th centuries resulted in the formation and rapid development of Tatar book printing, publication of periodicals and the emergence of the modern Tatar national literary language.

§2. Tatar Language in Diplomatic Relations between Russia and the East

Fagima Khisamova

The historical development of the Tatar written literary language saw a unique and extremely important phenomenon in that Tatar served as the second state language in the Russian Empire—in its diplomatic relations with the East for more than three centuries (16–18th centuries). This area of the language use was studied in Tatar linguistics under a general name ‘Old Tatar Administrative Written Language’ [Tumasheva, Usmanov, Khisamova, 1977; Mannapova, 1982; Faseev, 1982; Gaynutdinov, 1985; Khisamova, 1999].

The emergence and functioning of an official administrative style of the literary language is socially determined. It presupposes the existence of statehood and developed social, political, administrative, legal and other relations. The emergence of the most typical records of the Turkic official and administrative style coincided with the beginning of formation of regional Turkic written literary languages in the 14–16th centuries, in the Volga region. These are the well-known *yarliqs* and *bitiks* of the Golden Horde period, the Kazan and Crimean Khanates.

The next stage in the development of official written language in the Volga region (14–18th centuries) is represented by numerous diplomatic, private-law and other deeds in Tatar, most of which relate to the Russia-East relations.

According to historical sources, Russia began implementing an active eastern policy in the latter half of the 16th century. Extension of old and establishment of new relations with the countries of the Middle Asia, Mongolia, China, etc. was of the main objectives pursued by the

eastern policy [Russko-kitajskie, 1969, p. 5]. Charters and messages written in the Tatar language along with the original document in Russian, were provided to Russian embassies to such countries as: India, China, Iran, Turkey, the Crimea, etc.

For example, the first Russian embassy to Iran (Qizilbash) took place in 1588–1590. Even before that, after the end of the 15th century, there was active correspondence between the Russian state and Turkey and Nogai murzas [Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, vol. 95, p. 1]. At the very beginning of the 16th century, in 1508–1521, there were several embassies to Nogai murzas: ‘...on April 13, 7016 (1508—F. Kh.) the Grand Prince sent Prince Temir Yakshenin to Nogai murzas, to prince Asan and other princes to take charters relating to the *metovskoye* case...and these charters were written in Tatar...’ [Ibid.].

Unfortunately, these Tatar charters have not been preserved in archive funds, or in any way they have not been yet identified. The earliest diplomatic document found in archives dates back to the beginning of the 17th century. This was a charter written by Moscow boyars to a Nogai prince Ishtiryak regarding the enthronement of a founder of Romanov’s dynasty, Tsar Michail Fyodorovich Romanov [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 127, 1613, file 3, inv. 1]. The charter was written in 1613. Nevertheless we take the 16th century as a limit for our chronology based on the following circumstances: first, as evidenced by historical sources, the tradition of using by the Russian State of Tatar as a language of diplomacy with eastern countries actually goes back to more ancient

times. This is also confirmed, for example, by a historian G. Gubaydullin referring to V. Bartold stating that in the 16th century, during the reign of Tsar Fyodor, Ivan the Terrible's son, service Tatars Bakrym Karmanov and Baybirdi Shaikhov were sent to the Middle Asia as a part of an embassy [Gobäydullin, 1989, p. 16]. Secondly, thanks to the work of Kh. Faizkhanov and V. Velyaminov-Zernov, many official acts written in Turkic in the 16–18th centuries have been preserved. They have been retrieved from an archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Many of them are similar to the documents studied by us: samples of the Crimea-Russia diplomatic correspondence [Materialy, 1864].

The Crimean deeds, especially those written earlier, in the 16–the beginning of the 17th centuries, consistently reflect the same tradition of formal and official writing, and almost all of them were written in Tatar. In this regard, it is interesting to recall a statement by G. Rakhim and G. Gazizov, who said that the Crimea used the Tatar language in their messages to Moscow, in the knowledge that Volga Tatars worked in Moscow chancelleries as translators [Räxim, Gaziz, 1924, p. 16, 17].

Judging by materials which have been found in archives, and by the written monuments analysed by other authors [Mannapova, 1982], the entire 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries can be called the most active stage of using the Tatar language in the Russia-East diplomatic relations.

In addition to the charter dated 1613, the following documents also refer to the same period: a) two charters written to Adel Giray, a Crimean sultan, dated 1659, as well as a charter written to Kalmyk Duvaratayshi dated 1673. A charter written to Aurangzeb, an Indian Shah, dated 1675, and a charter to Kalmyk taishi Daichin dated 1667 can be also attributed to this period, which have been previously studied by A. Mannapova.

The following documents go back to the very end of the 17th century: a) two charters of Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich to Suleiman, an Iranian (Shirvan) shah (1692); b) a charter to Subkhankul Bahadur, a Bukhara khan, prepared to be sent with Semyon Malenky (1695);

and c) a charter to Muhammad Erenk, a Khiva khan, (1695) and others.

When studying the language of diplomatic deeds written in Tatar in the specified period, one should take into account an important functional and stylistic feature: in most cases, these charters were transliterated copies of similar Russian diplomatic documents, and therefore they are somehow strained and artificial in selection of terms and the style of narration. At the same time they clearly demonstrate a connection with the previous stage of the Turkic official written language; they preserved all the techniques used in the Turkic-Tatar official and business written language that had been used for centuries and go directly back to the Golden Horde bitiks and charters: etiquette words, clichés, etc.

The following expressions, which are characteristic of the Turkic-Tatar diplomatic charters, have been found in the documents studied by us: *xan ägzam xäzrätläremezneñ räximlek süzümez uldır kem* ('a word of our dear Tsar'), *xan ägzam xäzrätläremezneñ xat şarıfläremez öçen* ('for the sake of a charter of our Tsar's Majesty'), *xan ägzamlık yarlıqamıznı yarlıkarmız* ('our Grand Tsar will demonstrate his great mercy to them') and others. New terms are interesting because they were often taken from the colloquial speech of the time. For example, the following expressions can be attributed to them: *Sezneñ yomışlıkıñızga*, *Sezneñ yomışlıkıñız öçen* ('for such your service'); *yomış kıylgaysız* ('render a service'), *biyüik kulumız astında* ('as a subject of'), and others.

For greater clarity regarding the functioning of the Tatar language in Russia-East diplomatic relations in the 16–17th centuries, let us analyze in detail the language of the earliest diplomatic letter found in archives—a Charter written on behalf of the Russian boyars to Ishtiryak, a Nogai prince (1613).

The Charter served as a notification; it described the events that happened at the beginning of the 17th century in the Russian state, namely the struggle against Polish and Lithuanian invaders, the raid of False Dmitry on Moscow, about his overthrow from the throne and the election of Tsar Michail Fyodorovich

(Michael I of Russia) to ‘the position of a sovereign’. The Charter also contains a request and a reminder to the Nogai prince of the need to maintain loyalty to the Russian state, the desirability of friendly relations and trade relations, etc. Here are some excerpts from this Charter.

Sender's name: *Olug cömlä Mäskäü mäm-läkäteneñ bayarlardan, diyaklardan vä barcha sipahilardan häm albauut uqlanlarından vä täkiy barchasından...* (‘On behalf of all the great Muscovite state, boyars, elders and dyaks, soldiers, gentries and all Prikaz employees and all other’).

Addressee: *Olug ulusnyñ vä täkiy Nugay urdagıñ Tın Ähmäd bi xannıñ uqlı Ishtiräk...uqlı berläñ bara mirzalarga vä täkiy il xalkıñızga da bulsa kübdin küb sälam tigä...* (‘to the Great Ulus and the Nogai Horde, Ishtiryak...the son of Tin-Akhmed bey, to all mirzas and all people...’)

Excerpts from the basic (narrative) part of the Charter:

Täkiy Lipka kurılı küñlün yamanlıkka alub, läşkäre berlä Mäskäü viläyaten büldürmək öçün antın-şirten bozop täkiy Mäskäü viläyatenä üz uqlun padişahlıkkä birmäde. Täkiy Mäskäü vilayäte neñ Smulin digän kalan caulab köç berläñ aldı, täkiy kurulıñ Mäskäüdäge xalkı eç kaladan çygyp, antın bozob, aldau berlä yañğı taş kalasın ut belän yandırdılar, küb Mäskäü xalkımıznı kırdılar häm malın taladılar, häm Mäskäü şähären bilädelär... The King of Lithuania, having acted improperly wishing to divide the Muscovite state, did not allow his son to be the Moscow Tsar. After that, he and his army seized Smolensk located in the Muscovite state, and at the same time, the king's people, who were in Moscow at that time, went out from the inner town and betrayed us, burned the new stone city and the wooden city by fraud, where many Moscow citizens were died, and captured Moscow...'

Then it was stated as follows:

Täkiy bu bälany kürüb, kurul xalığın böldeğänen, antın-şirten bozganın, täkiy Mäskäüneñ cömlä, Barcha yomosh khalkı üzara kiñäsh kılıb bikläştelär... *Täkiy üz çınlıkmız öçen, dinemez rum dine öçen, Mäskäü vilayäte öçen Lipkaga karşı torarga. Täkiy*

bez Mäskäü xalkı bergä cıyılıp kilep Mäskäü astına, Ak tash kalanı oroşob aldık... ‘And when they saw the king-betrayer ruin the city, all service class people and even all common people of Moscow gathered, discussed and decided...to counteract Lithuania and stand for the Muscovite state. And having gathered with all people near Moscow, they recaptured the white-stoned city...’

As seen from the main narrative part, the official and administrative terminology, various phrases and clichés were formed on the basis of the words of the Tatar language, the majority of which date back to the medieval yarlıqs of period of the Golden Horde and the Kazan Khanate. For example: tugrılık itkänlär irde (‘were faithful to us’, baş orduk ‘obeyed’, çynlıgın vä ant-şirten bozyb (‘having violated his faithfulness and oath’), olug siünüç berlä ant-şirt ittek (‘swore an oath with great pleasure’), Olo yarlıkashları bulgan irde (‘he demonstrated great mercy’), tınıçlık öçön kilde (‘came to establish peace’), etc.

The archives have preserved not only charters which today are an interesting and useful source for studying the history of the language, but also the names of those who translated letters, as well as those who wrote them. They were representative of the Serving Tatars (Kazan, Kasimov, Astrakhan ones), who, according to V. Bartold, rendered a great service to Russia in its relations with Central Asian and East Asian countries. Thanks to the Tatars serving in Russia, the Russian government already had translators for its relations with governments of Muslim countries [Bartold, 1925, p. 182].

For example, in 1689, the staff of the Posolsky Prikaz in Moscow included the following interpreters and translators from Tatar: Kuchukay Sakaev, Suleiman Tonkachiev, Peter Tatarinov, Rezep Baytsyn, Tokhtaraley Baginin, etc. [Belokurov, 1906, p. 31]. Many of them were hereditary translators, whose fathers and grandfathers were also in the Russian service. The autobiographical ‘legends’ mentioned by S. Belokurov based on the archive data, contain interesting information which cast light on the Tatars’ activities participating in Russian missions in the Eastern countries.

§3. Fiction

Khatip Minnegulov

As a rule, the level and nature of every nation's verbal art are determined according to the internal state and the spiritual life of the corresponding ethnos, as well as its national needs. The Tartars who had for centuries lived in a state with a settled way of life in cities, as well as a developed cultural and educational system, began to lose their material, spiritual and intellectual values in the middle of the 16th century. Despite the enormous difficulties, tragic twists of the fate and heavy losses, the ancestors of the modern Tatars mainly preserved their mentality, language and spiritual values and passed them to the next generations, thus ensuring continuity and historical memory of the nation. Islam and books played a leading role in this process as the most important factors of unity and spiritual support of Muslim Tatars.

There are a lot of facts and information about the significant distribution of books among the Tatars. In particular, most of the manuscripts 'Kiyssai Yusuf' (1212–1233) by Kul Gali were written in the 17–18th centuries. Works by Ahmed Yasavi, Suleyman Bakyrani, Rabguzi, Mahmud Bulgari and other medieval authors were very popular. Along with Turkic-Tatar writers, the Tatars also read works of Arabic, Persian, Turkish-Ottoman and Uzbek classics such as Imam Ghazzali, Saadi, F. Attar, J. Rumi, M. Çelebi, A. Navoi, and others. [Minnegulov, 1993]. In particular, 'Muhammadiya' (1449) by Çelebi was to some extent known already in the period of the Kazan Khanate. However, in subsequent centuries, it became one of the favourite books of Tatar readers and greatly influenced the development of the Tatar verbal art [Möxämmätov, 2007]. Famous written monuments of the Islamic East such as 'Kalila and Dimna', '1001 Nights', 'Tutiname' continued to attract the attention of the Tatars in the 17–19th centuries as before [Minnegulov, 1988].

The Tatar verbal art of the 17–18th centuries (it can be called literature of the late Middle Ages) is organically connected with the spiritual culture of the Tatar khanates and literature

of the 19th century. Authors such as G. Utyz-Imyani and T. Yalchygol lived and worked in the latter half of the 18th century and the first third of the subsequent century. Their works are often seen as a bridge between the two centuries, and they are considered writers of the late Middle Ages and the 19th century.

In the 17th century, the Tatars gradually adapted to the colonial conditions and the socio-political system of autocracy. This process was enhanced in the 18th century, especially during the reign of Catherine II. The verbal art also began to revive and develop. In the latter half of the 17th century, the poet Maula Koly was actively working in the field of literature. Gabdi continued his traditions. In the 18th century, the number of writers and their works increased several-fold as compared to the previous century. Literature was developing not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of ideology, topics and genres. Although poetry was dominant, a number of prose works were also created.

Along with original works, literature of the 17–18th centuries included translations from other languages, first of all from Arabic and Persian. However, they can hardly be called translations in the modern sense of the word. They are often represent an interpretation adapted to the new conditions and needs of Tatar readers. In particular, 'Nasikhath-name' by Amdami, a Siberian-Tobolsk poet of the 17–18th centuries, although created on the basis of a similarly-named work by F. Attar, is perceived as an original work, because the poets' individual creative features dominate there.

As in the previous centuries, the literature of the epoch continued the syncretism tradition, that is a combination of artistic and teaching tasks. In particular, works by Kadyr Galibek, Muslimi, T. Yalchygul and 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' by an unknown author are a combination of literary historical, religious and geographic principles and components. Such works are characterised by intertextuality, which was typical of many works of the Mid-

dle Ages. They widely used elements (excerpts, information, texts) from other sources.

Literature of the 17–18th centuries reflected individual events, details which were genetically related to the real life of the time. This trend can be seen in an ode devoted to Boris Godunov, in marcias by G. Utyz-Imyani, in khimets by Maula Koly, and in sayakhatname by Ismagil Bikmukhametov. However, the traditional approach to developing themes, scenes and motifs dominated in the verbal art of this period. Authors preferred religious and moral topics, widely used mythological and folklore materials. They were many Arabic-Persian and Ottoman-Turkish borrowings in the language; *arud* (Arabic prosody) dominated in poetry which means a system of versification genetically originating from the Arabic verbal art. Many works of this period were inspired by Sufism.

Let us now briefly describe some of the most famous and outstanding authors and works of the 17–18th centuries.

Maula Koly (Bayramgali Kuliev, Mellagol, Bimka Sufy) was born in the 1630s in Chita village (or Kulaevo village according to some data) of Kazan uyezd. He studied in one of the madrasahs of the Trans-Kazan region. After that, he lived together with like-minded people in the region of Bolgar and Bilyar, and was engaged in religious and educational activities, for which he was persecuted by public authorities. In 1699, he moved to St. Ishtiryak village (of the modern Leninogorsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) together with his family, where he lived for the rest of his life. According to Professor A. Burganov, Maula Koly's great-grandson, the poet died in the first decade of the 18th century.

There are 104 'khikmets' and two poems written by the poet. Khikmet is one of the lyrical genres of didactic and philosophical content and aphoristic nature. The tradition of writing khikmets in the Turkic literature goes back to poets of the 17th century. Ahmed Yasavi and Suleyman Bakyrghani, whom Maula Koly were regarded as his mentors. The closeness between them was evident not only in the genre structure, but also in the ideological content, themes and the system of images.

Most of the khikmets by Maula Koly were written in four-line verses. As a rule, each khikmet by Maula Koly ended in the author's appeal to himself. Implementing the objectives set in his poems was considered by the author as his duty. The language and style used by Maula Koly in his khimets is clear for a contemporary reader. The poet preferred antithesis, rhetorical questions and appeals, symbols, comparison and other artistic devices and techniques.

Maula Koly's khikmets are reflections about the world surrounding us and man's place in it, as well as the passage of time, life and death. In his opinion, the world is a book full of meaning which has to be learnt by man: 'God has much bliss, and to learn it, a man is given a head and mind'. Great emphasis was laid by Maula Koly on the moral character of man seen from the viewpoint of Islam. Respect for parents, child care, mercy to homeless and, of course, work as the basis of any welfare are the main virtues. Agriculture was considered by the author as the most virtuous and useful activity [Tatar encyclopaedia, vol. 4, p. 7].

Along with khikmets, Maula Koly wrote two poems: 'On like-minded people' ('Berëkännär sıyfati') and 'On those searching for permitted food' ('Xäläl näfkä estägännär sıyfati'), which became known only in the late 20th century. Both works are in character resemble fairy-tale. They touch upon issues of the religious and moral nature, maintenance of a family, as well as a living a decent life given to you.

Maula Koly's works had a great impact on subsequent development of the Tatar verbal art. In particular, Gabdi (1679–the first third of the 18th century), like his predecessor, praised patience, generosity, modesty, fairness and other positive qualities and actions of people, and condemned the opposite features (arrogance, greed...), emphasised mind and education. Gabdi's poems contain interesting details associated with the real life of the time. Gabdi condemned the activities of the authorities in relation to prisoners and said that they would go to hell for such actions [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984, pp. 402–403].

Gabdi's poems are characterised by brevity, aphoristic features and simplicity. The poet

used interesting poetic tools and techniques. For example, he compared the life of a man and his wealth with a morning frost ('kırâu'), youth with a 'summer heat' ('çellä'), and old age with the autumn. Like Maula Koly, to make the lines sound rhythmic, Gabdi used sound repetitions, anaphora, radif and other poetic and stylistic elements.

The poetic baton of Maula Koly and Gabdi was passed to Gabdessalyam in the 18th century, who was a teacher, religious actor, poet, and a well-known personality of the time. There is interesting information on this man and his activities in works by Sh. Marjani, R. Fakhreddin and others.

Gabdessalyam ibn Urazmukhammad...ibn Kolchura was born in 1700 in Menger village in Kazan uyezd in family of religious clerics. He studied in his native village, and then in Tashkichu madrasah (modern Arsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan). He worked as a teacher and as imam-khatib and mudarris in 1742–1746. In 1746, he moved to just-founded Kargala sloboda near Orenburg, where he opened madrasahs and mosques.

Along with his great religious, teaching and social activities, Gabdessalyam was engaged in literary work. It is ironic that the majority of poems written by this imposing and serious man are characterised by secularism, ease, simplicity, closeness to the spoken language and folklore. Like Gabdi, the author preferred syllabics rather than the classic arud (Arabic prosody). Gabdessalyam often stylized folk songs, especially humorous and witty ones, and used many images and details typical of folklore. The author glorifies the beauty of a loving lyrical hero, as well as inspiring feelings and experiences of lovers. Like Qutb and Khwarizmi, he declared full-blooded life on earth writing about the greatness of love and beauty of women [Minnegulov, 2010, p. 197].

Gabdessalyam's poetic heritage includes several poems, which are different from his love and comic works. One of them called 'Bait o Mellagol' described the tragic fate of a man who died in 1757 during the Russian-Prussian War in the territory of Poland [Tatar ädäbiyatı 2006, pp. 41–42]. The poem was written in the

name of the deceased person. His suffering, bitterness, longing, separation sound very effective in terms of emotions and aesthetics.

Gabdessalyam's poems were popular among the readers, and even entered the folklore. G. Kandali (Kandaly), a famous poet of the first half of 19th century (1797–1860) continued Gabdessalyam's tradition. Using the achievements of folk songs, he developed the Tatar poetry even more in terms of its availability to the general public. It should be noted that Abulmanikh Kargaly (1782–after 1833), a great poet of the 19th century, was Gabdessalyam's grandson, but unlike his grandfather, his poetry is characterised by religious and Sufi content, difficult language and style.

Poets other than Gabdi and Gabdessalyam were prominent in Tatar poetry of the 18th century. In particular, the collection 'Tatar literature of the 18th century. Poetry' curated by M. Ahmetzyanov [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2006] has works of some 30 well-known and unknown authors: Gabdraxman... Tajsugani (1690–1762), Ismagil (18th century), Gabderashid Murtazy (?–1797), Isxak Gabdelkarim (1730/1802), etc. They wrote in different genres of poetry: qasida, madhia (ode), marcia, rubai, fard (couplet), dastan. Many poems by these authors, Gabdessalyam included, are titled 'ilyahi bait', or 'Divine bait'. However they are not confined within the religious (divine) themes, they reflect romantic and socially important ideals. Some of these poems are close in composition and tone to baits—a poetic Tatar folk genre. For example, one of the works titled 'ilyahi bait' (also sometimes known as 'Qazan da Tubıl arası') [Tatar ädäbiäti, 2006, p. 202–204] describes a low state of mind of a person exiled from Kazan to Tobolsk, Siberia. He recalls 'his dear Kazan, his family, and feels like he fell into a deep hole'. Some scholars consider the author and hero of this poem to be Abubakir Ishtugan (died 1793), exiled to Tobolsk for resisting Christianisation [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2006, p. 344].

It is well-known that Islam offered spiritual support for Muslim Tatars, especially in difficult times of colonialism. This role was reflected also in the verbal art of the 17–18th centuries. In his 'qasida' (or, to be precise, in

his nag'ta) Gabdrahman Taisugani enthusiastically praises Mohammed the Prophet, using colourful epithets and similes. The Prophet acts as a protector, a leader, a 'fountain of knowledge, justice, a super icon...' of people. According to the author, no matter how much we praise the Prophet we would not be able to find enough words to describe him, he is "the essence of everything alive" [Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, pp. 31–40].

The poet Lukman in his munajat, praying to God Almighty, describes emotions and inner turmoil of the hero and asks God for help and mercy. According to him, 'we are slaves in this country' ('Äsir uldik uşbu ildä'), living 'in zindan', 'our soil has become a bustan ('flower bed') for disbelievers' ('bu yiremez kyaferä bostan'), where 'law and order don't exist' ('säyasät yuk bezim ildä') [Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, pp. 105–108].

In Tatar verbal art of the 18th century the link to reality and real people of the time is strengthened. However, historical facts, deeds and actions of those historical figures are sometimes judged differently by different people. Khusain Lukman's madhia in an idealised way describes the activities of Mukhammedzhan Khusainov—a religious activist and the first mufti of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly. The line 'Möxämmädcan irer kotbe zaman' ('Mukhammedzhan is the heart (centre) of the age') repeated after each stanza intensifies the importance of the described personality [Miñnegulov, 1994, p. 173; Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, p. 219]. It is noteworthy that the tradition of muftis being praised is continued in subsequent Tatar literature. In particular, the poem 'Tazkirai mufti Gabdessalyam' (1832) ('The life of the mufti') by Gumer Mukhammad positively reflects the life and deeds of Gabdessalyam Gabderakhim (died in 1840), the second mufti after M. Khusainov (from 1825) [Tatar poeziyase, 1992, pp. 300–302].

Among the 'serving murzas' especially notable was Qutlug-Muhammad Tevkelev (named Aleksei Ivanovich after baptising) (1674–1766) who served until he achieved the high rank of Major General of the Imperial army. Along with positive actions to strengthen the Russian Empire he was also notorious for his cruelty

in the suppression of the Tatar-Bashkir rebellions. He was killed by the rebels in the end. In the marcia which is included in 'The notebook of Bashir Gabdulla' the merits of Qutlug-Muhammad are viewed positively. According to the author we did not know the worth of this 'noble', 'diligent' person, he was killed by a 'villain' and 'God took the murza' [Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, p. 224–226].

Another contradictory person of the XVIII century similar to Qutlug-Muhammad Tevkelev, though not of the same socio-political level and scale, was Gabdelmannan Muslimov (Mandan) (1724–after 1784) honoured with the awards of Catherine II for merits and courage in the suppression of the Pugachev rebellion. The personality and deeds of Gabdelmannan Muslimov attracted the attention of a number of authors. In particular, his contemporary Rakhimkol Abubaker wrote a special ode-Madhya [Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, pp. 169–172], where the image of Gabdelmannan Muslimov is portrayed in bright colours and an enthusiastic tone. He is 'a true man' ('märdeman'), 'a hero' ('pählevan'), 'a second Rustam', 'an example of generosity, wittiness, eloquence' ('Ul yumartlik ürnägeder, ziräk akilli, osta, kürkäm telle'). Another author of the 18th century Gabdeldzhalil Gabdelmannan's son (probably the son of G. Muslimov) in his 'Historical Essay of Pugachev movement' [Tatar ädäbiyati, 2006, pp. 173–193] refers many times to G. Muslimov's poetry, remarks upon his courage and bravery in the battle with 'rioters'. It should be stressed that the Pugachev movement (almost half of its members were Tatars and Bashkirs) left a deep mark on the fate of the Tatars, especially in the verbal art. If in the writings of Rahimkol Abubaker, G. Muslimov, G. Gabdelmannan's son, Pugachev is depicted from the negative side ('villain', 'rebel', 'liar', 'damned'), in other works Emelyan Pugachev, Salawat Yulayev, Bakhtiyar Kankaev are presented as heroes, the defenders and fighters for the happiness of the people. For example, in the Tatar 'Song about Pugachev' the image of the leader of the peasant rebellion is portrayed with sympathy, the service in his ranks is rated as a great honour and happiness:

*Est` czar Pugachev, govoryat,
V sukonnoj odezhde on, brat.
Po Yaiku otdal on zemli
Vo vlast` muzhikov, govoryat.
E`x, esli by svidet`sya s nim,
S czarem Pugachevym samim,
I, prygnuv v sedlo argamaka,
Letet` s nim pod vetrom stepnym!*
(Translated by Tamara Yan)
[Antologiya, 1957, p. 27].

Gabelmannan Muslimov was not only 'a commander', a member of the military actions, but he was also a poet. In the collection of works 'Tatar literature of the 18th century. Poetry' three poems written by him are presented: 'No one knows except God...' ('Xakdin üzgä kem beläse...')—15 beits—couplets, 'Nazim' consisting of 7 quatrains and the lyric poem 'First about Allah...' ('Äüväl Allah xäzrätenä berläyle...')—consisting of 402 couplets [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2006, pp. 125–168]. In poetic and stylistic terms in the works of G. Muslimov a number of features are striking. In particular, in the poem 'First about God...' within 29 couplets each line begins with the word 'shäfägat' ('shäfägat` kiyl', 'shäfägat` äylä'—'be merciful'), and in 46 beits the word is given as the anaphora in the first or the second stanza. In a similar role in the 84 stanzas the word 'määd äylä...' (help!) is used. These words—anaphoras are addressed to God and to the prophets. Many lines of the lyric poem end with a reference to their names (mostly—epithets). Over 99 such names—synonyms are given: Rabbe, Xak, Gaffar (forgiving), Xamid, Ämir (ruler). Such references and repetitions, enhance the poetical sounding and the effect of the work on readers and listeners.

All the three poetical works of G. Muslimov are permeated with religious and moral ideas. The poet is knowledgeable in Islam, he uses the postulates and concepts of the Islamic religion with knowledge. For him, Allah is the embodiment of absolute truth, justice, the source of all things. Therefore, the author reviews and assesses every move, every action on the basis of the decrees of the Almighty, the Quran. Like many writers of the Middle Ages, G. Muslimov reproaches himself with carelessness and

insufficient fear of God. He writes that 'he has no good deeds' ('izge eshem yuk'), 'a lot of sins' ('gönahim küp'), 'every act is evil', ('the soul is dirty') ('hänüz eshem fäsaddir, küñelem kara'). The lyrical hero is striving for self-improvement, for absolution of sins. In his repentance he begs Allah to support him.

The poetic lines of G. Muslimov seem to be a confession of this active man. Apparently, the poet became aware of his unworthy actions with the course of time as well. It is the author himself who mentions in the following beits: 'Yäshlegemdä izge yulga dünmädem' ('As a young man I didn't make a step on a good way...'), 'Yäshlegemdä bashim saldim yülärgä' ('As a young man...I did a lot of stupid things').

In addition to the above mentioned authors, the Tatar poetry of this period is represented by other poets as well. Some of them continued their work in the beginning of the 19th century Akhmedbek (Ähmädbik) is one of these poets. There is information about his pilgrimage to Mecca. It is recorded in the poetry of the poet as well. The survived works are characterised by their refined language and aphoristic resonance. They are even presented in school textbooks [Miñnegulov, 1994, p. 174]. Two poems by Akhmedbek—'Al-vidag' ('Farewell') and 'Vajsel-Karani'—began to be performed by the Tatars as ritual chants during the Islamic fasting in the month of Ramadan [Tatar poeziyase, 1992, p. 234]. Two identical rows repeating after each stanza ('Yämän illärendä Väysel-Karani, Garäb çüllärendä Väysel-soltani') [Tatar poeziyase 1992, pp. 223–224] give the song-anthem a particularly elegant and musical resonance.

Valid Kargali (middle of the 18th century—1803)—a native of the current Kaybit district of the Republic of Tatarstan. At first, he studied in his native lands, and then—in Bukhara, Kabul. After returning to Russia, he lived in Kargala near Orenburg; he became an ishan (he was also called Valid ishan), he had many murids-adherents. In 1800, he went to Hajj and died in the city of Medina. His most famous poem dedicated to the first mufti Muhammedzhan Khusainov (1756–1824) [Tatar poeziyase, 1992, p. 229]. Unlike Khusain Lukman, Valid Kargali criticises the mufti's work,

encourages him not to fall for the temptation of wealth, high rank, and to serve honestly and diligently. According to the author, everything is still to come, 'Both Adam and Muhammad, and the prophets—all have gone; one must live, in order to leave 'a good name' after oneself ('nigü nam') [Miñnegulov, 1994, p. 80]. These words by Valid Kargali have something directly in common with the motives about the meaning of life, sung by Yu. Balasaguni, S. Sarai and other authors of the Middle Ages.

Readers more or less know the names of Kul Muhammed, Mandi Kotysh (1761–1849) and others. The latter had an especially popular book 'Vakti säxär' containing Sufi religious and moral ideas [Miñnegulov, 1982, p. 46].

The major poet of the second third of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, and the culmination of the Tatar verbal art of the late Middle Ages was Gabderahim Utyz-Imyani al-Bulgari (1754–1834). G. Utyz-Imyani was very capable and decent man. He spoke several languages, he even wrote some works in Arabic and Persian languages. He was knowledgeable in a wide range of sciences. He was notable for his wit, candor, polyhistory.

This encyclopedist, also known as 'Tatar Lomonosov', wrote about 100 works, the major part of which is poetry. Alongside with short poems in the genres of rubai, marcia, madhia (ode), fard (couplets), there are also voluminous poems, such as 'Gavarif az-Zaman' ('Enlightened Epochs'), 'Muhimmat az-Zaman' ('The most important problems of the age'), 'Tanzih al-afkar...' ('Good instructions for purification of thoughts'), 'Tuhvat al-Ghuraba...' ('The gift for the disadvantaged and the parables of the humiliated'), 'Gurbatname' ('The Tale of a slave') and others.

G. Utyz-Imyani can be considered to be one of the brightest founders and members of the so-called educational and renaissance literature of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Continuing the traditions of Maula Koly, he gathered grain by grain and restored many of the achievements of Turkic-Tatar verbal art of the ancient and medieval times, as well as the Eastern classics. In particular, motives and details which have something in

common with the works of Balasaguni, Saadi, Kul Gali and others frequently occur in his works. As the author of 'Kutudgu Bilig' (1069), Utyz-Imyani considers knowledge to be a necessary feature of a human life. It is 'the basis of the essence of the whole' ('giylemder aslı xäyat'), 'a means to achieve one's goals' ('giylmilä xasil ulir, ike cihan'); knowledge is 'an inexhaustible fortune' which cannot be stolen by any enemy or a thief ('...Ani nä doshman vä nä ugri alir...') [Utyz Imäni, 1986, p. 45]. In the works of Utyz-Imyani knowledge is treated in close connection with the questions of morality, religiosity.

In Utyz-Imyani's notion of 'a perfect man' ('kamil insan') is based on the importance of mastering a craft or profession. He is a supporter of active actions and practical affairs. In his opinion, if you are 'a real man, then express it to this world' ('Eget bulsañ, egetlek kürgäz ilgä') [Ibid., 1986, p. 118] one can achieve one's goals by labour and diligence alone.

In the works of Utyz-Imyani we see a significant convergence of literature and reality, the reflection of individual real events and elements of Tatar life of that era in them, in the biography of the poet. It is known that after several denunciations, the poet spent several months in Bugulma prison. In the poem 'Gurbatname' the author's state of mind in captivity, his thoughts and the feelings of the relatives, of the family, his desire for freedom are depicted quite vividly [Ibid., 1986, pp. 71–76]. Marcias, dedicated to the blessed memory of his wife Hamida, are fine examples of lyrical poetry of the late Middle Ages, in which the Tatar woman is portrayed in real-life conditions and relationships.

As for the linguistic-stylistic and poetic side of the works by Utyz-Imyani, he operates mainly within the classical, traditional literature. The vast majority of his poetic works are written in the arud poetic meter. The author uses many Arabic and Persian words and expressions.

The creativity of Utyz-Imyani is a transition period from the Middle Ages to the modern times, the link of literatures of the two epochs.

Tatar literature of the 17–18th centuries is represented not only by poetry, but also by

prose works. They include both original and translated works.

'Nasihāt al-salihin' ('Oracles of the righteous') is a widespread work amongst the Tatars. Since the middle of the 19th century (more precisely 1853) it has been reprinted more than 20 times. The author and the time of writing 'Nasihāt al-salihin' are uncertain. The essay represents a collection of works, a set of hikayats of religious and didactic character. Such human vices as drunkenness, adultery, usury are condemned in them, the desire of people to spiritual perfection is strongly endorsed. The essay also reflects the religious and mythological ideas of the Islamic world about the after-life, and about heaven and hell. The subjects of the hikayats of 'Nasihāt al-salihin' are taken from various sources, especially from the Arabic-language sources. There are passages from the Quran. Linguistically, the work is close to political journalism. The unknown author records dialogues quite successfully. Although 'Nasihāt al-salihin' is considered in modern science to be a written record of the 16–17th centuries [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2012, p. 368]; most likely, its first version may refer to earlier centuries.—Ideologically, thematically and compositionally it has something in common with the work of Mahmud Bulgari 'Nahj al-Faradis' (1358). According to Sh. Marjani's supposition, 'Nasihāt al-Salihin' refers to the Bulgarian period [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984, p. 293].

In terms of its ideological, thematic and structural nature another essay entitled 'Munabbihat' ('Wakeful', 'Warning') is close to 'Nasihāt al-salihin'. It is a free translation, undertaken in 1630 by an unknown person. The Arabic text belongs to Al Gaskalani al-Misri al-Shafigi, a well-known scientist and writer in the Islamic world [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984, pp. 329–331]. There are several manuscripts of the Tatar translation, based on which from 1905 to 1915 the printed editions of 'Munabbihat' were brought into life in Kazan. The translator emphasises the justice of rulers, respect for subordinates, the desire to create a more just order in society. These words are more or less focused on the colonial policy of tsarism. It is interesting that the Tatar translation of 'Munabbihat' is interspersed with slightly

changed lines from the poem by Balasaguni 'Kutudgu Bilig'.

'The beauty of a person is his face, and the beauty of the face is the eyes, the beauty of the mouth is the language and the language beauty is a kind word' ('Keşeneñ kürke bulır yöz, yözneñ kürke—küz, (aviz) kürke tel bulır, telneñ kürke yaxşı söz bulır') [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984, p. 330]. Here is how these words of the original sound in their not very successful translation into Russian:

Speeches are beautiful because of words, while thoughts—because of speeches,

People are beautiful because of their image, and their image—through eyes [Balasagunsky, 1983, pp. 163–257].

This fact itself shows the continuation in the 17th century of the traditions of epic poetry amongst the Tatars.

One of the prosaic records of the late Middle Ages is 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' ('Risälai tävarixe Bolgariya vä zikre mäülana xäzrate Aksak Timer vä xarabe Şahre Bolgar') by Hisamuddin Muslimi. This work is a fusion of historical, geographical, folklore and mythological beginnings. It is dominated by literary and journalistic style. A description often alternates with the narrative of the various events. There are dialogues as well. One of the reasons for the popularity of 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' amongst a wide range of readers, besides its content, is the important role is played by language and its literary merits.

In structural and compositional terms the essay by Muslimi consists of 'Introduction' ('Mökaddimä'), two parts ('Mäkalä') and 'Conclusion' ('Xatimä') [Möslimi, 1999; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2012, p. 284–308; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1963, pp. 444–466]. In a brief introductory part, the author sets out the information about the structure of the book and about himself. In the first part ('Mäkalä'), entitled 'On the wonders of creation', the eight ('fasls') of the story tells about time ('zaman'), the days of the week, the months, 'our well-known rivers' (About Ak Idel, Chulman, Nukrat, Cheremshan, Zay, Irn...), the 'wondrous' seas (the Chinese, the Indian, the Caspian seas...), and about the extraordinary properties of some of the mountains, and water sources.

The second part, 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' contains stories and information about 'the followers' ('tabigiyn') (the companions of Muhammad)—the inhabitants of Bulgar, as well as legends-hikayats about the acceptance of Islam in the Middle Volga Region. The 'Conclusion' recounts the conquest of Bukhara by Aksak Timur (Tamerlane). The author presents this fact as a punishment for 'vices' and 'depravity'. It also depicts the campaigns of Tamerlane against Moscow, Astrakhan, Istanbul, Iran, and there are also other materials, including the information about Taftazani—the 'mentor' of the author, and about displays of immorality amongst the people.

Thus, 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' focuses on the 'strange', 'unusual' events of history and nature. Oddly enough, the essay of Muslimi itself had its own and quite extraordinary destiny. It was widely propagated in manuscript form and after 1870 it was published many times. There are also translations into Russian. This work was referred to by I. Berezin, V. Velyaminov-Zernov, S. Shpilevsky, N. Katanov, Sh. Marjani, K. Nasyri, G. Rakhim, Kh. Khismatullin and many others (see: [Çiñgiz-namā, 2000, pp. 134–158]). Some consider it to be 'an unreliable historical source', while others have a contrary opinion.

At the end of the book the author writes that the work was completed by him in the village of 'Tashbilge' in 992/1584 [Muslimi, 1999, p. 48]. Based on certain facts and data, certain academics scientists (G. Rahim, M. Usmanov) consider it to be a written source of the 18th century. According to M. Gaynutdinov, 'the time when the original version specified in the work was compiled (1584)...is quite acceptable and there are no objections', and information related to the subsequent centuries, have been added by other later authors' [Tatarskaya literatura, 1999, p. 151].

Indeed, Muslimi in both historical and source terms contains frequent inaccuracies, mistakes, anachronisms, fiction and conjecture. However, this does not detract from its historical and literary value. This work presents a lot of facts and information relating to the history, geography, folklore, toponymy, literature of the Tatar people and its relations with other regions

and countries. The time when this work was created should also be borne. During the most severe colonial oppression, the author seeks to preserve the spiritual and ethnic continuity of generations, and to make existing historical and cultural materials available to the general public. The author largely continues the tradition of Eastern narrative literature, particularly, in structural and stylistic terms. 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya Bulgariya' is not only a record of fiction, but also a book of informative nature. With a skillful and critical approach, the work provides interesting and useful data in various areas of science, especially history, literature, linguistics, toponymy and folklore.

In terms of genre and structure, 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' forms a part of a group of so-called 'box-compositions'. The components (scenes, chapters) of such works have relational autonomy. The common feature is the general ideological and thematic beginning.

In addition to 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya', there are also other prose works of 'the box-composition' type in the Tatar literature of the 17–18th centuries. These are 'Jami' al-tawarikh', 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name'. These works are similar not only in structure, eclectic character, but also in terms of content. For example, they reflect the image of Chinggis Khan, and feature certain common pages of Turkic-Tatar history.

'Jami' al-tawarikh' ('Compendium of Chronicles', 'Universal History'), was completed in 1602 in Kasimov. Its author, Kadir Galibek (Kadiyr Galibāk) was a native of the West Siberian Tatars. He filled the senior positions in the Siberian Khanate. He participated in battles with Yermak detachments. In 1587 he was captured and brought to Moscow. From 1600, he was karachibek at the court of Kasimov Khan Uraz Muhammad, who also had the same fate as the author. Uraz Muhammad was also captured by Russians. [Usmanov, 1972, p. 33–96; Tatar ādābiyatı, 1963, pp. 467–480; Tatarskaya literatura, 1999, pp. 157–162].

The writing of Kadir Galibek can be called a brief Mongolian-Turkic-Tatar history. A significant part of it is a rather free translation of selected chapters from the book of the famous Persian historian and scientist Rashid al-Din

(Abul Hayrai Hamadani (1247–1318)) 'Jami' al-tawarikh' from Farsi into Tatar. The history of the 14–17th centuries, was written by Kadir Galibek. Here he used a variety of written, folklore sources. The information about Uraz Muhammad, Boris Godunov and the others relating to the end of the 16–the beginning of 17th century, was directly introduced into literature by the author.

The independent part of the 'Jami' al-tawarikh' of the Tatar writer begins with a presentation of the history of Urus Khan. This is followed by 'Tales' about Tuktamysh Khan, Timur Kutlu-Khan, Edigü-Beg, Hajji Muhammad Khan, Yadkar Khan and other Tatar rulers. These stories (essays) are named by the author as 'dastans'. They also include genealogical information, also known as 'shedzhery'.

In historical and literary terms, the most interesting of these are 'Dastans of Uraz Muhammad Khan' and the dedication to Boris Godunov. Kadir Galibek emphasises the Chingisid origin of Kasimov Khan, thus he stresses that Uraz-Muhammad is the legal heir to the throne. The author both skillfully knowledgeably describes in detail the situation of the court of Kasimov and the accession ceremony of Khan to the throne.

Both Kadir Galibek and Uraz Muhammad were former opponents of the Muscovite state. As already mentioned, after the defeat and the elimination of the Siberian-Tatar Khanate, both of them were captured and brought to Moscow. When some time had passed Boris Godunov appointed them rulers of the puppet government of the Kasimov state. The 'Jami' al-tawarikh' provides clear evidence of the dependence of his karachibek on the Moscow tsar, and their loyal attitude as subjects of the state. The 'Dastan of Uraz Muhammad' states that the Khan both 'day and night' and during feasts was constantly speaking of Boris Fyodorovich, and always ruled his subjects by 'yarliq' [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 1963, pp. 479–480]. In the 'Dedication to Boris' ('Täg'rife Boris') Kadir Galibek, using the experience and achievements of the previous Tatar panegyric literature, creates the ideal image of a ruler: Boris Godunov is both powerful and just, humane and wise, he is an autocrat of the global meaning [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 1963, p. 472–475].

The style of the ode-Mahdia is elegant, it is written in rhythmic, rhymed prose.

'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' (approx. 1679–1680), although both in terms of its structure and eclectic character, and by the similarity of the individual 'dastans' is close to 'Jami' al-tawarikh', is different in the general mood from the work of Kadir Galibek. The anonymous author is critical of the existing colonial order and strongly idealises the former Mongolian-Turkic rulers, such as Chinggis Khan, Aksak Timur. He represents them as defenders and support of Islam. Although some scholars (M. Ahmetzyanov) suggest that the author of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' is 'Idris Hafiz', the religious leader, and participant in the Peasant Rebellion of 1670–1671, most academics support the view that the work is anonymous.

'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' ('Äxväle Çiñgiz xan vä Aksak Timer', 'Dastannar mäcmugasi', 'Dastannar kitabi') was first published in 1819 in the reading book by I. Halfin. This was followed by other publications, in particular the complete edition of 1882, carried out by R. Dzhihanshin. There are also Russian translations, and other publications, as well as research works [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 97–134; Miñnegulov 1994, p. 149–152; Çiñgiz-namä, 2000; Tatarskaya literatura, 1999, pp. 177–180].

'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' consists of 6 chapters. They are referred to as 'dastans', as they are in the book by Kadir Galibek. Besides this word, the names relating to chapters are used 'fasl', 'bäyan'. The first four dastans recounts genealogies (Shajare) and the individual episodes of the life and deeds of Chinggis Khan, Aksak Timur, Gaisa son Amat, Edigü-Beg. All of them are historical figures. However, in conjunction with fictitious materials and legends, real facts and events are presented in dastans. Chinggis Khan, Aksak Timur are perceived to some extent as heroes of the dastan and fairy tales. Anachronisms are (probably deliberately) allowed in the chronology. Thus, for example, Aksak Timur, who lived in 1336–1405, is presented in a dastan by his contemporary Dzhadaj Khan [Chagatai—the son of Chinggis Khan, the end of the 12th century—the first half of the 13th century]. The origin and birth of Chinggis Khan are set out in folklore and

mythological form. There are sometimes lines of poetry, among the prose texts. Plots, especially those of the first chapter, are interesting and entertaining. Dialogue occupies an important place in the narrative.

The fifth dastan, named 'About the whereabouts and residence', occupies only half a page. The cities mentioned are marked as the capitals of certain rulers: Hajji Tarkhan (As-trakhan)—Temür Qutlugh, Kazan—Chagali Khan [Çiñgiz-namä, 2000, pp. 37–39].

The last dastan 'On History' is remarkable in its historical and ideological sense. It contains details of the capture of Bolgar by Aksak Timur, on the establishment of Kazan by Khan Gabdulla's sons, Altynbek and Galimbek; of the duplicity of Chagali Khan, and the capture of Kazan by the Russians. Further there is a list of khans of the Kazan tsardom; and the most important, tragic events of the Tatar and Russian history are also recorded: conversion to Christianity, the national movements (the rebellion of Enaley, Djagfar Seit), and the reign of Michael Fyodorovich, 'Fyodor', 'Ivan', 'Aleksey'. The author condemns the colonial missionary policy of tsarism.

Thus, 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya', 'Jami' al-tawarikh', 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name', similar in genre structures, are syncretic works combining historical, literary, geographical origins. They are interesting informative, literary and artistic points of view. One can observe here the convergence of literature and reality, the enrichment of verbal art with new facts and information; in addition, the secular origin prevails in these works.

We can see similar phenomena in the works related to travels. These are referred to as the 'seyahatname'. This genre is widely popular in world literature. The travel memoirs by Ibne Fadlan (the 10th century), Al-Garnati (the 12th century), Ibne Batut (the 14th century), Ibne Arabshah (the 14– the 15th centuries), and some others contain interesting facts related to the life and the culture of Turkic-Tatar people. Seyahatname were also created in the Tatar written literature. However, they have unfortunately disappeared without trace, or have not yet been discovered. The extant Tatar Seyahatname refer only to the late Middle Ages. One

of these works is the travel notes of Murtaza as-Simeti [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2012, pp. 309–312, 417–422]. He lived in the latter half of the 17th century—in the first third of the 18th century in the village Simet of the contemporary Mamadysh district of Tatarstan. His work was first published in 1900 in the 'Asara' by R. Fahrudin. The pilgrimage route of as-Simeta passed through Bukhara, Iran, Iraq, Medina, Mecca, Egypt, Greece, Istanbul, Crimea, As-trakhan. The author mentions the names of prominent people of the Islamic East as well. For example, he says that they visited the grave of F. Attar and the grave of Abu Yazid Bistami in Nishapur, the grave of Nakyshbandi in Bukhara, the graves of Mansur Hallaj, Zunnun al-Misri, Lukman Hakim in Bistan and Baghdad. As-Simeta wrote his essay in 1698–1699.

The most famous seyahatname of the 18th century was written by Ismagil Bikmukhammedov [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1963, pp. 522–531; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 2012, pp. 313–341, 422–436; Aleeva, 1993]. The seyahatname of Ismagil Bikmukhammedov is written in epistolary form. It reflects the main stages of the trip, and the author's journey to Central Asia, Indian Subcontinent, Arabia, as well as the nature, life and customs of many nations. Ismail aga appears before us as an active, impressionable, thinking person interested in everything. His essay is dominated by the personal principle. The author not only captures interesting, rare, dramatic facts, events, turns of life, but also expresses his attitude to him, shares his thoughts and experiences with the reader. The narrative is perfectly blended with descriptions and dramatic elements. The author lived for many years in the Ottoman state. Thus the influence of the Ottoman Turkish language is clearly revealed in the language of the seyahatname. Ismagil Bikmukhammedov's essay expands the geographical horizons of the Tatar verbal art, enriching it with new facts and materials. In addition to the historical and literary value, it is also the most important source for the study of inter-state and inter-ethnic relations. For this reason it was often used by representatives of various academic and social groups.

There is another seyahatname dating back to the latter half of the 18th century which is

popular amongst readers. It belongs to a religious figure, a resident of the village of Yana Sala of Kazan uyezd—Gumar, son of Muhammadamin. The main content of this work [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 2012 pp. 342–358] is the author's pilgrimage to Arabia. Muhammadamin describes in detail his route and what he has seen on the way. In 1783 he left the village. From Kazan to Astrakhan he sets off by boat. He served as the imam in the North Caucasus for three years. Next across the Black Sea he comes to Istanbul. From the capital of Turkey through the Mediterranean Sea he makes his way to Egypt. Al-Azhar Muhammadamin stayed for a year in the Cairo Mosque. In all, Muhammadamin devotes nearly ten years of his life to pilgrimage.

Like his predecessors Murtaza as-Simeti, Ismagil Bikmukhammedov and Muhammadamin while travelling became acquainted with the sights of other countries, and visited the graves of saints and religious figures. In particular, he writes about visiting the mosques of Allah Sufi in Istanbul, Al-Azhar in Cairo and visits the graves of famous prophets. This route was clearly envisaged for the general program of pilgrimage. Muhammadamin aims to be specific when describing the memorable places, mosques and cities. For example, he points out that in Istanbul there are 4 thousand mosques, 360 gates, 80 thousand streets, and 360 jewelry shops [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 2012, p. 358]. The tissue of the essay includes various stories and legends.

In the description of the holy places of Arabia are described, there are certain similarities with the works of Ismagil Bikmukhammedov and Muhammadamin. This was apparently dictated by a common source of information. The works of the two authors were first published in a single book ('Ike xaciniñ rixlätnamäse') in 1862 by the famous Orientalist G. Sablukov [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 2012, p. 437].

The traditions of the *seyahatname* genre were continued in the 19th century, especially in the early 20th century by G. Chukry, Z. Bigiev, F. Karimi and other authors.

For many centuries literature has been dominated by the 'fariy-tale romantic' genre, and tradition. This was underscored by a preference for the development of well-known

themes, images, stories, dominated by fairy-tale and fictional materials, conditional forms and approaches. 'The true beginning' was in a subordinate position. As we have already noted, more and more materials in some works of the late Middle Ages, especially in the genre of *seyahatname* (book of travels) were directly taken from real life, including the life of the Tatars. One of the most remarkable works in the development of realism in Tatar literature is 'Garyzname' by Batyrsha, the leader of the Tatar-Bashkir rebellion of 1754–1756. 'Garyzname' [Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 2012, pp. 107–162, 388–407; Miñnegulov, 1994, pp. 170–171; Tatar *ädäbiyatı*, 1984, pp. 411–419] and 'Batyrsha Appeal' (1755) [Bäyräмова, 2012, pp. 53–63] is a synthesis of socio-political and literary and journalistic principles. It is a cry from the soul of a man who has not been broken under the blows of the long-standing colonial policy of tsarism.

Among the prose works of Tatar literature of the late Middle Ages, the 'Madzhmug al-hikayat' ('Collection of hikayats'), composed in 1775 in Western Siberia by a native of Transcaucasia, Muhammadrahim Ibn Rafiq al-Kazani, is of significant interest. This book [Mäcmugil-xikayat, 1994] consists of 33 hikayats of an adventurous, romantic love, fairy tale, fantastic and didactic character. Although all of these compositions are called hikayats, they actually represent different narrative genres such as story, novel, tale, fairy tale, parable and others. They are characterised by an entertaining, suspenseful nature, dynamic actions and deeds, and rich and elegant language. Therefore, these hikayats are taken with love and interest by readers and listeners. The heroes in them are characterised by their activity, love of life, insight, and ability to get out of any situation.

The basis of the 'Madzhmug al-hikayat' is a similar collection in Farsi. The Tatar translator kept the stories, images and basic content of the original, but along with the transplantation of the Persian texts into the new language he made some changes, additions and abridgments. In short, to a certain extent, he adapted the foreign work to the imaginative thinking and perception of Tatar readers.

Tadzheddin Yalchygol (1763/1768–1838), as G. Utyz-Imyani (although not on the same scale), is one of the last representatives of Tatar literature of the late Middle Ages, a link of the 18–19th centuries. But his works, unlike those by Utyz-Imyani, are more inclined to the Middle Ages; thus, they are dominated by religious and Sufi ideas, traditional principles, methods and means of artistic creation.

Two works from the oeuvre of Tadzheddin Yalchygol are especially famous: 'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' and 'Risalyai Gaziza' [Miñnegulov, 2003, p. 59–91]. Both of them were completed in 1805–1806.

'Tawarikh-i Bulgariya' is similar in structure and overall content to the works of Muslimi and Kadir Galibek. It harmoniously combined historical and literary beginnings. The compositional core of this book is the author's genealogy and biography. The plot of the work includes some everyday scenes, facts and stories related to some extent to the genealogy Shajare of Yalchygol. The essay was written during the period of forced Christianisation of Tatars and their persecution from their original lands. The author attempts to prove by his works that he and his people have lived on their lands for centuries, that it was their homeland, that they had a rich, centuries-old ancestry.

The hallmark of the works by Tadzheddin Yalchygol is considered to be 'Risalyai Gaziza', a voluminous (some manuscripts reach 500 pages) book written as a combination of prose and poetry. The first printed edition of it appeared in 1847 in St. Petersburg; this was followed by Kazan publications (there are about 40).

It should be noted that this work by Tadzheddin Yalchygol was very popular with the Tatars; it was used as a textbook in educational institutions, especially for women and had a significant impact on the work of later authors. In addition, 'Risalyai Gaziza' had a certain popularity among the Turkic peoples, and were read with interest by Bashkir, Kazakh, Nogai and Kirghiz shakirds.

The basis of 'Risalyai Gaziza' is a poetic essay by the Central Asian poet Sufi Allayar (1616–1713), who wrote in Turki and Farsi. As noted by Tadzheddine Yalchygol and some

other authors, Sufi Allayar was a member of a Nogai Tatar family. His parents moved from Astrakhan to the village of Minglen, close to Samarkand. He studied at the madrasah in Bukhara. He was notable for his piety and asceticism, and became a famous Sufi. He did not break his relations with his parents' birthplace, he visited the Volga region and Kazan many times, and met with prominent Tatar religious figures. Sufi Allayar lived a long life and visited the holy places of Muslims many times. He died in Alexandria during one of these pilgrimages (hajj).

Sufi Allayar is the author of numerous poetic works with a Sufi religious content: 'Moradel-garifin' ('The purpose of knowing the truth'), 'Mäxzanel-motıygiyn' ('Treasury of the faithful'), 'Mäxläkel-möttäkıyn' ('The Way of the pious'), 'Sobatel-gacizin' ('The resistance of the weak' and others [Makhanova, 2008]. All of them were popular among readers, especially in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions. The fact is that after the elimination of the Kazan, Astrakhan and some other Khanates, the real genocide against the Tatars began. Under these conditions, Islam and the closely related Sufism remained one of the supports for the people. Thanks to the Quran and Sufi religious books, the Tatars survived terrible trials and persecutions. Under these circumstances, there was an enormous need for the books of Sufi Allayar among readers. They were read, copied and used in creating new works. Starting in the 19th century, the works of Sufi Allayar were printed in large editions in printing houses of Kazan.

The most popular with the Tatars was the poem 'Sobatel-gazhizin', a kind of reference book for many thousands of readers. It contains a set of various documents and information about Islam. The author seeks to give his audience an idea about the main postulates and principles of the Islamic faith. The book is characterised by deep thoughts, graceful poetic language, and rich variety of concepts and meanings. Therefore, it was hard to for many people to understand and assimilate, especially for shakirds. As a result, various comments and interpretations of 'Sobatel-gazhizin' appeared. In particular, there are selective

interpretations ('sharhs') of this book made by Utyz-Imyani.

According to the available information in the 'Risalyai Gaziza', in commenting on 'Sobatel-gazhizin', at the request of his beloved daughter Gaziza, Tadzheddin Yalchygol simply wanted to clarify individual pages for educational purposes. However, the work fascinated him: as a result of long, hard work, this popular record of Turkic-Tatar literature was created. In honour of his daughter, he named the book after her.

'Risalyai Gaziza' is a very complex work both in structure and content. On the one hand, almost all the poetic lines of 'Sobatel-gazhizin' have been included in it. On the other hand, all the stanzas of the main text are commented on and interpreted by Tadzheddin Yalchygol. The author refers to the variety of materials and information from real life, and from a variety of written sources. In particular, there are images and stories taken from the Quran, from the writings of Gazali and Attar, from 'Kiys-sasel-Anbiya' by Rabguzi and 'Nahj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari. What is most important is that these materials adapted by intertextuality are creatively treated, and harmoniously and naturally agree with the core idea and spirit of the work. The religious and everyday picture of the world is filled with new events and perceptions. In addition, Tadzheddin Yalchygol gives information about the life of Sufi Allahyar, some other images and characters. Most

of the comments and explanations are given in prose form. In addition, there are also poetic lines of the author of 'Risalyai Gaziza' describing Tadzheddin Yalchygol as a poet. Thus, as a result of the creative fusion of the two authors, a unique composition with great religious, educational, and informative value appeared. With good reason it became a textbook of life for many generations, the most important ideological and aesthetic factor of the long history of verbal art, and a model of syncretism.

Verbal art of the 17–18th centuries is an important stage in the long history of Tatar literature. In spite of the incredible difficulties and the enormous material and spiritual losses, the Tatars did not lose touch with the book, and remained faithful to the art of the word. Along with baits, songs and other genres of folklore, written records of various genres and forms were also created. In varying degrees they continue the traditions of past ideological and aesthetic achievements; new works relevant to real life, which reflected the joys and sorrows of our ancestors, and their state of mind also appeared.

The verbal art of this era served as the basis and support for the literature of the 19th century, for the works of many authors, such as Sh. Zaki, G. Kandaly, K. Nasyri, Akmulla and others, who in turn, contributed to the work of G. Iskhaki, G. Tukay, M. Gafuri, G. Ibragimov, Derdmend and many luminaries of Tatar literature of the early 20th century.

§4. Enlightenment

Marsil Farkshatov

Traditional Tatar schools—maktabas and madrasahs—have been attracting the attention of domestic and foreign researchers for a long time. There are a fairly large number of special historical and educational studies, the authors of which variously and sometimes directly oppositely evaluate the Islamic education system (see, for example: [Validov, 1923, p. 12; Gorokhov, 1941, pp. 9, 140–243; Khisamutdinov, 1967, pp. 373–381; 388–396, 404–405; Khanbikov, 1968 and others]).

Despite considerable nuances, there is a consensus in the literature when describing schools at mosques: the traditional Islamic institutions of the Volga-Kama region managed to adapt to the conditions of the Russian state; and by the beginning of the 19th century, thanks to the intellectual and material efforts of the Tatar people, the Islamic education system in Eastern Russia became a significant social and cultural phenomenon influencing all spheres of public life, despite

the unfavorable political ideological and economic environment.

Unfortunately, however, the specific history of the Tatar enlightenment of the feudal period, especially outside the Upper and Middle Volga regions, the Urals, above all Siberia, where there was another ethno-political situation (see, for example: [Istoriya Sibiri, 1968; Istoriya Sibiri, 1968a]), still remains almost unknown. Below we give a general idea, not only of the external, but also of the internal state and development of traditional Tatar schools.

The historical conditions of Tatar schools. From the latter half of the 16th century to the end of the 18th century, the development of the national school was determined by two main factors: the loss of their own state after the fall of the Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates, and the predominance of agrarian, pre-industrial relations in economic life. The first of these was specific to many non-Russian and non-Orthodox citizens of the country, the second was common to all the peoples of Russia and many other countries of that time.

The inner force that determined the overall direction of evolution of the national school, was the traditional agrarian character of Tatar society. The main branch of the economy was extensive, relatively simple agriculture and cattle breeding, based mainly on the experience and tools of the previous generations, which primarily required physically strong people who had learned the wisdom of farming and domestic animal care in practice, not from a book or at special educational institutions. And parents paid most attention to the labour education of their children [Šäymärdanov, Sibgatullin, 2004, pp. 26–27, 183–190]. Therefore, literacy and practice-oriented book learning was not a priority need for the vast majority of the local population.

If you take into account the total dominance of religious ideology in the public consciousness, the absence of equal opportunities with the dominant group to make an administrative, military or academic career and to engage in mental labour paid by the treasury and entrepreneurial activities, particularly in industry, for the Tatars under the Orthodox autocracy until the end of the 18th century, their schools

as an institution for socialisation of the young generation could only have a spiritual and religious nature and be primarily educational.

The new external environment left a huge mark on the image of traditional Tatar schools, which were built on a common basis for the entire Islamic world. First of all, their geographical distribution changed. Schools at mosques were mostly rural, as Muslim Tatars had lost their right to live in cities, and the famous Islamic places of worship and cultural institutions that had been there before were destroyed. Without a doubt, the destruction of the Tatar urban culture had the most serious consequences for the entire national life. What was also new was the fact that along with with the mass migration of the Tatars and their spiritual leaders from the former Kazan Khanate, new national centers of religious and cultural life, including schools, were established in the new lands, especially in Bashkiria and Kazakhstan. But even there they were located outside the cities, for example, in villages that later become well known throughout Eastern Russia, such as Sterlibashevo, Kuganakbashevo and Akhuno-vo of Ufa-Orenburg region, among others.

The first madrasah in Old and New Kazan Tatar slobodas—Ahundovskoe (the akhund and imam of the First Cathedral Mosque and the mudarris Ibrahim Hudzhashi), Apanayevskoe ('Lakeside' at the Second Cathedral Mosque) and at the house of Amirkhanov—appeared only in the last quarter of the 18th century, that is during the policy of enlightened absolutism of Catherine II [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoj Respubliki, 1950, p. 319; Islam, 2006, pp. 35–36, 95–96]. However, even in the next century, these schools were not fully capable of leading educational affairs, even for just the Volga Tatars [Zagidullin, 2008, pp. 39–40; Khabutdinov, 2013, p. 109]. The same can be said about the schools attached to mosques in the cities of Orenburg, Troitsk and Verkhneural'sk established at the end of the 18th century on the border of the Russian Kazakh Little and Middle zhuzes that entered into voluntary allegiance in 1731–1743 with the involvement of government agencies concerned with the development of economic and diplomatic relations with the East [Ale-

torov, 1905, p. 155–156; *Ocherki istorii shkol'*, 1973, p. 556]. They became true educational centers for the Tatars, as well as for the local Bashkirs and Kazakhs, only many decades later [Farkhshatov, 1994, pp. 83–89].

More or less regular communications between the Volga and Ural Muslims and the recognised urban cultural centers of the rest of the Islamic world (Baghdad, Medina, Mecca, Cairo, Istanbul, and others) were also restored only after the failure of the heavy-handed missionary policy and the recognition by the Russian authorities of Islam as a tolerable religion at the end of the 18th century.

The fall of Kazan dealt a severe blow to the system of funding the educational institutions of the Tatars. They completely lost government support and ended up in the care of local Muslim communities (Arab.: *mahalla*). The lack of official government subsidies, on the other hand, not only contributed to the autonomy of *maktabs* and *madrasahs*, thus freeing them from government control (the first practical attempts to create it go back only to the 1870s. [Farkhshatov, 1994, pp. 40–43, 47–52]), but also led to the creation of the original model of voluntary national funding of school affairs by the Tatars. In addition, it promoted maximum cheapening of the content of traditional educational institutions. Modesty became their distinctive feature, starting from the school building and ending with the teaching staff. The latter was usually limited to one person, who was a spiritual leader (Arab.: *imam*) of the local Islamic community, who was assisted in teaching younger students by so-called '*halfas*' (Arab.: *deputies*): the best senior high school students and graduates preparing to take religious positions (assistants in modern terminology).

The situation could have been saved by '*waqfs*' (religious trusts)—real property and capital donated to mosques and schools under them, as well as other charities, which were usually widespread in the Islamic world. However, by this time, the Tatars had been completely destroyed. The formation of new *waqfs* was prevented by the Russian administration, and by the absence of well-off social classes among the Tatars themselves, since their eco-

nomic elite had been practically decapitated by the new authorities, and its revival was very slow. Restoration of a full working *waqf* system did not happen even later (up to 1917!), when a Tartar bourgeoisie sizable in both number and economic resources appeared (the Agishevs, Apanayevs, Deberdeevs and Saidashevs in Kazan, and the Rameevs and Khusainovs in Orenburg, the Akchurins in Simbirsk, the Yaushevs in Troitsk, the Saydukovs in Tobolsk, and the Nazirovs and Khakimovs in Ufa, and others), ready to support the cause of national education with their own money (for details see: [Khasanov, 1977, pp. 84–116; Azamatov, 2000; Salikhov, 2013, pp. 552–553; Zagidullin, 2013, pp. 418–421]).

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As a result, the private Tatar school became not only cheap, but also multipurpose: a library and a school for incoming students, and sometimes a shelter for the poor and the disabled, as well as for wanderers, were often organised under its roof. In addition, due to nationwide support (as well as the lack of bureaucratic control), *maktabs* and *madrasahs*, unlike many of the country's state-owned educational institutions at that time were developed 'from below' rather than 'from above' by the will of the tsarist government, and their activities from 'the political order' of the authorities (see, for

example: [Mukhametshin, 2005, p. 29; Vishlenkova 2008, p. 23]).

Restoration and development of the school network. In the latter half of the 16–18th centuries, two stages corresponding to the periods of general historical development of the ethnos as a whole can be identified in the development of historical and educational process of the Tatars. The first stage took not years or even decades, but centuries. It covered about two centuries after the fall of Kazan and was characterised by a marked decline of national education and continuous persecutions of the Tatar school by the tsarist government (it was Moscow's response to the so-called Mongol-Tatar yoke). The second stage began in the latter half of the 18th century after softening the anti-Islamic policy of the Center, which culminated during the reign of Catherine II in the recognition of Islam as a tolerable religion and the establishment in Ufa in 1789 of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly—the 'supreme' government institution for management of the internal affairs of Muslims. In the environment of the rise of national religious life that followed, rapid growth in the number of official maktab and madrasahs began, continuous and legal inter-regional and international exchange of teaching staff and students was restored, the volume of manuscript book production grew significantly, and the first steps were taken towards overcoming local insularity and international isolation of the Tatar spiritual culture. Thus at the end of the 18th century, the features of a specific Tatar pre-renaissance appeared clearly, laying the foundation for significant progress in school education later, especially during the national revival at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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The surviving written sources do not allow us to establish the exact dates of appearance of the first permanent schools in the Volga region, in the Urals and Siberia after their accession to the Muscovite state. However, it is certain that

teaching of literacy and book learning among the local Tatars took place after the tragic fall of the Kazan Khanate and other khanates. Huge spiritual forces of the Tatar people thinly spread over vast territories (from the Volga and the Urals to the Pacific Ocean, from the White Sea to the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus and the Kazakh steppes), their vitality, courage and perseverance prevented its book learning and literacy traditions accumulated over the centuries from disappearing completely.

Indisputable evidence of this includes some preserved epigraphic inscriptions (inscriptions on gravestones), ancient Tatar manuscripts (unfortunately, only a small part of them, that escaped fires and violence by the tsarist and Soviet authorities have survived), genealogies (Arab.: *shajara*), numerous documents written by the Tatars in the Arabic alphabet, which have been preserved in various domestic and foreign archives and libraries, as well as evidence of the multifaceted activities of the religious and educated individuals—Sayyids and Abiz (from Arabic: *hafiz*—a person knows the Quran by heart) up to the former possessions of Kuchum and the Kuchumoviches in Siberia [Iskhakov, 1997, pp. 70–75; Seleznev, Selezneva, 2009, pp. 135, 140–143; Trepavlov, 2012, p. 133] and teaching young Tatar boys the Arabic language, Islamic theology and the law in Islamic countries, especially in Dagestan. Furthermore, we must also take into account the fact that even in an illiterate village, the spread of knowledge went its own way (for example, through epics, proverbs, folk sayings and even fairy tales) and 'their' form of literacy (for example, through widespread reading of books aloud).

The gradual restoration of permanent maktab and madrasahs with stable activities is also evidence of the continuity of the tradition of school education based, among other things, on the best examples of folk pedagogy. In Kazan region, Bashkiria and Siberia, these schools were documented no later than the 17th century, especially in those areas where the centuries-old school experience had not been destroyed; scholars (Arab.: *ulama*) and teaching staff preserved handwritten books and teaching aids, and there were wealthy sponsors

[Bakhrushin, 1959, p. 212; Kayber ataklı, 1992, pp. 219, 220, 221, 222; Väliev 1992, pp. 186–187; Khabutdinov, 2013, p. 106]. Schools were often opened by Sufi sheikhs, who were able to successfully combine mentoring with education (see, for example: [Islam, 2006, p. 62; Farkhshatov 2009, pp. 14, 23; Kemper 2013, p. 374; et al.]). Sometimes their madrasah take the form of semi-closed schools with a fairly strict regime. In the 18th century, stably operating improved schools became common for the Tatars. The foundation of a madrasah was considered to be a holy deed of a private person, and was often popularly called by the founder's name. Therefore, Tatar merchants and industrialists who rose up by the middle of the 18th century became actively involved in building schools.

Some information about the most important Tatar madrasahs of the 18th century has been preserved thanks to the efforts of the prominent Tatar theologians and educators Shihabetdin Marjani and Rizaetdin Fakhretudinov.

Thus, at the end of the 18th century, the madrasah at the mosque in the medium-sized village of Kshkar (Tatar: Kişkar) of Kazan uyezd and guberniya (the present Arsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) was famous; for many decades it had been a major center of medieval science and culture. According to Sh. Marjani, the stone mosque in the village was built in 1190 Hijrah, that is in 1776–1777 of the Christian era by the famous merchant patron Bayazit bin Usman al-Kyshkari [Märcani, 1989, p. 380; Set of records, 1999, pp. 58–59]. However, the school had existed earlier in the wooden mosque, as evidenced by a manuscript of one of the books copied in Kyshkara dating back to 1754 [Validov, 1923, p. 18]. The same Sh. Marjani lists the names of the seven Imams of the Kyshkara stone mosque (and hence mudarrises of the madrasah existing at it): Kader, Sagid, Davlatsha, Faiz, Jakub and Ismagil (Utyamyshev, studied in Bukhara at the same time as Marjani) and Gabdrakhman (the son of Ismagil Utyamyshev), who were graduates of the Bukhara madrasah, that is a damullah (Chinese-Arab.: the great Mullah).

For a long time, the Kyshkara madrasah occupied the dominant position in Kazan re-

gion by the level of teaching, especially of the 'mental' sciences (Arab.: *akliyat*), that is, logic and philosophy. That is why natives 'of Orenburg, Semipalatinsk, Kasimov and even Kazan itself' were taught there [Validov, 1923, pp. 18, 28–29; Lotfi, 1992, pp. 153, 159].

Another ancient center of Tatar medieval education at the end of the 18th century was the school at the stone mosque of Mascara village (Tatar: *Mäçkärä*) of Kazan uyezd and guberniya (the present Kukmor district of the Republic of Tatarstan), built in 1791 by a merchant of the first guild, Gabdulla bin al-Abdussalyam al-Maskaravi (Utyamyshev, died in 1832), who was also involved in the production of cheap printed cotton goods. Noble mudarrises worked at this school—the theologians Akhund Muhammad Rahim bin Ysuf al-Ashiti (died in 1818), who studied for more than 10 years at Dagestan Ulemas and Gabdulla bin Yahya al-Chirtushi (1773–1858), who studied in Bukhara together with A. Kursavi [Nadyrova, 2006, p. 260]. Along with theological disciplines, they thoroughly taught Arabic grammar and poetry, and other subjects. Among their shakirds were the scientist and reformer A. Kursavi, mudarris of the madrasah in the village. Husna Subkhan bin Gabdulkarim al-Marjani, who was Sh. Marjani's grandfather, the founder of the dynasty of the Sterlibashevo mudarrise Nigmatulla bin Biktimer (Tukaev, 1772–1844), and Nigmatulla Bubi (died in 1845), the grandfather of prominent Tatar teachers of the early 20th century, Gabdulla and Gubaydulla Bubi, many influential imams of mosques in Kazan, and others [Märcani, 1989, pp. 263–264, 319–321; Fäxretudin, 2006, pp. 83–84; Khabutdinov, 2005; Khabutdinov, 2013, p. 113].

The madrasah of Kuursa village of Kazan uyezd (the present village of Verkhnyaya Korsa of Arsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan) was also well known for the books copied there in the 17th century [Kayber ataklı, 1992, p. 220]. The mudarris of the madrasah in the early 19th century was Abunasyr Kursavi.

In the original sources, madrasahs are also mentioned in Transcaucasian villages such as Adai, Ashyt, Bayraka, Baylangar, Bubi, Karile, Menger, Nizhnyaya Bereska, Satysh, Saba,

Simet, Taysugan, Tashkichu, Tunter and others, and existed from at least the 17–18th centuries. [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respublikic, 1950, p. 319; Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 231; Ali-shev, 1984a, p. 179; Kayber ataklı, 1992; Set of records, 1999, pp. 69–70]. However, we must bear in mind that for various reasons (moving to another place or death of a mudarris or a merchant patron, and so on) there was no stability in the existence of many of the Quranic schools of that time. This is clearly stated in the documentary materials available to researchers (see, for example: [Märcani, 1989, p. 241]).

The above-mentioned and other madrasahs created a solid foundation for further development of the Tatar school. They became the main source of recruitment of teaching staff for all the other Islamic schools in the region, and even educated part of the younger generation of local Chuvashes, Mari and other Pagan nations.

In the 18th century, large and small Tatar schools, along with the Upper and Middle Volga regions, also existed in other regions of Russia. Thus, permanent Islamic schools by the rethe creation of settled Tatars in the Southern Urals (Bashkiria) also occurred no later than the 17th century. [Yalan böryändäre, 1975, p. 209; Istoriya Urala, 1963, p. 163; Farkhshatov, 1996, p. 446]. In the 18th century, well-known large schools were operating in the villages of Suyunduk (opened in 1709), Bala Chytyrman (1713), Sterlibash (1720), Buraevo (1755), Tazlarovo (1767), Balikli (1771), Kurmantay (1786), Seitov posad (Kargala) near Orenburg (1745), and other places. [Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostanfund I–11, inv. 1, file 959, p. 12 reverse–13, 17 reverse–18, 30 reverse–32, 57; Tukaev, 1899, p. 5; Ocherki BASSR, p. 285]. Some of them became real cultural and educational centers of the region, where young men came to study from neighbouring regions, such as Kazan guberniya and Kazakh zhuzes.

The Sterlibashevo madrasah in the centre of the Bashkir Krai especially stood out. In 1780, it was located in four buildings, where along with the mudarris, his eight assistants—hal-

fas—worked [Yalan böryändäre, 1975, p. 215]. In the Orenburg Krai the leading place was occupied by madrasahs of the trading Tatars of Seitov sloboda (renamed Seitov settlement in 1784), in which, besides local Tatars, a significant number of neighbouring Bashkirs and Kazakhs were also taught. According to the information for 1799, four mosques were functioning in Seitov posad [Gottlieb, 1799, p. 8], and by tradition, there was a school at each of them. Among the many mudarrises of Seitov posad, Gabdelrahman Sharipov (1743–1826), whom Sh. Marjani called 'the most famous scholar of his time' [Märcani, 1900, p. 231], and Valietdin bin Hassan (1747–1831) were especially respected. Such teachers brought renown to the local madrasahs. 'When mudarris Gabdelrahman was teaching', for example, the Bashkir educator–enlightener Muhammad Salim Umitbaev wrote, 'the Orenburg village of Kargaly was the equal of Bukhara itself as a center of religious and secular sciences' [Ömetbaev, 1984, p. 205].

By the beginning of the 19th century, a network of Islamic schools had been built in the Lower Volga Region with the center in Astrakhan and Siberia (for Tobol–Irtysh, Baraba, Ishim, Tomsk, and other Tatars, as well as for the Volga-Ural Tatars and Bashkirs who had moved to the Trans-Urals during its economic development [Väliev, 1992, pp. 186–187, Islam, 2010, p. 666; Tomilov, 2010, pp. 232–233]). Beyond the Urals, one of the centers of Islamic education was the city of Tara, where the descendants of the Islamic missionary from Urgench Din-Ali Khoja, including representatives of the Aytikins merchant dynasty, and others founded the so-called Bukhara Sloboda with a mosque and a school [Valeev, 1993; Zhirov, 2010, pp. 57–58]. Schools had long been in Tobolsk too, as well as in the 'Bukhara' villages founded by descendants of settlers who moved from Central Asia to Western Siberia in the 15–17th centuries, including Uzbeks, Tajiks and other peoples, who kept close economic and cultural ties with the local, Tobol and Irtysh, Barabinsk, Ob and other Tartars for several centuries, and became one of the components in the formation of the ethnic group of modern Siberian Tatars [Tomilov, 1981; Valeev,

1993; Väliev 1992, pp. 186–187, 196–197; Bukhara, 2010, p. 280; Korusenko, Tomilov, 2013, pp. 90–97]. However, there are almost no information preserved about them. But even without reliable data on the number of schools in these regions, we can confidently say that there were mosques and mullahs, there were maktab and even madrasahs.

Since traditional Tatar schools were opened without registration, they were not always recorded in the official statistics. As can be seen from the table below, in 1836 2,892 mosques were registered by the authorities in the European part of the Russian Empire (without the district of the Tauride Muslim Spiritual Governing Board) and Siberia. Of these, 1,879 (65.0%) were cathedrals, which means that they were allowed to hold Friday prayers and preach sermons. Typically, they were located in fairly large parishes (by law at least 200 males), and therefore had every opportunity to establish and maintain a primary or high school. However, the information about the existing schools in the district of the Islamic High Council of Orenburg gives only about 473 parishes (16.4%). Orenburg guberniya was the leader in the number of 'schools' (168); it was followed by Kazan guberniya (108), Saratov guberniya (40), Simbirsk guberniya (29) and others. This information is definitely incomplete. Thus, by the middle of the 19th century there were officially already 430 maktab and 57 madrasahs in Kazan guberniya [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1973, p. 58]. An increase of 4.5 times in only one and a half or two decades can be explained by better registration of the local Quranic schools.

In addition to maktab and madrasahs, home schooling was widespread among Tatars. Many parents taught their children to read at home. A mother who could read herself considered it her duty to teach reading and writing to her neighbours' children, a common practice among local Muslim peoples until the revolution of 1917. In particular, there were many home schools for girls. For a long time (up to the end of the 19th century) schools at mosques were intended only for boys, so girls 7–11 years old were taught to read, espe-

cially the classical works of Persian and Turkic-speaking poets, by the wives of mullahs—abystays or ostabikä, at home. There were a lot of these home schools. After a visit to the Southern Urals in 1770, the German scholar I. Georgi wrote about the existence of villages of local Muslims along with schools for boys, and a 'multitude' of schools for girls as well [Georgi, 1799, part 2, p. 9].

The Inner Organisation of Maktab and Madrasahs. In the 16–18th centuries, a Tatar school was still closely associated with Islam; that is, it was confessional. Therefore, its organisational form and content of the educational process, it was not very different from educational institutions in the rest of the Islamic world. For example, in 1913, a high-ranking civil servant at the Ministry of National Education, N.A. Bobrovnikov, wrote: 'Even 25 years ago, when I entered a maktab or madrasah in Algeria, Constantinople or Brousse, I felt like I was in the Volga Region: to such a degree, the common view was identical' [Bobrovnikov, 1913, p. 228].

The Tatar maktab and madrasahs were supranational; that is, they educated children of other neighbouring Muslim peoples, namely, the Baskhirs, Mishars and Kazakhs. The school staff was also international: along with Tatars, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, and even emigrants from Central Asia and the North Caucasus (Dagestan) worked as teachers [Fäxretidin, 1900, p. 59, 66]. The most famous foreign mudarris-es (teachers) in Bashkiria of the 18th century were Ishniyaz bin Shirmiyaz al-Horezmi (died in 1791) and Valietdin bin Hasan al-Bagdadi (1775–1831), who worked for many years in the madrasah of Seitov posad [Ufa Scientific Archive of the Research Center of Russian Academy of Science, fund 7, inv. 1, file 3, p. 34 reverse–35].

A traditional set of courses was the foundation of the early medieval classical works written in Arabic and Persian, which were the languages of science and literature of the Tatars, just as Latin or Greek were for Christian peoples. Schoolbooks by Central Asian and local authors written in literary Turkish (which all Turkic peoples understood) were used as well. Even books in the Ottoman Turkish language

were used. The main languages for study were Arabic and the native language of the pupils.

The higher educational institutions of the Tatars, unlike the elite state institutions in the 18th century, for example (page and cadet corps, the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy, the Orthodox Spiritual seminaries) and other privileged schools of the country (see: [Ocherki russkoj kul'tury', 1987, pp. 259–265]), were accessible to all classes: along with the children of prosperous classes (princes, murzas, tarkhans, mullahs, elders), the children of poor people among the Serving and yasak Tatars and serfs studied there. This was facilitated by the use of most of the school buildings as boarding schools like the residences that existed at many Russian gymnasiums and universities in the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century, but were very modestly furnished and open to all incoming self-supporting students. In these boarding schools, members of the lower classes not only found shelter, but also a livelihood, serving rich shakirds (students) in winter (in summer, they usually taught in the maktab among steppe-dwellers [Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, p. 555]). However, the majority of children, primarily for social and economic reasons, left school, especially secondary and higher institutions. Therefore, most of the best-known Tatar madrasahs actually were privileged educational institutions.

The schools were usually maintained through voluntary donations by the congregation. The donations were sometimes quite significant and were an essential source of income for the Muslim clergy [Farkhshatov, 2006, p. 291], and therefore, of its power and ideological influence. At the same time, there were also schools which were financed by individual mullahs, elders, and beys, or they had income from a few vakufs—donated immovable property (lands, stores, mills, etc.). The Russian Government, as we have already noted, was not involved in funding the Tatar schools, considering them, not without reason, as private religious institutions.

The Tatar schools of the latter half of the 16th century to the 18th century were situated in separate, sometimes in several, small and not very comfortable buildings attached

to mosques (that is why in several documents and literature, they were called under-mosque or by the name of the main textbook—Quranic [al-Kusi, 1983]), which did not always provide an opportunity to carry out valuable educational work (in the contemporary sense) and utterly deprived teachers of the opportunity for physical and aesthetic education to the shakirds or teach them some hygiene skills. For example, such ordinary practices for the privileged educational institutions of Russia and Europe like participation of schoolboys in literary soirées, theatrical performances, balls and concerts, issuing of hand-written magazines, lessons in painting, dancing, fencing or studying gallantry and elegant (in high society) manners, was simply impossible in a madrasah of this period.

Traditional Tatar educational institutions were divided into elementary maktab (Arabic: the place where one writes), and higher madrasahs (Arabic: the place where one lectures), some of which close to the higher scholastic institutions or the theological departments of Western universities.

The main goal concerning the mass maktab—they were practically located in all the settlements with a mosque—was to religiously bring up younger generations and to make the children aware of the fundamental rules of Islam. An educational course was built in accordance with this. According to the established tradition, every boy 7–9 years of age was supposed to study that course, at least summarily, and this was made possible through the individual form of school studies. Girls studied the fundamentals of grammar and religion separately, as it had been noted, usually outside of a school, at home with the wives of mullahs. The parents, who did not send their children to an elementary school or to a tutor, were subjected to public condemnation. The Arabic words, which were incomprehensible for ordinary people, spoken by a Tatar schoolboy, had a magical effect on his father and mother, and were considered the highest child reward for them and all the relatives.

The educational course of maktab, despite the absence of a common and mandatory programme, was generally the same everywhere. First the shakirds (pupils) verbally, then ev-

everybody individually, and at a pace according to his abilities (a classroom studies system became rooted only at the end of the 19th century) studied the Arabic alphabet, then started to read and learn various suras and ayahs of the Quran, which were considered fundamental for the Muslims. Simultaneously the works with spiritual-didactic content were studied in Turkic: 'Axır zaman kitabı' ('The Book about the End of the World') by Süleyman Bakyrgani (died in 1186), 'Muxammadiya' ('The Biography of Muhammad Prophet') by Muhammad Çelebi (died in 1451), 'Kissa-i Yusuf' by Kol Gali (the end of the 12–beginning of the 13th centuries), 'Risala-i Gaziza' by Tadjutdin Yalchygulov, and others [Gazizova, 1927; Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 67; Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1996, pp. 115–157, 273, 282, 443–452; Makhmutova, 2013, p. 799; and others]. Those popular educational works on Islamic ethics (Arabic: *aklak*) and morality in general (Arabic: *adab*) formed, in the context of the known 'temperate' Sufis, the following traits of the character of the pupils (as well as the remaining population): 'devotion to God, satisfaction with the fate set by the Creator, and also modesty, honesty, mercy, respect for the Muslim brothers and many other human values' [Kemper, 2013, pp. 373, 378]. In classes, everyone practiced the rote learning of lessons, quite loudly, and in a village, the school building could be identified by a peculiar buzz emanating from it.

In some maktabı, writing and calculating were also taught. As was usual in the Middle Ages, writing training did not go along with learning to read, but followed it, and that was not conducive to rapid learning of the alphabet and the sustainability of literacy skills [Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, p. 543, note 2; Ocherki ruskoj kul'tury', 1970, p. 163]. However, the learning of the native language was absent everywhere. Therefore, despite the existence of quite a rich network of maktabı, there were relatively few people who could read and write in Tatar, and thus easily express their thoughts on paper.

The way of studying grammar, as a rule, according to the book 'İman sharty' ('İman şartı'), was letter-composed (Arabic-Tatar: *usul-i xerfiya* (*usul-i herfiya*)). That is,

pupils learned not the sounds with the letters corresponding to them, but names of the letters. While reading each word, they first uttered the names of all the consonants and long vowel letters of each separate syllable, super-linear and interlinear symbols identifying the short vowels in it. Only after reading each syllable in that way, were the syllables joined to each other, and the word was uttered in its entirety [İbrahimov, 1973, pp. 19–29]. In studying the joining of syllables, a pupil learned the so-called 'abjad'—the eight artificial words, in which all the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet were mentioned. When learning cabalistic (mysterious, magic) words of the system of abjad, students were supposed to develop also a numerical designation for the letters, which had been produced in antiquity, but in practice, not so many people could understand that [Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, p. 542, Rakhimov, 2006, p. 252].

Such a complex system, together with an incomprehensible vocabulary and the difficult Arabic alphabet, strongly hindered the process of learning grammar and made the period of stay at a maktab longer. That is why the majority of pupils did not learn the initial books for reading and learning of a several prayers so intensively anymore, absolutely not learning the skills of writing.

However, the didactic principles, on the basis of which schools at that time worked, actually were not perfect in everything [Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, pp. 22, 36; Paulson, 1887]. Thus, a letter-composed with a singsong repetition method of what was read and shown, was the feature of the educational methods of many peoples, including in Russia [Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, p. 33]. A sound-based or new method (the famous *usul-i satuiya*, or *usul-i jadida*) of studying to read and write in a Tatar school began being implemented only at the turn of the 19–20th centuries on the initiative of İsmail Gasprinsky (1851–1914) [Farkhshatov, 1994, pp. 86–87].

The period of education in maktabı as well as a strict regime of an educational day and year (these were usually only the winter months), and also the procedure for registering schoolboys, were not precisely defined, and the

shakirds moved up in their studies according to the successes achieved, without exams. In the majority of the lower Islamic schools, severe medieval discipline ruled, and was based predominantly on the methods of coercion. The traditional formula of parting words of a parent to a teacher, to whom he delivered his child to be educated, said: 'Ite—sepgä, söyage bezgä' ('The meat is yours, the bones are ours'), that is: you may beat him, but not cripple him [Validov, 1923, p. 19; Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, p. 540; Gazizov, 1992, p. 171]. Encouragement and other forms of motivation for the pupils were rarely used.

Usually after three or four years in an elementary school, the shakirds would continue education in a madrasah, which represented an elite level of the classic education of the Tatars, and were located, as a rule, in the large settlements, and afterwards in the cities. However, there were no solid borders between maktab and madrasahs. As a rule, a medieval elementary education had many transitional traits which led to a secondary education [Vladimirsky-Budanov, 1873, pp. 189–190; Ocherki russkoj kul'tury', 1979, p. 147]. The Tatars were in the same situation, and therefore the educational potential of various madrasahs sometimes significantly differed.

Nevertheless, there was a common traditional ('Bukharan') programme of a typical madrasah in the cities, as well as in the rural settlements, which showed also a weak differentiation of sciences at that time. It included grammar (Arabic: sarf—morphology, rather etymology or nakhu—syntax) of the Arabic language, logic (Arabic: mantik), philosophy (Arabic: falsafa or hikmat), Islamic theology (Arabic: gakida, including speculative theology—kalam) and law (Arabic: fiqh) with the theory of the Islamic law (Arabic: usulu-l-fiqh) of the Hanifi movement (the other three movements (Arabic: mazhab) of Islamic law—Shafiiyah, Malakiyah, and Hanabaliyah—specifically were not studied, because they were not practiced widely in the Tatar world) [Validov, 1923, pp. 17–32; Koblov, 1916; Makhmutova, 1982, pp. 18–19; Farkhshatov, 1994, p. 72]. The course of a programme was not regulated by any time periods—it depended first of all on

the individual activity of the shakirds. After the completion any kind of educational course, no tests or exams were conducted.

The characteristic feature of the Tatar madrasahs of the period in question was that the main, 'pure', sources of Islam—the Quran and Sunna (all the Hadiths—the legends about statements and actions of Mohammad prophet)—were not studied everywhere as classes, as it was in the Classic period of the Arabians and Persians, and there was a vast special literature of Quran studies (Arabic: tafsir) and the Hadith studies (Arabic: usul-i hadis). Of course, the graduates of higher schools were familiar with the entire text of the Quran. And some had even learned it by heart (that is, were the hafizs) and were able to utter it publicly in a beautiful voice (such specialists were called cariyas). Those people were highly thought of in society, and were the pride of teachers who transported them to weddings, wakes, etc. Because 'the loud reading of the Quran' by a talented and experienced elocutionist made a strong impression, and was listened to by the Arabs as a harmony of sounds [Bartold, 1922, p. 48]. The Quran and Hadiths, as educational subjects, were practiced everywhere only in the programme of the jadid madrasah at the turn of the 19–20th centuries.

Due to the absence of a common and mandatory educational plan for all pupils as well as divisions into classes or departments in some madrasahs rhetoric, the rules of versification, astronomy, mathematics, calligraphy and other courses were additionally taught at the discretion of principals of higher school (mudarris-es). However all these courses had an ancillary character and served to provide a more comprehensive learning of Islamic theology and law. In general, the content of education in the madrasahs was quite humanitarian, but not a real course with the predominance of theological disciplines. Because at that time, the Tatars understood scholarship as the learning of the Islamic religion in all its fine points, receiving a mystic illumination in the understanding of all the divine revelations, understanding the main point of theological problems through logical discourse.

As a result, the knowledge received in a higher school, as well as in an elementary school, had little relation to practical issues and challenges in life. And this was one of the most important factors in the accumulation of elements of cultural backwardness of the Tatars, which was defined and became stronger after the fall of Kazan. However, in the broader sense, the historical stage of cultural development of all the peoples of the Volga-Urals Region was determined through them being a part of the Russian state, the evolution of which for a long time followed along the path to feudal serfdom, and not early bourgeois relations [Ocherki russkoj kul'tury', 1977, pp. 19–20, 34–35].

We will note, however, that the structure of an educational programme in a Tatar madrasah, during the feudal period, in many respects coincided with a direction of education in higher schools of the countries of the Catholic Middle Ages, and also in the Orthodox Spiritual and secular educational institutions of Russia of the 17–18th centuries (see, for example: [Smirnov, 1855, pp. 44–63; Znamensky, 1881; Ocherki istorii shkoly', 1973, pp. 57–59, 60–64, 71–76, 83, 84–85, 389–391]). Unfortunately, modern national historiography does not always pay proper attention to this, which leads to a baseless, often negative image of Tatar traditional higher educational institutions, outside of the Russian and world-wide context in the development of pedagogical science.

Almost all the textbooks used in madrasahs, were written in the Arabic and the Persian languages. However, when teaching from them, a mudarris relied on the native language of the pupils. Insofar as a mass typography of Eastern languages in Russia had still not been established (this would appear only at the very beginning of the 19th century, after translation of 'The Asian Typography' by Shnor, discovered in 1785, in Saint Petersburg, in Kazan (see: [Karimullin, 1971])), the main part of educational materials, which were used in Tatar schools of the period in question, were handwritten. Besides this, the overwhelming majority of them were made by the shakirds themselves, who, living mainly in a boarding school, recopied the necessary books very carefully during their free time. There also existed professional

scribes of books (Arabic: hattat), who devoted their entire lives to that precious work. For example, among the famous hattats there were the poet, Gabderakhim Utyz-Imyani and his son, Ahmadjan (died in 1849), as well as brothers-in-law Ahmadjan bin Shamsetdin and Ahmadjan bin Fadlallah; the teacher of calligraphy at the Oriental Department of Kazan University Muhammad-Gali Makhmudov and others. The inhabitant of the village of Almenevo in Chelyabinsk uyezd of Orenburg guberniya, Abunasir Sabitov, also made his name immortal through the recopying of 220 volumes [Farkhshatov, 1988, p. 45]. The Tatars, who made pilgrimages (Arabic: hajj) to Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of the Muslims, also brought back many manuscripts [Shkunov, 2013, p. 333; Sibgatullina, Tyurkoglu, 2013, p. 345]).

The traditional ('Bukharan') method of transmitting knowledge in a madrasah was passive: during the studies, the mudarris himself or one of his best schoolboys, as a rule, would read aloud this or that excerpt from a centuries' old educational book. Afterward a mentor explained in detail the material presented by using concrete examples, while also referring to other authoritative medieval authors who wrote commentaries on the given work (Arabic: sharh), the commentaries on those commentaries (super-commentary, glosses; Arabic: sharh-i sharh) or commentaries on selected places of those commentaries and super-commentaries (Arabic: hashiya) (for example, see: [Akhmerov, 1897, p. 77; Validov, 1923, pp. 21–22, Safullina-al-Ansi, 2008, pp. 145–147]). Moreover, he almost never shared his own opinion or viewpoint, because it was considered that the time for the independent thoughts of scientists (Arabic: ulama) and new interpretations of the holy texts—the Quran and Hadithes—had already passed in the Islamic world (Arabic: zamanu idjtahid munkariz, that is, the gates of individual creativity are closed).

In ordinary Tatar madrasahs, all the disciplines were taught by the same teacher at the level that approximately corresponded to a secondary education of the scholastic type: commentaries on main educational books were more rarely studied there. Only in some of the biggest higher schools, teachers worked (they

were called halfas, and then mugallims) with the profound knowledge of separate educational courses, which were famous across the whole region. Many shakirds went to such authorities from other madrasahs. However, the institution 'teacher–pupil' was sacred among the Tatars, and public opinion severely frowned upon replacing a teacher, especially without consent of the latter.

The mastering of only prepared book learning, even through the understanding of the content of studied objects, very often, under the conditions of neglect to the personality of each pupil, was not always conducive to an education for an active creative personality in a madrasah. Such a means for the transmission of knowledge between generations was one of the main reasons in the stagnation of not only the Tatar society, but also the whole Islamic world by the beginning of the Modern History.

The disputes (Arabic: *munazara*) about some theological questions between the shakirds of different madrasahs did not change the situation. Because in such a dispute, the winner was the person who was able to quote classical authors more precisely, and not the products of his own intellect. At the same time, disputes, which were held regularly even between the pupils of different madrasahs, were a peculiar and quite effective didactic form of strengthening and calculating acquired knowledge, imparting the skills of scholastic casuistry to the future preachers (Arabic: *hatib*) and judges (Arabic: *Fakih*). On the other hand, they served, using contemporary vocabulary, as a powerful PR-campaign for the formation of a positive image of one or another madrasah, because there was a rather acute, unspoken competition between them.

Nevertheless, the persons, who finished the course of significantly higher madrasahs, obtained a rather variety of knowledge and skills. At least, the programme of the more progressive schools provided such an opportunity [Gosmanov, 1984, p. 145; Lotfi, 1992, p. 165], and not accidentally, the civil servants compared the best madrasahs with Orthodox Spiritual seminaries and academies [Makhmutova, 2013, p. 800]. Along with the awareness of the Eastern languages and literature (Arabic, Per-

sian, Ottoman Turkish, and Turkic), the most enthusiastic graduates deeply knew the Islamic theology and jurisprudence, and were able to talk about those themes scientifically. The essential role in the mental development of pupils was the mutual life in a boarding school, in the youthful environment of which, there was a certain succession to social political moods, the experience of the previous generations, and also a peculiar Shakird folklore was being formed (see, for example: [Gosmanov, 1971; Gosmanov, 1984]).

'The important feature' of the Islamic confessional schools, including the traditional Tatar maktab and madrasahs, also consisted of 'the culture of texts that became a concealed culture-forming programme within them' [Rakhimov, 2006, p. 253]. During the school years, children remembered many textual constructions, on the base of which, they could write their own texts-books, suitable for cursory quotation and recital if necessary. This contributed to the younger generation obtaining the spiritual legacy of their ancestors and secured the process of succession for a socio-normative, religious culture. Islam formed the specifics for the entire lifestyle of Tatars and other Muslim peoples. Besides this, continuously training the memory over the whole course of study, the shakirds learned by heart many religious and poetic texts (Arabic: *matn*), and this created the base for the reproduction and development of theological and poetic traditions [Rakhimov, 2006, p. 253].

However, madrasahs, that were led by the Bukharan traditionalists—*damulls* (Chinese-Arabic: 'our great master', 'great scientist'; that is how the teachers of the region, having received an education in Bukhara were called among the Tatars of the Volga-Ural Region), they gave very little. For example, the mathematical knowledge of their graduates was hardly enough in the case of inheritance according to Sharia—the Islamic law: they were taught how to measure land lots, and so on. The shakirds received only fragmentary, often fantastic, geographical and historical facts from their out-of-class reading of ancient works.

Studies in a madrasah lasted about ten years. The education progressed slowly, because each

lesson in every discipline was simultaneously a lesson in the Arabic language. There were no private or public final exams (nor for transferring to other institutions), and that is why certifications or diplomas upon the successful passing of an educational course, which would confer the rights and privileges of governmental higher and secondary Spiritual secular educational institutions, were not issued. The honorary title of 'the pupil of some mudarris' was used instead of diplomas, on the base of which, by the way, graduates of a madrasah could take up different spiritual posts (mukhtasib, akhund, imam, khatib, muedzin), become a teacher (abyz, khalfa, mugallim), and also an elocutionist of the Quran (Arabic: Qari) and a calligrapher (Arabic: hattat).

At the end of the 17—the beginning of the 18th centuries, the most enthusiastic Tatar young men, having exhausted the wisdom of the provincial mudarris, went to Dagestan, Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire, and later, especially after the building of the cities of Orenburg and Troitsk, to Bukhara and Samarkand to improve their skills [Fäxretdin, 1899, pp. 31–32, Fäxretdin, 1900, p. 37; Fäxretdin, 1907, p. 8]. The re-orientation towards Central Asia led to the gradual affirmation of the Bukharan system of organisation of educational processes in Tatar schools. This notably strengthened the scholastic character of the education, which earlier showed itself in the traditional school of the Tatars rather clearly, and disturbed the age-old advanced methods of the Turkic peoples of a harmonious, in the sense of a unity of a physical, mental, moral, and aesthetic education, of raising a personality.

The boarding-school system allowed maktab and madrasahs to closely connect an education with the upbringing of children. The isolation from the environment and family life, although it tore the pupils away from the practical issues of life, being under the constant observation and management of a teacher, who was simultaneously their Spiritual mentor successfully contributed to leading them to a Muslim identity (if not yet a Tatar) one. Thus, the Tsar's civil servants and Orthodox missionaries, not without reason, called the traditional schools of the Tatars the main strongholds,

guardians and guides of Islamic values in the region, which successfully prevented the local Muslim peoples from being Christianised [Ilm-insky, 1895, p. 142; Koblov, 1908, p. 1; Koblov, 1916, pp. 64–65; and others].

The results of activities of the Islamic schools and the reaction of the authorities. The maktab and madrasahs of the Tatars generally coped with their aims of a religious education and upbringing of the new generation in the traditional Islamic sense, and in the end, of the consolidation of the regional groups of the Tatars, which were scattered across the endless Eurasian steppes, and of the formation of their common ethnic-confessional identity, which in the long run, led to the building of the Tatar 'Islamic' nation within the 'All-Russian Ummah'—the law-abiding subjects of the Empire. Exactly in the mosque schools, children, from an early age, were familiarised with traditional morality and etiquette, which, according to E. Gellner, was a feature and prerequisite for the socio-psychological reproduction of a pre-industrial society [Gellner 1991, p. 141].

Besides this, confessional institutions were conducive to the expansion of elementary literacy among the population. Even K. Fuchs noted: the Tatars are 'a population that is more educated than even some European peoples. The Tatar, who cannot read and write, is despised by his countrymen and, as a citizen, has no respect from the others' [Fuchs, 1844, p. 113]. The participants of academic expeditions at the end of the 18th century, also noticed a high level of literacy among the Tatars, as well as among the other local Muslims: in each Tatar village, according to I.G. Georgi, there was 'a peculiar praying edifice and school', and 'in the Kazan Slobodas and large villages' 'there were schools for girls, which were identical to them' (quotation from: [Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1950, pp. 318–319]. Of course, not being blinded by national pride, it should be said that the quality of literacy of that time was different. A literate person was any person who could read, often from memory, several verses from a text that he was familiar with. While those who could write were only a handful.

Nevertheless, about the gradual spreading of a practically applied literacy (the skills of reading and writing) in the Turkic languages among the Tatars and other Turkic-Islamic peoples, there was the fact that one of the most effective forms of agitation for an assertion of rights among the Tatars and Bashkirs, under the conditions of strengthening of colonial policies of tsarism, were written appeals and proclamations of the rebel peoples [Gäziz, 1923; Gazizova, 1927; Răxim, 1929; Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1950, pp. 249–250; Alishev, 1973; Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1973, p. 42; Usmanov, 1974; and others].

Tatar madrasahs prepared many representatives of the national intelligentsia, which at that time consisted predominately of spiritual persons. Just in the first 11 years of the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly 2,251 people successfully passed exams of religious sciences, and then received an official assignation to a position in a mosque. Among them, there were 1,921 people in Orenburg guberniya (28 akhuns, 110 mukhtasips, 969 mullahs, and 814 of others), 195 people—in Kazan guberniya (correspondingly—7, 15, 168, and 5), 73 people—in Perm guberniya (1, 10, 42, and 20) [Russian State Historical Archive, fund 1537, inv. 1, file 90, pp. 335–336; Farkhshatov, 1991]. These figures look impressive, compared with the preceding period. Thus, according to the documents of 1792, 492 clergymen were working at 246 mosques of the Orenburg Krai [Ufa Scientific Archive of the Research Center of Russian Academy of Science, fund 3, inv. 7, file 35, p. 19], that is, almost four times less, than at the beginning of the following century.

Some acknowledged religious figures were so powerful, even during the 'pre-mufti' period, that they possessed even the right to give out preliminary decisions for the building of mosques, to assign Imams to them, to pass independent theological legal decisions according to the shariah and Sunna (Arabic: *fatwa*). The following figures were among them: akhund Walid ibn Maksud ibn Dustmohammad from the village of Karmaskaly (Sterlitamak uyezd), akhund Gabdulla ibn Muslim ibn

Haidargali of Akhunovo village, and others [Ufa Scientific Archive of the Research Center of Russian Academy of Science, fund 7, inv. 1, file 3, pp. 32, 36, 37 reverse].

Of course, not all the graduates of a madrasah chose a spiritual career. Some of them became merchants managing trade in 'foreign countries' (for instance, in India, China, Tibet, Persia, Afghanistan, the Ottoman Empire, Syria) in combination with diplomatic missions of the Russian State [Gubaydullin, 1926, Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, 1955, p. 201; Yuziev, Karimullin, 1958; Usmanov, 1967; Matvievsky, 1969, pp. 108–109; Khasanov, 1977, pp. 42–43; Alieva, 1990; Sverdlova, 2013, pp. 245, 249–250]. Gifted graduates could make a career as an interpreter and translator of governmental institutions of the Russian (one of them, for example, was Mendiya Bekchurin, 1780–1821, who had visited Bukhara with the diplomatic mission twice in 1771 and 1780) [Sultangalieva, 2013, p. 340; Galiev, Sultangalieva, 2013, p. 361] and even the Ottoman [Sibgatullina, Tyurkoglu, 2013, p. 348] Empire. Some of the former shakirds could apply their knowledge in the pedagogical sciences, sometimes even outside of the Ural-Volga Region. It is known, for example, that at the end of the 18th century, some literate Tatars and Bashkirs earned their living by teaching Kazakh children literacy and the fundamental rules of religion [Yalan bōryändäre, 1975, p. 209]. The Tatar 'roaming' teachers, and also mullahs, who were engaged by the government in the Kazakh steppes for 'softening of tempers' of their inhabitants, in the course of time, turned into a real headache for the tsar's civil servants in the course of the further penetration of the Russian State system into the East (for more detail see: [Frank, 1993; Sultangalieva, 1998; Dzhandosova, 2006, pp. 170–171]).

According to the great Kazakh enlightener, Chokan Valikhanov (1835–1865), thanks to fact that the 'Russian Government built mosques and appointed the Mullahs from among the Tatars', Islam in a very short space of time forced out the shamanism of the Kazakhs, especially of the clan leaders who 'even started practicing harem seclusion' (earlier, the

Kazakhs at home and outside did not restrict anyone) [Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 63, 101]. Thus, by the middle of the 19th century, the Tsar's flirtation with Islam in Kazakhstan was over, and the standing of the Muslim teachers from the Ural-Volga Region became objectionable there (for more detail see: [Litvinov, 1995]).

The activity of many Islamic schools led to significant shifts within the world view of the Tatars, as well as of the other Islamic, and also some pagan (Chuvash, Maris) peoples of the region. Their age-old national beliefs (shamanism), rites and customs, including the traditions of raising children, slowly, but steadily were forced out by Islamic ones. The upbringing of the young generation became stricter, the natural activities and curiosity of children were suppressed, and new social and cultural necessities of the youth were unconditionally judged as encroachments upon the 'foundations'.

Nevertheless, opening of the Muftiyat in Ufa did not happen without leaving its mark on the education of the Islamic peoples of the region. First of all, this was an essential blow to the home education, which was widely-spread among the Tatars, Mishars, and Bashkirs. According to the plans of the founders, the Spiritual Assembly was to make sure that maktab and madrasahs existed only 'at mosques' [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16710]. Already by 5 December 1789 Empress Catherine the Great strictly ordered Baron O. Igelström, the Governor of Ufa and Simbirsk, that henceforth Muslims would not study 'in homes or other places' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, fund 16, inv. 1, file 934, part 5, p. 77]. The formation of an institution of so-called ukaznoj [official] mullahs, who were recruited from a number of 'faithful and good' people, had to solve this problem.

During a special test for candidates to clerical positions at the Spiritual Assembly they were to demonstrate their scholastic skills, to be evaluated and awarded with an appropriate pedagogical title—mudarris, mugallim, and mugallim-sabiyan. Imams (mullahs) of mosques in such a way obtained an official right to open maktab and madrasahs, and work there as teachers (for more detail see: [Farkhshatov, 1986, pp. 34–43; Farkhshatov,

1991, p. 10]). All other figures, even those that were the most intelligent and had prominent pedagogical talents, but had not obtained the rights to teach children, were considered as law-breakers and were severely punished.

The formalisation of the selection of the teaching contingents of mosque schools led to the exclusion of many talented people from the pedagogical sphere, and the emergence of corruption during the corresponding exams (see: [Fäxretdin, 1907, p. 9]). However, on the other hand, after the opening of the Spiritual Assembly, the full legalisation of the existing maktab and madrasahs (which were to satisfy the increasing demand for spiritual personnel, the work of whom, by the way, was also not paid by the state treasury) occurred.

The imperial authorities chose to open governmental mosque schools as one of the methods to resist the inappropriate 'types of Government' Islamic schools of the Orenburg Territory. The ideological institutions-opponents were to become the ideological allies. Thus, in 1789, on the basis of the nominative decrees of Catherine the Great to baron O. Igelström from 4 September 1785; on 3–4 of June 1786, the 'Tatar school' was opened for 64 schoolboys at the Orenburg mosque on the Menovy Court at the expense of the State Treasury [Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16355; Dobrosmyslov, 1902, p. 56]. It was assumed that also the children of the Kazakh nobility would be also be taught the 'right' Islam, who had earlier attended the madrasah of Seitov posad (township) near Orenburg and the village of Sterlibashevo (55 km from the city of Sterlitamak) [Dzhandosova, 2006, p. 171]. However, despite the fact that two special buildings were built for the Orenburg school, it was not popular, and was closed in 1817.

One more instrument of restriction of the influence of Islamic schools on the Tatars and other Muslims, which the Government used, was the opening for them (like for other 'non-Christians', and also the newly-baptised non-Russian people of the region—the Chuvash, Mordvins) special institutions, which were to provide the acceleration of their integration into Russian society [Mikhaylova, 1979, pp. 31–33]. There are some facts that

indicate that missionary schools for the local population appeared through the initiative of the first Kazan Archbishop Gury in the Orthodox monasteries, right after the conquest of the region. However, these did not exist for long [Gorokhov, 1941, pp. 15–17]. New active attempts were made only in the 1730s, when in the Kazan eparchy, newly-baptised schools were opened in the Kazan Zilant monastery and in Sviyazhsk. In the next decade, 4 more 'foreign' schools were added to it [Gorokhov, 1941, pp. 18–27; *Ocherki istorii shkoly*, 1973, p. 57]. In 1735, 'Arabic' and 'Kalmyk' schools were established for the local non-Russian peoples, in the original Orenburg (the Orsk fortress). They were to provide education for children of lower civil servants, and also to encourage 'non-Russians' 'to adopt the Christian law'. However, six years later, following the Orenburg Commission, those schools were relocated to Samara [Modestov, 1917, p. 63]. In 1738, on the initiative of V.N. Tatishchev and L.Ya. Saimonov, a decision was made to construct a special school in the city of Ufa for teaching the Russian language to the non-Christians. However, traces of its activities have not been preserved.

In 1769, at the Kazan Gymnasium, established by the Senate decree of 21 July 1758, which was also the first component part of Moscow University, 'a Tatar language course' was started 'for hunters' (according to the decree of Catherine the Great dated May 12 of that year). Later, this became the basis for the foundation of the Eastern Department, first at the gymnasium itself, and later on at Kazan University (the Eastern Department was organised in 1814; from 1835—'the Faculty of Eastern philology') [Gorokhov, 1941, pp. 28–29; *Ocherki istorii shkoly*, 1973, p. 88; *Istoriya Tatarskoj Avtonomnoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki*, 1973, p. 57, et al]. The authorities paid attention to the teaching of the Tatar language, because at that time, it served as a language of diplomatic relations between Russia and the East (for more detail see: [Khisamova, 2012]). Through the 'Tatar class', it was planned to prepare in the Volga Region, which at that time was considered as an advanced post for Russian expansion into

the East, faithful civil servants (and also of the persons who were able, including, according to the first headmaster of the 1st Kazan Gymnasium M.I. Verevkin, to search for 'Tatar' 'manuscripts, which may be very useful for shedding light on Russian history' [Vladimirov, 1867, p. 39; Mikhaylova, 1979, p. 35; Dantsig, 1973, pp. 76, 107–119, 360–365].

The teacher of the Tatar class at the gymnasium became 'Deputy of the Admiralty and interpreter of the Old and New Kazan Tatar Slobodas', Saghit Khalfin (1732–1785) who together with Ibraghim Khalfin (1778–1829) in 1823, became the first Tatar to be appointed as Junior Scientific Assistant of Eastern Philology at Kazan University), Salikhdjan Kulyashev, Abdyush Vagapov, Muhammad-Gali Makhmudov, Khusain Faizkhanov, and later on Kayum Nasyri and other Tatar educational figures, made significant contributions to the development of grammar and dictionaries of the Tatar language, and also made translations of some school-books (for, example, arithmetic, 'A Brief History of Russian Culture and Geography') from Russian into Tatar [Nugmanov, 1964; Latypova, 1968; Nogman, 1969; Mikhaylova, 1979, pp. 61, 65, 78–80].

Later on the 'classes' of the Tatar language appeared in the Kazan Spiritual Seminary (this was created in 1733 on the base of the local Orthodox Slavic-Latin school established in 1723) and in the Spiritual Academy (organised in 1797; abolished in 1818, but then reopened in 1842), in the Orenburg and probably in the main Kazan national schools (opened in 1786), in the Kazan, Sviyazhsk, Chistopol and Alatyr uyezd schools, Tobolsk Spiritual Seminary (extraordinary, that is, above the ordinary classes) and in the main Tobolsk national school [Pokrovsky, 1900; Gorokhov, 1941, pp. 30–33; Mikhaylova, 1979, pp. 64, 170; Khabibullin, Iskhakov, 2013, p. 735]. In 1789, in the city of Omsk, a special 'Asian school' was established for teaching translators and interpreters, including specialists of the Tatar language (it existed until 1836) [Veselovsky, 1879, p. 7; *Istoriya Sibiri*, 1968a, p. 325; Ushakova, 2010, p. 57].

The first contacts with organised Russian-speaking educational institutions, and in

general, the establishment of a permanently expansible dialog with the Russian culture, left their mark on the pedagogical theory of the Tatar nation. The most advanced of its representatives, obtained through them, the best European experience in the organisation of educational affairs on rational basis. The number of such intellectuals became greater and greater, and they became the driving force for the fundamental reform of Islamic schools in the next century.

In general, the measures taken by the Government had not led to the creation of a coherent state system of school education for the non-Russian peoples of the region. The governmental school reform of 1782–1796 (see: [Ocherki russkoj kul'tury', 1987, pp. 273–275]) did not touch the maktab and madrasahs, in which the main part of Tatar children continued to study. Nevertheless, the continuing attacks of the Russian Government on the maktab and madrasahs, on the one hand, turned them, in the Tatar population's eyes, into a national symbol, and on the other hand—led to the conservation of the accepted backward, medieval educational principles, which certainly, delayed the social progress of this ethnic group.

Thus, the second part of the 16–18th centuries was a time of decline, a backward movement towards scholastic theology, of reconstruction and new rise of the Tatar school, after the fall of the Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberian

Khanates, the beginning of the formation of a rich network of mosque educational institutions, which set the foundations for the future 'Islamic universal education'.

Eventually, by the beginning of the 19th century, under the complicated external and internal conditions of the Volga-Ural Region and Siberia, the formation of an independent, stable, self-reliant Islamic system of education was finished, the schoolboys of which, as well as of numerous home-based education systems, firmly identified themselves as a part of a greater Tatar world. Under conditions of absence of other national institutions, mosque educational institutions played a mobilising role for the local culture, becoming the main instrument for the protection, consolidation (unification), spiritual liberation and development of the Tatar ethnic group, scattered over vast territories.

Before us lays one of the most important periods in the development of the spiritual culture of the Tatar nation, which made a great contribution to the development of pedagogical theory and practice of many Turkic-Islamic peoples of the country. During this period, the traditional school of the Tatars took a huge step in its development, which was connected with the great changes occurring in the social, economic, political and spiritual lives of local society. And this created the necessary conditions for the subsequent, more active evolution of a national illumination.

§5. Historical Knowledge of the Tatars

Alan Frank

It is known that Islamic historical literature had existed in the Volga-Ural Region since the middle of the 12th century, and a document created in 1550, in the times of the Kazan Khanate, is the earliest surviving historical narrative that we possess. One Hajji Mohammad Sharif Hajitarkhani wrote this work. It consists of a report sent to the Ottoman sultan, which describes the defense of Kazan against a Russian attack in 1550 [Togan, 1965; Melek, 1995]. However the historiographical tradition, which one can trace and from which modern Tatar and Bash-

kir historiography derived, emerged only in the 17th century, and thus the tradition developed entirely under Russian rule. Such a peculiarity is in itself surprising, in comparison with the historiographical situation in other settled Islamic communities that were conquered—albeit some time later—by Russia. The settled Islamic communities of Transcaucasia, Dagestan, the Crimea, and especially Middle Asia, retained numerous stories of local origin written before the Russian conquest, mainly in Persian, but also in Turkic and Arabic. Thus,

under the rule of imperial Russia, Islamic historians of these regions, wishing to write about their communities, had access to a large number of local works, for both their sources and their methodology. On the contrary, the Islamic historiography of the Volga-Ural Region seems to have been based on popular historical narratives that were gradually written down and combined into 'scientific' historical treatises. This process is one of the defining features of Volga-Ural Islamic historiography, in which any 'scientific' paper was ultimately based on oral sources, even if the author had earlier quoted 'scientific' works.

The reason why there are no Islamic histories of the Volga-Ural Region before the Russian period is unclear. There is no evidence that narratives were collected in the region during the period of either the Kazan Khanate or the Golden Horde. What is more, Tatar authors assumed that if such manuscripts actually existed, they were destroyed in fires that occasionally occurred in the Tatar districts of Kazan and Tatar rural settlements [Amirkhanov, 1883, p. 2; Usmanov, 1972, pp. 9–11].

The earliest surviving 'scientific' story from the Volga-Ural Region is the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* ('Compendium of Chronicles') written by Qādir 'Ali Bēk Jālāyīrī [Usmanov, 1972, p. 33–96; Syzdykova, 1989; Berezin, 1854; Rakhim, 1927, pp. 133–146]. This work was written in the times of the Kasimov Khanate—Chinggisid puppet state controlled by Moscow—and completed in 1602. It was apparently ordered by Tsar Boris Godunov and starts with a verbose panegyric to this ruler. The largest part consists of the surviving Turkic translation of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, a known history of the 14th century written by Rashīd al-Dīn. The work also contains eight initial chapters devoted to the rulers of the Golden Horde and its successor states. Among these figures are Urus Khan, Toktamyskh Khan, Timur Qutlug Khan, Edigü, Hajji Muhammad Khan (the founder of the Tyumen Khanate), Abu'l-Khayr Khan (the founder of the Uzbek Khanate), Yadegar Khan, and Uraz Muhammad (khan of the Kasimov Khanate). Mirkasym Usmanov notes that the way Qādir 'Ali Bēk discusses Uraz Muhammad, based on his own observations, speaks of

the fact that these dastans (eposes) derive from both written and oral folklore [Usmanov, 1972, p. 87], and Qādir 'Ali Bēk himself says that, for example, he judged Hajji Muhammad Khan based on oral documents about him, which were circulating among the 'Uzbeks'—nomads inhabiting the territory of modern Western Siberia and North-Western Kazakhstan [Berezin, 1854] [pp. 105–106]. Even if Qādir 'Ali Bēk based his work on written sources, it is evident that his sources were significantly based on historical narrative that circulated among these Islamic nomads. The use of highly turkicised spellings for Arabic names by Qādir 'Ali Bēk Jālāyīrī further indicates that his sources were most likely of 'folk', rather than of 'scientific' origin.

Qādir 'Ali Bēk's work is also important to gain an understanding of the history of Central Asia in general, and Volga-Ural historiography in particular. It has survived only in three manuscript copies, of which only one is complete. It seems that this work was not well-known among the Volga-Ural Muslims in the 17th or 19th centuries, and as a result, it was not as influential as subsequent works. Indeed, the work was composed in the times of the Kasimov Khanate, apparently in the interests of both the Russian rulers in Moscow and the Kasimov khans. Its translated sections from Rashīd al-Dīn's work and its original sections focus almost entirely on the Chinggisid rulers (with the noticeable exception of Edigü, described here as a descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr and the semi-mythical Islamiser of the Golden Horde Baba Tükles). Therefore the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* can fairly be categorised as an example of historiography of the Chinggisid court, financed by the Russian state, written for the inner circle of readers, and paying much attention to the history of the Chinggisid dynasties.

The next significant work in this historiographical tradition is '*Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma*', composed by an unknown author (see in more detail: [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 97–133; Panov, 1934]. This work has survived in approximately forty complete and incomplete manuscripts. It was popular in itself, and highly honoured among the Volga-Ural Muslims until the revolution of 1917. The work was also an important

source, cited and used in all the major histories of the region until the end of the 19th century. Apparently, it was composed between the years 1682 and 1700. Like 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh', 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma' comprises several dastans, which probably were brought together from separate sources. Thus, the first dastan, devoted to Chinggis Khan and his descendants, seems to be partially based on 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' by Rashīd al-Dīn, as well as on Bashkir and, perhaps, some other Turkic historical narratives [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 109–110]. The second dastan is a document about the conquest of India, Istanbul, and Bulgar by Tamerlane. It is again quite clear that the author relied on both oral and written legends. In order to provide an overview of this chapter, the author apparently relied on the Middle Asian 'Timur Nāma' genre, which exists in Persian and Turkic versions and narrates Tamerlane's victories. These Middle Asian papers were based on oral and written folk legends; in the recent Uzbek edition of one of the Turkic versions, and in 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma', we can find descriptions of Tamerlane's campaigns against the Bulgars and Russians [Ravshanov, 1990, pp. 244–249]. However, it is evident from this section that the author equally relies on the Tatar genealogical legend, for we find here a version of the genealogy of the Baraj clan, together with other Tatar historical legends [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 112–113]. The fourth dastan devotes attention to the Nogai emir Edigü mentioned above. As Usmanov noted, this document, in relation to Edigü, is basically identical with the 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' by Qādīr 'Alī Bēk. If the author did not actually use the work of 'Alī Bēk, then they in fact drew the material from a common source [Usmanov, 1972, p. 116]. The fifth dastan lists khans and their homelands (yurt) in the Volga-Ural Region, and appears in a slightly altered form in both the Bashkir genealogy and two manuscripts from the beginning of the 19th century.

The last section titled *Dastān fī-t-Tārīkh* is a chronicle, which lists historical events in the Volga-Ural Region, beginning with the conquest of Bulgar by Tamerlane, including the founding of Kazan and its conquest by the Russians, and ending with the Bashkir rebellion of

1682–1683. This section, which also includes later historical events down to the middle of the 18th century, can actually be a later addition to the paper, for it noticeably differs from the preceding dastans. Specifically, it belongs to a genre known as *wāqī'a nāma* (chronicles listing events chronologically by year) [Khaikov, 1982, pp. 100–109]. Moreover, this section gives much information, described in the dastan, about Tamerlane, in the same place where the conquest of Bulgar is described.

'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma' is a good example of the interaction between written real histories on the one hand and written folk legends on the other. Undoubtedly, 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma' blurs the boundary between histories and legends; but popularity of the work among the Volga-Ural Muslims indicates that it escaped the more limited circle of recorded legends which, to a large extent, were of local or genealogical origin.

'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma' exhibits the properties that continue in historiographic legends arisen in the times of Qādīr 'Alī Bēk, and, at the same time, originate from the same legends. On the one hand, 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma', as well as 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh', focuses primarily on historical legends of steppe nomads, attaching special importance to Chinggis Khan and non-Chinggisid political figures, such as Edigü and others. However, Islam and Islamic figures play a much more outstanding role in 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma'. Chinggis Khan and Tamerlane are portrayed as Islamic rulers, and Tamerlane is even depicted as the Muslim hero conquering Russian disbelievers. However, in the last section—that is, the *Dastān fī-t-Tārīkh*—a more focused political and regional emphasis takes shape. This section describes the political history of Bulgar and Kazan, including the semi-legendary founding of the Kazan Khanate, its conquest by the Russians, and the relationships between the Volga-Ural Muslims and the Russian state until the end of the 17th century. Here the focus is on settled Islamic communities of the Middle Volga, with less importance assigned to Chinggisid charisma, than among the nomadic and semi-nomadic Muslims of the steppes and the Urals. Indeed, in the *Dastān fī-t-Tārīkh* the khans of Kazan—who historically

were definitely Chinggisids—are described not as Chinggisids but rather direct descendants of the last khan of Bulgar Abdulla, who supposedly was killed by Tamerlane. This focus on the city of Bulgar first appeared in 'Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma' and began to dominate over the 'scientific' historiography of the Volga-Ural Muslims, as we shall see during the discussion of works from the 17th and 19th centuries.

In addition to these quite well-known narratives, the Volga-Ural Muslims also made other local histories. The best preserved examples of this local historiography were written down only in the 19th and 20th centuries, although there are some works from the end of the 18th century. However, there is little reason to doubt the existence of these genres, in both oral and written forms, in the 17th century.

Probably, the most ancient genre of this 'folk' historiography is the genealogy or shajare. The Bashkirs, who have preserved the division by clans and tribes to these days, have clan and tribe genealogies [Kuzeev, 1960]. These genealogies were originally preserved in the oral form, but, undoubtedly by the 18th century, if not earlier, began to evolve into a writing genre. Many Bashkir genealogies contained historical chronicles that added a narrative element to the list of ancestors, and placed a history of the clan or tribe into a broader historical context.

Similar genealogies were also found among the Volga Tatars [Usmanov, 1972, p. 167–195; Ahmetzyanov, 1991a]. The Muslims of the Middle Volga Region were already settled prior to the Mongolian conquest in the 13th century, and the tribal self-determination that existed among steppe nomads did not survive among these communities. Nevertheless, kinship self-determination, originating from common ancestors and going back to antiquity, survived until the 20th century, and was often, but not necessarily, linked to specific territory. Tatar genealogies often merged with the genre of village history, by means of which founders of a certain number of villages were genealogically connected. The genre of village history, which in the beginning of the 20th century evolved into a particularly rich and sophisticated example of Islam historiography, encompassing very large and detailed

'micro-histories' of Islamic communities, is unclear, but the linkage between genealogies and village histories is evident. The genre of Islamic village history also appeared among the Siberian and Dagestani Muslims, but was especially common and developed in the Volga-Ural Region.

Historical chronicles also existed among the Tatars and Bashkirs—also known as a *wāqī'a nāmasī*—which could vary in complexity from detailed narratives to more laconic recitations of events. These works were arranged chronologically and covered political, military, climatic, and even astronomical events. Such a genre has existed at least since the 17th century, once *wāqī'a nāmasī* was in fact included in the *Daftar-i Chingīz Nāma* [Katanov, 1905, pp. 303–348]. This genre is no doubt the most enduring historiographical genre of the Volga-Ural Region. Such works are extremely numerous and sometimes attached to the copies of better-known works. The writing of such papers continued, and they were attached to village histories in the 1930s.

At last, as a follow-up to the course of the 18th century, more localised narrative stories began to appear, which apparently were not so widespread. Today many of such works are either lost or exist as unique manuscript copies. One such work is a Bashkir history titled *Hikayat*. It survived as a manuscript in Persian and as a Russian translation of a now lost Turkic version. This work comprises a story about Tamerlane's conquest of Bulgar, his blockade of Vladimir, the founding of Kazan, and the Bashkir rebellion of 1735–1741.

Sh. Marjani mentions two local histories composed in the 18th century, which probably did not survive to our days. One of them is a *majmū'a* ('collection of works') composed in 1734 by one mullah Amkā from the village of Tanuki [Mārcani, 1900]. The second work is another collection compiled in the same village by a certain Zayn al'Abidin b. 'Abdal-Karim [Yusupov, 1981, p. 79].

It is evident from this brief survey, that at the end of 18th century, the Volga-Ural Islamic historians drew information from a rich source of oral and written historiographical legends. We shall see that these later historians inter-

preted the legends in such a way as to express their own views on Volga-Ural Islamic history, in light of the social and political changes they

experienced, but especially in light of changing relationships between the Russian authorities and the Volga-Ural Islamic clergy—the *ulamas*.

§6. Arts and Crafts

Guzel Valeeva-Suleymanova

Conquering the Kazan Khanate and other Tatar states led to the ruin of Tatar art and culture, which had been established by the 16th century. They suffered quality changes, related to the destruction of professional forms and the absence of customers—the previously dominant feudal classes. The destruction of urban crafts, as well as the flight of the city population from Kazan, led to feudal production centers moving to the Trans-Kazan Region. The main factor contributing to the specific features of the Tatar decorative arts was its development as folk art of peasants, which then spread to the periphery. As a consequence, the art of the 16–18th centuries was reduced to ethno-aesthetic criteria, developed under the influence of the patriarchal and religious customs of the peasant life, which was notable for its conservatism. The isolation of the art from the influence of other ethnic groups was largely caused by the enforced baptism and assimilation, which had an impact on the sustainable preservation of artistic traditions that were typical for the culture of the previous period at the peak of the Tatar Khanates.

After the Tatar states had been conquered, the monumental architecture and the related decorative arts disappeared, such as stone and plaster carving, mosaics, majolica and painting. High artistic works—created to the orders of the Khanate and nobility, such as miniature, calligraphy, gold and silver stitching and pile weaving—declined.

The tsar's charter of 1574 prohibited Tatars and other non-Russians living in the Middle Volga Region in the 16–18th centuries to engage in blacksmithing and silver-smithing, to prevent them from manufacturing weapons. Due to these restrictions, designer arms, tools, utensils and other forged metal articles were no longer produced [Vorobyov, 1953, p. 78; Dim-

itriev, 1977, pp. 55–65]. Blacksmithing was mostly practiced by Russian masters during that period.

After Tatars were forced to move away from lands along large rivers with clay deposits (quarries near the village of Pestretsy, near Elabuga, Chistopol, Kukmor, Tetyushi), pottery, established since the Bulgar times, disappeared as well. Furnaces were also prohibited (due to the prohibition on metal forging). After the conquest of Kazan, the Tatar population used ceramics made by Russian potters, while in some auls people made simple utensils and bricks from natural clay.

Islamic monuments were destroyed everywhere. The destruction of mosques continued for a number of centuries, up to the latter half of the 18th century. In 1593, the first tsar's charter was issued, in which Kazan voivodes were ordered to destroy existing Tatar mosques and prohibit the building of new ones: '...destroy all mosques in the Kazan land, and do not allow any Tatar to come to Kazan' [Staraya i Novaya Kazan', 1927, pp. 51–60; Nogmanov, 2002, p. 194]. In 1742, a Senate decree was issued forbidding the construction of mosques in Kazan guberniya, as well as ordering the destruction of already existing mosques [Nogmanov, 2002, pp. 110–111]. Churches and monasteries were build those sites. Tatar cities with Islamic layouts and architectural developments were gradually adapted to the traditions of Orthodox Christian architecture. Shapes of the Tatar architecture, monumental and ornamental decorations, were transformed to a new quality, which was determined by the peculiarities of the local provincial school of Russian architecture.

The goals of Christianisation of the conquered population led to innovations in the church architecture, and the motifs of its dec-

orations, in order that newly-baptised Tatars could better understand the Christian concepts. To Russian temples they added 'oriental touches', oriented at Tatar art traditions. According to researchers, this was why the Russian architecture of the Volga Region assumed some local traits, and differed from that of the central regions [Aydarova, 1993, p. 113]. This was seen in the spatial and design structures (multi-layer towers), constructive and ornamental decorations (keel and pointed arches, tile decorations, multi-color painting, many molded and carved ornaments).

Having lost their statehood, the Tatars did not lose their ethnic independence and the high culture created in the previous centuries. Arts that had been developing in the workshops of the capital and satisfied the demands of the Khan's court and the highest nobility, had to transform to a kind of folk arts, in which the achievements of the medieval urban culture proceeded to develop. As the population of Kazan was moved beyond the city and its outskirts—30–40 versts in radius—as well as from the settlements along the Volga and Kama Rivers [Materialy' Tataskoj Sovetskoj Soczjalistich-eskoj Respubliki, 1932, pp. 18–19], starting from the latter half of the 16th century, the Trans-Kazan Regions, where there had once been core feudal centers of the former Kazan Khanate, became the centres of cultural development. Most urban population including craftsmen that had been driven away, moved to the Trans-Kazan Region [Vorobyov, 1953, p. 21]. Domestic crafts that had once flourished, were now concentrated in such large settlements as Arsk, Saby, Alaty, Sulabash, Kshkar, Zyuri, Kursa, Menger, Satysh, Mondyush, Atnya, etc. Gradually they become economic and cultural centers, where the Tatar trade bourgeoisie, which had been forming since the late 17th century, concentrated all crafts in its hands, and created industries like tanning and weaving [Vorobyov, 1953, p. 24; Khasanov, 1977, p. 28]. In the villages of the Trans-Kazan Region, traditional arts were developed—jewelry, gold stitching, stone carving (tomb stones), metal working (cold processing), leather working, etc.

The transfer of a large number of Kazan Tatars to the lands of the neighbouring peoples led the formation of ethnic groups with peculiar cultures and folk art. The largest groups were the Malmyzh and Chepets living on the territory on the today's Kirov oblast and Udmurtia, Teptyars—in the North-West regions of Bashkiria, Perm group in the Cis-Ural Region. In the 18th century, part of the Tatar population moved to the territories of the today's Orenburg oblast, to Kazakhstan and Siberia, where the first centers of the Tatar culture and crafts emerges—auls Kargaly near Orenburg, Karmyskaly in Bashkiria, Yambaevo in Siberia, cities of Troitsk, Ufa, Uralsk, etc. Forced baptism led to the formation of Tatars-Kryashens, the culture of which had developed absorbing many traits of the Finno-Ugrian and Russian culture.

The settlement of territories in the Cis-Ural region, and contacts with the locals, is reflected both in the formation of the Tatar people and in the development of their culture and arts. Active interaction with the cultures of neighbouring peoples (Mari, Mordovians, Russians, Udmurts, Chuvash) gradually led to the formation of a regional mega-community, referred to in discourses as the Volga-Ural Historic and Ethnographic Region.

From the latter half of the 16th century, up to the early 18th century was a kind of stagnation period for Tatar culture. There is not much evidence left that can be indicative of the peculiarities of the decorative arts and arts in general. Those centuries were full of tragic collisions related to the national liberation fights of the Tatars and their survival, and adaptation to colonial oppression. Especially acute conflicts were those related to religious oppression and attacks on the Islamic culture. Religious buildings were massively destroyed on the territory of the former Kazan Khanate. For example, 418 of the 536 remaining at that time mosques and madrasahs were destroyed [Grigoryev, 1948, p. 240]. Civilian buildings did not survive either, especially the stone architecture. The Tatar community suffered forced Christianisation and fought to retain Islam and its spiritual environment. The only monuments of those times that were more or less preserved

were carved tomb stones—kabertashi, which can still be found in Tatar cemeteries, mostly in the Trans-Kazan Region. Epitaphs (we will dwell on them later) were usually richly ornamented, but their decorative qualities proceeded from the achievements of the Kazan Khanate, both in tombstones and their carvings [Valeev, 1984, p. 95].

Important processes, expanding the role of domestic crafts, including the arts, took place in the first half and the middle of the 17th century. Home crafts gradually turned to commercial trading [Khasanov, 1977, pp. 26–27]. According to *Piscovaja kniga* of 1646, there were 640 households practicing crafts in Kazan and its slobodas [Ibid.]. At the end of the 17th century, there were conditions that caused the development of small commodity production. Land scarcity and crippling taxes of the tsar's administration, forced Tatars to look for additional means of earning a living and actively working on crafts. Moreover, Michail Romanov's decrees of 1628 and those of Peter I of November 27, 1713 made Tatar murzas, who were not baptised and thus had to abandon their lands (these were confiscated), practice trade and crafts [Gaziz, 1994, pp. 134, 142; Grigoryev, 1948, p. 234]. This contributed to the intense development of commodity-money relations, which became even more rapid starting from the latter half of the 18th century, when Tatar trade capital started playing a greater part in relations between Russia and Middle Asia [Gaziz, 1994, pp. 145–147; Khasanov, 1977, p. 40]. Tatar villages had significant numbers of craftsmen, who fulfilled orders and placed their products on the market. Such traditional Tatar crafts as tanning, furriery, tailoring and wood processing were developing rapidly, and contributed to the development of decorative and applied arts.

The concentration of craftsmen in the villages of the Trans-Kazan Region, together with the land scarcity of the peasants, resulted in the spread of production of household artistic products. This became their dominant occupation, and they began producing artistic products for sale and selling them at city fairs. Market production gradually replaced custom-order production, and commercial crafts development

led to labour divisions, and the specialisation of certain villages in specific products. There were villages that produced leather and felted boots, hats and jewelry. For example, villages of Alaty and Atnya became the centers of tanning, weaving was concentrated in Urnashbash [Khasanov, 1977, p. 28]. In Kazan, in the first half of the 18th century, there were over 40 small tanning manufactures owned by Tatar merchants [Ibid., p. 34].

From the late 17th century until the late 18th century, new economic centers kept emerging. Elabuga, Laishev, Chistopol, Mamadysh, Menzelinsk became large commercial centers. There were fairs held in the following Tatar villages: Alaty, Atna, Mengery, and Saby. 'Tatar merchants bought different handicraft articles in the villages and sold them at the fairs and in other villages... The goods collected in the villages and at the fairs were sold to merchants in the cities' [Gaziz, 1994, p. 146]. Rich merchants traded at the fairs in Tyumen, Troitsk, Orenburg and in other cities with Tatar slobodas. Commercial capital development resulted in broadening of the base of domestic handicraft production and the rise of manufactures producing artistic articles, traditional for the Tatar culture.

The 18th century opened a new page in the history of culture and art in Russia and its subjects—the Tatars. In 1708, Kazan guberniya was established in the lands of the former Kazan Khanate and the nearby areas. And although the population was multinational in this area, the traditional Tatar crafts—tanning, metal working, jewelry, gold stitching, etc. were developed there. Civil foundations of the arts laid by Peter I and developed by Catherine II, contributed to the establishment of the professional arts, which turned into a significant phenomenon, and affected the entire Russian culture, including folk arts both in the city and in villages. The culture of the Tatar nation, which had been evolving since the late 17th century, demonstrating the traditional culture established when the medieval ethnos was being developed, became an important part of the national culture and one of the key factors in the new self-awareness of the Tatars.

The latter half of the 18th century was a period of reforms, related to the development of the manufacturing industry. Russian culture underwent changes that were in tune with the new historical conditions. This was related to the strengthening of the bourgeoisie in the Tatar community, which gradually took in the progressive achievements of the worldly European culture. The official trends in Russian decorative art and architecture were all European styles—Baroque and Classicism. They influenced principal and uyezd towns and showed themselves in the changes characterising the development of architectural decors, interiors, costumes and the objective-spatial environment as a whole. The Tatar artistic culture still preserved old traditions (namely in the folk art) until the middle of the 18th century. Later when the urban lifestyle began to form, and the culture reflected changes related to the market requirements, architecture and art underwent some changes, influenced by Baroque.

Baroque in Russia acted like the European Renaissance did on the arts. The new style was embraced in the Russian capitals starting from the middle of the 17th century [Baroque, 1982]. This was the first style that led to its national variants being created in Russia. The spreading of Baroque in the provinces, in particular on the Kazan Governorate, lagged behind, beginning only in the latter half of the 18th century.

Tatar and Russian customers mastered European styles in different ways. Architectural design of stone and wooden buildings in the Tatar part of Kazan was notable for its Baroque style that was in tune with the tastes of its customers, and made it possible to organically include it into Tatar motifs. Whereas the architecture of Russian Kazan reflected Classicism, which for the Tatars symbolised oppressing state power [Aydarova, 1993, p. 113].

New style trends influenced by the European culture penetrated into the Tatar culture, initially appearing in stone architecture (mosques, residences of the nobility), which was made possible by the 'Nakaz' by Catherine II, when she officially recognised Islam in 1767 [Nogmanov, 2002, p. 123]. Borrowing of European styles was due to the fact that many buildings were designed by foreign architects, because of

the forced interruption of centuries-old monumental building traditions, and the absence of professional Tatar architects. Nevertheless, the tastes of customers were taken into consideration as well, mostly those of the commercial bourgeoisie, which shows itself in individual structural parts, architectural decorative elements of Tatar architecture and Tatar ornaments.

Monumental buildings showed their own artistic features in their interpretations of Baroque. Buildings that combined Baroque methods with national spatial and design solutions and decor motifs were particularly interesting. This characterises mosques built in the latter half of the 18th century. Among these, in the Old Tatar Sloboda of Kazan, there were the first stone mosques—Marjani (1767–1770) and Apanayevskaya (1768–1771), in the Trans-Kazan Region there were the first cathedral mosque in the village of Nizhnyaya Bereska (1769, modern Atnya district, now in dilapidated condition), the mosque in the village of Kshkar (1776, modern Arsk district of Tatarstan), the first cathedral mosque in the village of Maskara (1791, modern Kukmora district of Tatarstan). This last mosque combines early Classicism on the facades and Baroque elements in the interiors. It is worth noting that after a mosque had been built in Nizhnyaya Bereska, a Baroque stone mausoleum belonging to the Burnaev family was erected (which is virtually in ruins today). The customer was the merchant Burnagol Burnaev. There is a drawing of the carved arabesque ornament made on a wooden door of that half-ruined mosque. The drawing was made by F. Valeev in the 1960s.

Most Tatar mosques of that time were built in the style of wooden village churches with a prayer-tower. Decoration in provincial Baroque style shows itself in decorative pilasters and their column caps on the facades, vertically extended window panes with semi-circular ends, molded plaster ornaments of the ceilings in the interiors and other architectural and decorative details. Tatar and general Islamic motifs such as tulips, lotus-like stylized bouquets, semi-muqarnas, etc. in the molding of the exterior and interior, namely in window finishings, eaves, plinths, and ornaments of ceiling lamps

lent specific national traits to mosques and were in tune with their traditional spacial and plastic designs.

Qualitative changes, related to the social and economic changes of the 18th century, took place in the development of the Tatar decorative and applied arts that depended on domestic crafts and trade. It should be noted that arts that could take Tatar art to a new level was undergoing a period of blossoming. They gradually mastered the common space of the Islamic culture, which showed itself in the forms and content of the works of art. Trading activity of Tatar merchants contributed to re-establishing spiritual ties with the people of the Central Asia and the Middle East. Books and manuscripts came from Persia and Turkestan, fabrics and clothing, jewelry and utensils—from Middle Asia, Turkey and Azerbaijan, carpets and decorations—from the Caucasus. Works of art brought not just artistic trends with them, but also aesthetic concepts arising in the large centers of the Islamic East [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 1994, p. 66–77]. Strengthening of religious traditions in the spiritual culture, together with the wide expansion of Eastern goods caused Sunni Islam to strictly regulate the Tatar art, prohibiting any images of living creatures and people. This was first and foremost a defensening reaction to icon-painting with images of God as a man, as well as the necessity to preserve Tatar umma from the influence of Christian culture that aggressively attracted Muslims to Orthodox churches. However Tatars were remote from the Christian concept of God, and their Islamic world outlook would not let them become immersed in the Russian culture, despite its secular trends, still remained religion-oriented. Tatar art was greatly influenced by Arabic inscriptions, sayings from the Quran that were now used as an independent element of the decoration of household goods, jewelries (Quran holders, bracelets, earrings, metal plates). Arabic inscriptions had religious and magical meanings, items were used as talismans and protective amulets. At the same time, ministers of the faith were not allowed to make figurative images. The motifs of birds and animals can be seen as symbolic, stylized and generalised forms making a single whole, with

floral and geometrical ornaments of the Tatar ornamental legacy.

The expansion of trade activity contributed to growth of manufacturing, which resulted in the mass production of works of art. They were made upon requests of all the social classes of the Tatar population. Based on the developed domestic crafts turning into handicraft manufactures, traditional Tatar arts related to household demands were starting to flourish. This was the production of items related to national costumes, hats, jewelry, interior and household items—metal utensils, woven and embroidered articles, napless carpets, ritual and cult items (towels, protective amulets, etc.). This was concentrated in the villages of the Trans-Kazan Region, where domestic production was practiced along with crafts. It should be noted that not all ethnographic groups of Tatars practiced mass production of crafts. For example, in the villages of Mishar Tatars and Kryashens, decorative articles were produced as part of domestic production.

Starting from the latter half of the 18th century, Kazan became the center of artistic crafts. The Tatar part of the city was isolated from the Russian one, and the population of the former grew in number due to people coming from Tatar villages, mostly from the Trans-Kazan Region. Located here were workshops of blacksmiths, jewelers, stone carvers, calligraphers, leather makers, furriers, tailors, embroiderers, gold embroiderers, weavers and other craftsmen who fulfilled orders and placed their products on the market. Some handicrafts, such as the so-called 'ichizhno-kalyapushny' (including the production of patterned leather products, mainly shoes, gold embroidered hats and shoes), in the middle of the 19th century were transformed into a major artistic craft industries.

The development of urban culture—connected with the mastering of mass production of crafts, division of labour and teaching of its stages—resulted in a high level of professional and artistic skills. This led to a category of popular, exemplary and classical works of decorative and applied arts, which gradually formed the national Tatar style. Starting from the mid-18th century, a model Tatar costume was be-

ing formed as an artistic complex of authentic traditional components, along with a national style in ornaments, colour balance, and an integrated artistic ensemble of the interior and exterior. Such signature Tatar techniques as leather mosaics, flat and lumpy filigree in jewelry, gold stitching and 'ushkovaya' application technique, overlay wood carving and flat stone carving were also developing.

They were based on the succession of local ethno-cultural traditions of Kazan Tatars, which showed themselves in mass forms of urban culture that contributed to further consolidation of Tatars in a bourgeois nation. Thus the mid-18th century and the first half of the 19th century was a time of the development of classical national art of the Tatars, who drew their conceptual and figurative principles from the aesthetic criteria of Islam [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2001, p. 457]. The latter show themselves in articles of decorative art that covered almost all spheres of material and artistic production formed in the Tatar community. Ritual and household articles, clothing, folk architecture, the design of objective and spacial environment showed an integral artistic and aesthetic concept based on a figurative system of Islamic art [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2008].

The art of Arabic calligraphy made especial progress. This was developing in two different forms—as an independent art of manuscripts, and as a part of conceptual and artistic decoration in architecture and small statuary (tombstones), where it is a kind of epigraphy. Calligraphy was developed among common people and in the works of many nameless imams and masters—hattats. This was due to the fact that the fall of the Kazan Khanate caused calligraphy to lose its high-ranking customers of the nobility and clergy classes, as there were no longer any rich libraries and workshops serving them. Mosques and madrasahs also lost their former power, and calligraphy had to develop in the plain villager and later urban environment. It acquired a certain interpretation in the tradition of rewriting books, which was considered as pleasing to God, and was practiced by those hattats who had profound literacy and mastered all the nuances of Arabic handwriting. Among these are the names of scribes of the

17–18th centuries such as Ivanay Arsay ogly, Gilmi Utyamesh (1700–1740) from the village of Tashkichu, Sayfulmulyuk Zaynetdin ogly from the village of Ashit, Muraddym bin Ibrahim, Khusain baba al Muhammad ogly (died in 1805) from the village of Shirdan have been preserved thanks to Sh. Marjani and K. Nasyri.

There exist some biographical data about certain hattats. Gabdennasyr bine Sabit al Achkeni born in 1746 in the village of Elmen (modern village of Almenevo in Kurgan oblast) started working as calligrapher from the age of 25, and rewrote 223 books in the course of his lifetime. One of the most significant works were two volumes of the Quran interpretations—the one made by Tafsir, a theologian of the 13th century, and 'The Light of Inspiration' by Abdallah Badayvi (Akhmetzhanov, 2000). According to the penman (hattat) himself, he 'wrote by the light of a pine splinter, as he could not afford a candle'. The names of his teacher—Gabdennasyr from aul Yaugelde, modern Birsk district, and of one of his disciples, Muhammad Zarif bine Gabeljamil, reached us, which is indicative of the successive transfer of skills and the professional school of Tatar hattats, which had been established by the 18th century. In Kazan there was a corporation of scribes. Their activities spread far beyond the city. Some of them worked in famous libraries of Middle Asia and Istanbul. For example, in the Bukhar library of Saraiji, a dynasty of calligraphers from the Trans-Kazan village of Tyunter rewrote Eastern books.

In Tatar culture, the art of calligraphy is adjacent to epigraphy, which reached new frontiers in the carved decorations on tombstones. Epitaphs with carved epigraphs and patterned designs can still be found in ancient, but still existing necropolis. Their surfaces are covered with elegant floral ornaments and luxurious inscriptions carved by skilled carvers. Elegant inscriptions cover the facades, and sometimes the sides and the back side of tombstones. Researchers deduced that patterned design and epigraphy of carved stones were made in the same style, starting from the 15th century. This style established during the time of the Kazan Khanate and developed until the middle of the 16th century. Epitaphs of the latter half of the

16th century and until the middle of the 18th century were classified by F. Valeev as belonging to the third group of his historical and typological classification [Valeev, 1984, p. 95]. They almost fully repeat the decoration of stones of the first half of the 16th century. Tombstones and their carved decorations looked different by the middle of the 18th century. It is worth noting that they were painted violet, green, yellow and beige, and Arabic letters were in bold black.

Tombstones of the 17–first half of the 18th centuries, mainly made by nameless masters, suggest there was a professional school of stone carving. These were made of limestone in the form of a rectangular slab and had a semi-circular arch. The upper part usually had a large inscription on the arch surface, with surahs from the Quran, as well as pompous compositions of floral motifs. They were followed by information about the deceased and a prayer to Allah. Inscriptions on the left side of stones were carved in Arabic writings such as Thuluth, Taglik and Nastaglik in a flat-relief or notched carving technique. They were placed in a frame and decorated with ribbon ornaments. The motifs of a ropes and harnesses in an interpretation became more characteristic of a later domestic wood carving. The dates are indicated according to Hijrah and Gregorian calendars. Separate tombstones have the names of carvers and calligraphers, which Sh. Marjani mentioned in his work *Mustafad al Akhbar fi akhvali Kazan va Bulgar* (Useful information about Kazan and Bulgar), some of the names were found by M. Ahmetzyanov. Among them there are, Akkuchat, Dusmat Tilyash, Davish Hafiz, Kilmuhammad bin Ishman—carvers of the 17th century, Gabderakhim bin Gabdurakhman, Ishak bin Gabdul'karim, Ibrahim bin Mohammad Tulyak—carvers of the 18th century.

As an example, we can take tombstones made in the latter half of the 17th century by a carver and calligrapher Kilmuhammad bin Ishman. Epitaphs carved by him can be found in almost every district on the right bank of the Kama river in Tatarstan. They are sometimes found in places of former Muslim cemeteries of the former settlements of the 17–18th centuries. The design of tombstones are similar to

epitaphs of the Kazan khanate and Kasimov principality. However, they are smaller and shorter, and the inscriptions are half as high. There is a difference in texts, instead of the initial form of 'passed away to a better world' used before, they show the name of the dead and a prayer request. As for other details, the hattat stuck to the medieval tradition.

Limestone slabs of tombstones had a semi-circular or triangular arch, the upper part had a magnificently decorated floral pattern, executed using the in-depth-notched technique. Inscriptions were framed with a relief border. Texts were usually written in 5 to 7 lines, and the calligrapher carved them in Suls script. Unlike others, this author signed his works. His name was first mentioned by G. Yusupov in the 1960s. Later, kabertashi created by him were found by a local history expert M. Tarkhanov and M. Ahmetzyanov [Yusupov, 1960, Ahmetzyanov, 2000].

Gradually Tatar epitaphs underwent eclectic tendencies related to the decline of the carving school (deviations from the precise style, sloppy manner), simplification of carving techniques (less excised, no slant to the background plane), the ornamental decor was often coincidental or disappeared altogether. By the middle of the 18th century, tombstones became smaller (usually 1.6 m high) and 0.5 m wide), their tops were semi-circular (or close to that) and rectangular in shape. The carved patterns were in the upper part and the side borders of the facade. The rest of the surface was divided by horizontal stripes forming a rectangular panel with inscriptions, sometimes floral ornaments were placed between them, usually in the lower part of steles. Patterns were also carved on the back side, often in the form of round medallions with elements of Arabic ornamental script. The back sides of some steles from the Trans-Kazan Region (auls Bakhtiyar, Sulabash, etc.) were decorated with rectangular rosettes made of stylized images of birds with outstretched wings [Valeev, 1984, pp. 95–96].

Patterned compositions of tombstones of the 18th century show a tendency to reject figurativeness, related to the rising influence of austerity in Islam, and gradually the ornaments fully disappeared. Most monuments of the lat-

ter half of the 18th century from villages of the Trans-Kazan region are similar to tombstones in the Kazan cemetery. Apparently, these were made in Kazan in a workshop of professional stone carvers. Sometimes in certain villages in the East of Tatarstan cone-shaped tombstones could be found. Certain tomb steles had both inscriptions and tamgas carved on them.

As for the development of decorative and applied arts in the latter half of the 16–18th centuries, we can evaluate this from the museum collections, created by hundreds of nameless masters, as well as information and pictures of European and Russian travelers (S. Herberstein, S. Gmelin, P. Pallas, I. Georgi, I. Lepekhin, Cornelis de Bruijn, I. Leprince, E. Korneev, etc.), pre-revolutionary study materials (A. Rittich, M. Laptev, F. Pauli, M. Rylov, N. Vecheslav, K. Nasyrov, Sh. Marjani, etc.), as well as Soviet (B. Adler, P. Dulsky, M. Khudyakov, N. Vorobyov, F. Valeev, etc.) and Russian (G. Valeeva-Suleymanova, M. Zavyalova, L. Sattarova, R. Shageeva, R. Shamsutov) authors. Let us now dwell on the development of some arts based on the available sources.

Old drawings and engravings can help us to get an idea about Tatar costumes in the 17–18th centuries. Among the male and female population, pullover and wraparound clothing was common, as well as loose women's shirts with semi-circular cuts on the neck, with closed collars, made of yellow, pink, orange, purple, blue, green, and more rarely red fabrics. There exist data on the worn on shoulders, wrap-type clothing named 'yabyngych' (hence the Russian word 'epancha' which means a 'cloak').

As decorative components, needlework and golden-stitch embroidery were used on hats, jackets, hems and dress sleeves, kerchiefs and head-scarves, as well as appliqué patterns of braids, lace, textile fragments, as well as bead and pearl embroidery. According to I. Georgi, Mishar and Kryashen Tatar women wore white embroidered shirts and shirts of checkered motley fabric with sewn in strips made of red calico as a seam [Georgi, 1799]. Embroidery with patterns made in the technique of color intertwining (not found among the Kazan Tatars) was made around chest cut-outs, sleeve ends and the hems of dresses. An important part of

the costumes of nobles were metal belts with massive clamps, similar to those of the Ottoman Turks and some North Caucasus peoples, as well as cast and filigree buttons made of gilded silver, along the slits of men's ceremonial clothing.

In the 18th century, Tatar women wore high headdresses of conical form, covered with metal plaques or coins with insets of coral and pearls. Along with this headdress came neck-temple jewelry and a kerchief put on under it. Men wore conical caps made of expensive fabrics and trimmed with fur. The ancient form of the Tatar headdress is the 'takiy'ya' that is a hemispherical oblong hat made of fabric with fur collar or without it, embroidered with gold and decorated with precious gems. Women wore wide head-scarves cloaking their body, dressed their plaits into cloth covers or covered them with metal fillets, wrapped the head with a tastar—a special towel-type headscarf.

Wide trade with Central Asia, Persia and Turkey in the 18th century contributed to the influx into the region of paper, silk and semi-silk fabrics with striped and floral patterns. Among the Muslims of the Volga region particularly popular were striped Bukhara bekasab and alacha, smooth plain and patterned fabrics, such as adrasa, satin, and brocade. According to the graphic materials of the 18th century (drawings of travelers) striped fabrics were popular in clothing and used for sewing women's dresses with long and wide sleeves and men's caftans. One can see a variety of combinations of narrow stripes of blue, green, yellow, red, and crimson colors. Women's shirts matched the striped patterns of girls' headdresses—the kalphaks. The whole clothing style was characterised by bright Oriental coloring. Stripe as an art phenomenon found its expression not only in the patterns of clothing, but also in hats, napless carpets, patterned towels, household and interior fabrics and also in the coloring of facades of wooden buildings (alternating natural colors of the logs with white limestone joints between them).

In the middle of the 18th—first half of the 19th centuries, the costume took the form of a classical ensemble of clothing and jewelry. It was formed on the basis of the urban costume

of the Kazan Tatars, which embodied the whole complex of traditional elements. All the Muslims of the region wore loose shirts with long sleeves that covered the hands, called kul'me'ks. Both men and women also wore wide harem trousers. Underclothing was complemented with wraparound clothing, namely jacket, kazakin, beshmet, chekmen', and others, as well as tapered hats made of felt, fur and fabric. Patterned shoes were indispensable, namely ichigi with soft sole and chitek with solid sole, slippers with or without heels, which were typical among the Eastern Muslim peoples. Tatar costume included such purely Muslim items of clothing as 'chapan', 'djilen', and 'chalma' (turban). These were worn by members of the clergy and noble classes. Such kinds of clothing as men's tubeteika, women's kalphaks and large headscarves (tastar, orpek), plastrons—kukryakche and izyu, fillets, chest ties—khasite, korannicas (cases for the Quran) and others, as well as wide and long clothing that hid the body and harem trousers, reflected traditional Muslim beliefs about the external images of men and women.

Eastern artistic taste was reflected in weaving and embroidery items. The art of patterned weaving had found its manifestation in a striped fabric for dresses. The patterns have some common features with the Uzbek, Karakalpak, Kazakh, and especially Azerbaijani fabrics. However, the compositional and color structure of Tatar fabrics do not have analogies. They are characterised by monumentality and dynamism of the rhythms, which were achieved by combination of the major lead pattern of the main strip, with a more simple pattern of the upper and lower borders.

The extant ancient cloth specimens made in the technique of the inset weaving date back to the 18th century. They stand out for their rhythmic structure, richness and diversity of patterns, softness and saturation of color (until the mid-19th century—the time of aniline dyes appearance—yarn was dyed using organic vegetable dyes), and perfection of technical execution. Almost the entire color palette (up to 9–10 colors in one item), except the black color, was used.

Embroidery was mainly performed using the tambour technique, with various floral patterns on the topic of 'Garden of Eden'. Compositions were created with the motifs of steppe, field and garden flowers (tulips, bluebells, forget-me-nots, poppies, carnations, cornflowers, rose-hips, daisies, asters, chrysanthemums, dahlias, peonies, roses, Turkish cucumbers, pomegranates, etc.). Many of them are close to the patterns of Asian, Persian and Turkish fabrics. Embroidered clothing was also multicolored—one item could combine up to 10–12 colors. Among women's headdresses, the kalphaks, from the 18th century, widespread were applications of chenille and the so-called 'ushkovaya' technique, which is unique and cannot be found in the art of other peoples [Valeev, 1984, p. 21].

Metal working and jewelry related to the creation of tableware (jugs, kumgans, basins, etc.) and jewelry (earrings, bracelets, fillets, necklaces, belt buckles, chest ties—khasite, etc.) became wide spread in the latter half of the 18th century. Expensive art objects (filigree, blackened, engraved, gem-encrusted) were purchased by the merchants. More simple items, made in simple techniques (basma, casting, false filigree and granulation) of jewelry penetrated the peasant environment. Many works, especially in the collections of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, the National Museum of Tatarstan, the Museum of Fine Arts of Tatarstan, are genuine masterpieces of jewelry art.

In the 17–18th centuries, jewelry evolved in large semi-urban settlements, keeping up the former artistic traditions. In the latter half of the 18th—middle of the 19th centuries it reached its pinnacle. The wide development of jewelry art was contributed to by the great demand for jewelry, which served not only a decorative function, but was originally used as a talisman, and was endowed with socially prestigious value (khasite, belt buckles, bracelets, fillets, necklaces, korannicas, rings), many of them were part of the clothing, developing together with the complex of the national costume. Stable art principles and national taste manifested themselves in unique expensive jewelry and in cheaper mass produced jewelry.

Zergers (jewelers) worked with gold (*altynche*), silver (*komeshe*), sometimes with copper (*baky'rche*) and their alloys.

Since the Tatars preferred jewelry with complicated techniques (for example, filigree and granulation) and did not stamp it with a state seal, jewelry production did not become a home industry. This was developed within the framework of the traditional crafts centered in the 18th century in the Old and New Tatar slobodas of Kazan, villages of the Trans-Kazan region (Arsk, Sabinsky, Mamadyshsky, Laishevsky and other district). In the settlements, the peasants were usually engaged in the jewelry industry in their spare times. In winter, craftsmen went to work in the neighbouring and remote regions—Bashkortostan, Orenburg steppe, Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and created jewelry for private orders or sold the finished goods.

The 18th century is connected with the emergence of unique, not found in the art of other peoples, lumpy (volumetric) filigree. The earliest of the extant items made in this technique date back to 1742, according to the coins. However, it is possible that earlier works executed in this technique have not survived to the present day. At least in the collection of the State Museum of Fine Arts of Tatarstan, there is an unique Quran cover, which can be attributed to the time not later than the 16th century [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 1990, p. 83]. The filigree ringlets adorning the cover of the Quran cover are twisted, like cones in a lumpy filigree. The 18th century also saw the beginning of use, in women's jewelry, of Russian silver rubles with images of double-headed eagles, and Arab dirhams and European coins with images of lions.

Leather boots called *ichigi* (with soft soles) and *chitek* (with hard soles) decorated with patterned mosaics are wonderful and unique examples of their kind, without equals among the examples of artistically designed shoes of other nations. Until the end of the 18th century, the making of *ichigi* was a home craft in Tatar villages, and only in the first half of the 19th century it started developing in the form of arts and crafts.

Generally, the leather dressing (Morocco leather, Russia leather, goat leather) has ancient traditions among the Tatars, and in the 17–18th centuries, it was one of the main types of small-scale and manufacturing industries. Their centre was located in Kazan [Khasanov, 1977, p. 34]. By the end of the 18th century, leather manufacturies reached considerable volumes, and Tatar Industrialists expanded production, establishing them in the towns and villages of Vyatka guberniya (the largest were in the village of Mascara of Malmyzhskiy uyezd, the city of Glazov, and others) [Khasanov, 1977, p. 48].

As for producing patterned leather of mosaic, it received wide popularity not only in Russia, but also abroad since the first half of the 19th century, although information about the patterned *ichigi* can be found in the written sources of the 16–17th centuries. They were worn by the representatives of the Tatar feudal nobility, and were also popular among the Russian boyars. The earliest extant in Russian and foreign museums' samples of *ichigi* made in the mosaic technique are attributed by some researchers to the end of the 18th century [Satarova, 2004, p. 13], by others—to the early 19th century [Valeev, 1984, p. 46].

Here it is necessary to consider the fact that the artistic heritage of the Tatars became the subject of museum collections only at the end of the 19th century, and many works of art, due to intensive migration, which started in the latter half of the 16th century, were scattered on the vast territory of residence of the Tatars in the Volga region, the Urals and Siberia.

The development of artistic crafts and decorative arts in the 16–18th centuries corresponded to complex historical conditions, associated with the overcoming of colonial dependency of the Tatars, and the needs of the time, which reflected new production and socio-economic relations in Russian society. They contributed to the emergence of urban culture and the creation of high classical art, which played a decisive role in the formation of the Tatar ethno-cultural community. This resulted in a further development of Tatar national art.

§7. Architecture

Niyaz Khalitov

Conditions of the formation and development of Tatar architecture after the conquest of Kazan, Siberian and Astrakhan yurts, and then the Nogai Horde by the Russians were significantly different from the previous ones. The architecture of the Tatars in Muscovite state is like some kind of blind spot incapable of any analysis and exact definitions. There is an idea that, under conditions of national-religious oppression and severe restrictions in all spheres of life in the 16–17th centuries, the Tatars led a miserable existence, not thinking about high culture. That the Tatar culture in the conditions of the Orthodox state, which originally focused on discrimination against other religious communities and confessions, sometimes using tough methods, fell into complete decay. Indeed, at first, it had to face the complete loss of the urban architectural heritage, as a result of the violent deportation from the 'right-of-ways'—40 km away from all the main rivers, which, in fact, were the cradle of the Bulgar-Tatar civilisation. All the sacred buildings were destroyed or redeveloped, the archives, libraries, cemeteries of their ancestors disappeared, while property and land, natural resources were seized. The surviving citizens of Kazan, who had left it before the Russian siege and assault, settled, according to some information, in Trans-Kazan, where strong reminiscences of urban culture remain, and the abnormally high percentage of intellectuals as well. Many residents of other towns and settlements, after the deportation, left the state and settled in the Bashkortostan lands, in the Cis-Ural region, Siberia, Central Asia, Crimea, other areas of the traditional settlement of Tatars, where it was possible later to observe the emergence of new centers of Tatar culture, and reconstructed architectural structures on the basis of Kazan designs.

By the time the Tatar states entered into the sphere of political hegemony of the Muscovite state, there were no fundamental difference between Russian and Tatar medieval architecture, formed in the common cultural space of the

Golden Horde. Using modern language, these could be considered under the concept of a 'regional style', where on the basis of the Tatar state culture, there were two local traditions—the Tatar and Russian. They both, in their turn, were divided into local schools, relying on the cultural traditions of feudal autonomous entities (yurts, vilaets, principalities), of former independent states with different ethnic compositions of the population, and complex mutual relations, which were not always determined by ethnic or confessional affiliation. Tatar and Russian cultures, even after the unification into a single political space of the Muscovite state, were still developing in their normal directions and previous interactions.

The factors, which influenced the process of further development of Tatar architecture, were: the loss of national and state independence by the Tatars; the loss of the dominant status by Islam; maintenance of the layer of the Tatar nobility (murzas, princes); maintenance of the layer of wealthy landowners, merchants and entrepreneurs; strong national and religious identity of the Tatar communities; the active participation of the Tatars in the economic life of Russia and foreign trade with Islamic countries.

Thus, having lost the top layer of architectural tradition as a state culture, the Tatars kept the rest of it intact, which allows us to speak about the further development of the Tatar architecture, as an independent phenomenon of world culture. These processes can be clearly traced on the example of Kazan. Developing in the conditions of an occupied state, a new province of the Grand Principality of Moscow called the Tsardom of Kazan, Kazan architecture lost its specific elements of government style, but totally retained its traditional features and connection with the world of Islamic culture.

Beyond the Bulak river and Kaban lake, the Tatar settlements spread out. Its population, according to English traveller John Bell, who visited Kazan in 1715, lived 'quite neatly and

independently, freely practicing their religion and enjoying many liberties'. They carry out trade with Turkey, Persia and others. And some of them are very rich' [Bell, 1776, p. 16]. Rich Tatar manors (as well as the poor ones) of that time did not survive, and one can only assume that there was not a big difference between Tatar and Russian stone palatas, or palaces, (the word 'palata' shows the Tatar origin of this type of building.—*N.H.*), as well as in principles of their decoration. The only survived image of the Tatar sloboda of the 17–18th centuries is the schematic sketch by Nicolas Witsen on the panorama of Kazan published in 1692 (see document interpretation: [Khabibullin, 2009]). It is only possible to distinguish a group of graphically represented houses with gable roofs, that is why it is difficult to glean facts about the appearance of certain buildings. In the beginning of the 18th century, the sloboda consisted of one or two streets on the high bank of the Kaban lake [Bell, 1776, p. 16], and was located at some distance from the city wall and separated from it by knife-rest [Chupin, 1851]. According to the scientist of the 18th century M. Laptev who referred to different sources, 'in the old days they (the Tatars—*N.H.*) located their houses, facing the east, in the middle of the yard surrounded with a fence on all sides' [Laptev, 1861, p. 215]. 'A peasant yard,—added I. Georgi,—consists, apart from izba, of several small specially constructed storerooms and stock sheds, though there was no fence around it' [Georgi, 1799, part 2, pp. 11, 12].

The streets of the Tatar part of Kazan looked, as the entire Islamic East, like a corridor of blind log walls and only the massive gates, sometimes painted in bright colors and covered with carved patterns, attracted attention. The whole life of the faithful was behind these walls: household, children and wives, work and leisure. Only the roof tops and intricately decorated attic windows could be seen from the streets of the Tatar city. The closed layout of the Tatar manor, which made it similar to manors of peoples of the Islamic region, namely the Azerbaijani [Alizade, 1963, p. 17; Bretanitsky, 1948, p. 33], the Uzbeks [Voronina, 1951, p. 13; Ismaylov, 1972, pp. 36, 85], the Crimean Tatars [Kuftin, 1926], the Turks, the

Arabs [Voronina, 1972, pp. 62–66], and many others, is explained by a number of researches into the influence of Islam [Alizade, 1963, p. 16; Ismaylov, 1972, pp. 85–86; Zyabbarova, 1979], while others lay special emphasis on the climate conditions and morals of the feudal city [Voronina, 1982]. This was not due to the long-standing habits of the 'population' to build in a way 'our grandparents did', but something much more important. The ways of organisation of manors and internal layout of houses manifested most notably the national concept of space dissolved in the culture of the people, its natural resources, art, language, 'sanctified' by the dominant religious world view.

Secretary of the Chinese Embassy Tu-Li-Shen, who visited Kazan in 1715, referred to the 'wooden houses with towers' inhabited by the locals. Turning to the other literature sources, one must mention the description from the 18th century by I. Lepekhin: 'Well-to-do people have a summer izba near each winter izba, oppositely facing and connected by a passage-way, which is mostly common to the Tatars... The Chuvash and the Mordvinian have black izbas, and the Tatars have white ones... (i.e., with a wooden stove—*N.H.*). The Mordvinian and the Chuvash have sash windows; on the contrary, the Tatars have red ones and because of the absence of glass in those places, the sash frame is made of cow chitling, and in areas near the Volga River—of sheatfish and beluga skins' [Lepekhin, 1771, pp. 138, 139, 178, 179]. I. Gmelin (1733) wrote about the same thing when describing the Tatar houses in Kazan [Kharlampovich, 1904, p. 16]. The fact that it was the Tatars who built summer and winter izbas connected by a passage-way, but not the rest of the peoples of the region, was probably not a coincidence. Ethnographers often referred to the ancient custom to leave winter houses for summer ones, and to live outside the city in special nomadic yurts of Kazakh type, which was observed among the Tatars from the 10th until the end of the 19th centuries [Vorobyov, 1953, p. 158; Gaziz, 1994]. A similar phenomena could be found among the other peoples, who recently had started leading a settled way of life [Maidar, 1980, p. 54]. For example, the Nogais in the early 20th century

lived in log izbas in the winter and moved to yurts standing in the manor yard in the summer [Gadzhieva, 1976, p. 62]. The same thing was done by the Mongols, Kalmyks and Bashkirs in the period of transition to a settled way of life. In this case, one must mention a summer dwelling of the Altaians called 'ail' [Ustinova, 1949, p. 99], of the Mongols and the Kalmyks called 'ger' [Maidar, 1980, p. 68], of the Bashkirs called 'burama', built near the house and representing a four-sided or eight-sided log-house with a hip roof imitating a yurt.

The summer dwellings of the Tatars, who came over to a settled way of life a few centuries before, had lost the original shapes long ago, and in the 18th century represented a common log-house connected with the winter house by a cold hallway. Perhaps this is where it is necessary to seek the origins of the rich Tatar designs of dwellings, in which two adjacent two-story houses were connected by attached covered walkway on the second floor. With the common to the Tatars, floor by floor zoning on living and housekeeping floors (this trend can be traced during the 18th—early 20th centuries in all Tatar urban houses), such a walkway was functionally quite logical. Numerous examples of such complexes were found in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Tatar slobodas of Kazan, as well as in the Trans-Kazan region were noted by researches as a characteristic feature of the local architecture [Dulsky, 1925, p. 11; Dulsky, 1943, p. 14; Vorobyov, 1953, p. 217; Khudyakov, 1921, p. 25]. It should be noted that dwellings of many peoples were zoned similarly in the past, including people of Western Europe and other Christian people, and of the Russian people, but due to certain changes, namely no need for defenses, changes in the functional organisation of settlements, etc., these features disappeared. Among the Islamic peoples (the Azerbaijani [Alizade, 1963, p. 124; Salamzade, 1964, pp. 183, 189], the Crimean Tatars [Ginsburg, 1933, p. 18; Kuftin, 1926, p. 11], the Dagestanis [Khan-Magomedov, 1974, pp. 36–37], the Tajiks [Voronin 1959, p. 9], the Uzbeks [Voronina, 1951, p. 13; Ismaylov, 1972, pp. 85, 86], the Turks [Karlova, 1870, p. 736], the Arabs [Voronina, 1972a, pp. 62–66], etc.), including the Tatars, such changes were slowed down,

as it had been already mentioned, by religious customs, not allowing to show the inside of a family's life to strangers.

Contemporaries clearly identified some characteristic features of the Tatar dwelling, in comparison with the Russian one. Among them were the desire to locate a dwelling at the back of the yard and fence it off, the division into male and female halves, the presence of summer and winter izbas, connected by the walkway, some compositional and decorative peculiarity, traditional interior. Probably, the Tatars have preserved the basic principles of internal organisation of space, without many changes since the Middle Ages. Ethnographers even made a hypothesis that the main features of the Tatar interior bear the impressions of vestiges of their nomadic past [Vorobyov, 1953, pp. 188, 197, 203–204], which can be demonstrated by a simple comparison with the interior of a yurt. This is how the interior of the Tatar dwelling was described by researcher of the latter half of the 18th century I. Georgi: 'Tatar household items included only the most necessary things. A small number of cooking, dining and tea ware, agricultural and handicraft rigging, several chests on the sleeping-bench serving as beds, chairs and tables, carpets and felts or mats, and sometimes mattresses: this is all they had; while only some tatar city dwellers, dealing with foreigners, had chairs' [Georgi, 1799, part 2, p. 12]. The same thing was written by M. Nevzorov [Nevzorov, 1803, pp. 243, 244].

The idea appeared in literature, that after the conquest of the Kazan yurt, Tatar architecture had deteriorated and was oppressed and primitive until the latter half of the 18th century, when, with the permission of Empress Catherine II Islamic religion received some rights and freedoms. This is contradicted at least by the fact that during a visit to Kazan in 1767, the Tsarina was amazed at the luxury and originality of lifestyles of the Tatar merchants, who organised her magnificent reception and sightseeing of a Tatar sloboda. However, the repressions of the 1740s caused considerable psychological damage to the Muslims, undermining their faith in stability and fairness, but this unlikely had an impact on the quality of

architecture, as evidenced by the two extant stone mosques, reflecting the level of cultural and financial opportunities of the Tatar population of Kazan.

Tatar architecture of Modern History evolved rather differently than the Russian one, which was confined within the strict limits of bureaucratic system of regulation, and was formed by foreign and Russian architects in the direction of overall town-planning policy. Russian population was actively undergoing the imposing of new standards of artistic culture, an example of which were Western styles, completely denying their own local cultural traditions. The Tatars were outside of this system of values, preserving their religion, language, elements of self-government, ethnic and religious elites, cultural orientations, aesthetic preferences, artistic culture, and, of course, their own architectural traditions, the development of which was not interfered by anyone. Under the conditions of bureaucratic system of approvals and general town-planning policy of St. Petersburg, about the facades of buildings, in terms of standard and repeated construction [Beletskaya, 1961] the Tatars had to cooperate with the Russian administration and architects, so that their buildings could reflect not only national, but also Russian features, but this barely had any significant influence on Tatar architectural traditions.

This poses the question about the sources of inspiration and the main orientations of the Tatar customer, in terms of development and active implementation of a new national cultural policy, including in the sphere of architecture. It would be a lie to say that Western styles were new to the Tatars: Italian motifs in art and architecture on the territory of the Golden Horde, the Crimean and Kazan yurts are well known, and the Istanbul fashion for Renaissance and Baroque motifs in architecture became an integral part of the modern Ottoman style, serving as a model not only for the Tatars (for instance the Bakhchysarai Palace in Crimea), but also for many other peoples living in the vast territory of the Ottoman Empire and beyond it. They became a logical step in the further development of the Tatar architectural style in the overall progress of the Circum-European region, which included not only countries of the Islam-

ic world, as well as the Orthodox Christians in the Balkans and in Russia. The elements of the Renaissance in Tatar architecture could be observed already from the 15th century, and Baroque elements—from the 17th century; and in the 18th century, they gained additional impetus to the development and state support within the framework of the Russian Empire. This explains such an inclination in using the Baroque decor in the architecture of the newly constructed mosques since the 1740s, when the confrontation between the government and the Muslim Tatars became particularly acute, and it would seem that Russian official style (the Church style as well) could not be accepted by the Muslims favorably, especially its symbolic Christian forms.

Therefore, these new stylistic movements can be considered as much 'Tatar' as 'Russian'. Cultivated in Russia on the basis of different national traditions, they also acquired different national connotations. In other words, there appeared the Tartar forms of Baroque and Classicism. Especially representative in this respect are wooden and stone mosques.

Standard and model engineering became one of the ordering methods of town-planning in the transition to overall state regulation in the field of architecture and town-planning of Russia. The first model projects, however, not related to religious buildings, appeared in the capital cities during the first half of the 18th century, during the reign of Peter I. In the meantime, there was the first attempt to take control of the architecture of mosques [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 224].

The new rules of town-planning were still a novelty in the latter half of the 18th century, and were not perceived by ordinary people as some kind of aesthetic town-planning system. Kazan was probably a wooden town, differing little from the surrounding villages. This is evidenced by the words of German traveler and scholar of the latter half of the 18th century Johann Georgi, who wrote that 'the yards of the urban and village Tatars are the same in their magnitude and beauty' [Georgi, 1799, part 2, p. 11]. Even in central urban areas, the provincial authorities could not always get the circulars on the mandatory application of the

'model' facades accomplished. Only in some places, after a large fire on the perimeter of the future streets, stone and wooden rich houses, in the European style, were built, which belonged to wealthy merchants and nobles.

The architecture of the Tatar mosques. Conditions of the formation and development of the architecture of the Tatar mosques in the New time existing in the conditions of the Orthodox state, originally being aimed at discrimination against other religious communities and confessions, were significantly different from the conditions of the Modern History. The architecture of the mosques in the Russian Empire presents a complex and ambiguous phenomenon, which was dependent on many factors of socio-political nature, in conditions of national-religious oppression and severe restrictions in all areas of life. All these processes proceeded in the midst of constant confrontation with the dominant Orthodox Church, which had a direct impact on both the extent of religious construction and artistic characteristics of individual buildings.

Medieval Tatar states were conquered by Russians at different times, and their Muslim population formed in Russia a number of the main local ethnic groups united by certain common lifestyles and cultures: Euro-Asian (Volga, Kasimov, Ural, Siberian, Mishar Tatars), Crimean and Polish-Lithuanian. Apart from them, a significant number of communities of immigrants from the Volga region appeared (mainly Kazan people) in the conquered countries of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (including in the Orenburg province), in the North Caucasus and the far East (including Manchuria and Xinjiang). It should also mention that many large urban Tatar communities existed in different regions of the Russian Empire—St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Baku, Tbilisi, Grozny, and others, some of which were living in compact areas, formed the Tatar slobodas (settlements) with peculiar manifestations of architectural traditions. The architecture of these groups of Tatars, entering the impact field of Russian culture at different times and on different grounds, was influenced by the Russian culture and the Orthodox Church to various degrees, which significantly affected the processes of its formation.

Tatar architecture of Modern History evolved similarly to the architecture of many other peoples of the Russian Empire, within the strict limits of bureaucratic system of regulation and was formed by Russian architects in the direction of overall town-planning policy. Therefore, in the buildings of the Tatars, along with national features, appeared some features of the psychology of the executor—the Russian architect. Its scope was influenced by the colonial policy of the administration and the actions of the Orthodox mission, which restricted its development. As a result, this development began to degrade, and today there are only modest extant examples of mahallah mosques and zhomga mosques. Other types of mosques completely disappeared.

Standard and model engineering became one of the ordering methods of town-planning in the transition to overall state regulation in the field of architecture and town-planning of Russia. The first model projects, however, not related to religious buildings, appeared in the capital cities during the first half of the 18th century, during the reign of Peter I. In the meantime, there was made the first attempt to take control of the architecture of mosques. According to the historian I. Zagidullin: 'In the Cis-Ural region in 1704, the government demanded from the local Muslims to build houses of worship on the model of Christian churches, and make religious ceremonies similar to the Orthodox ones: the priest should be present during the ceremony along with the mullah. For visiting mosques, the faithful had to pay a special tax. The rebellion of the Bashkirs and the Tatars in 1704–1711 played a crucial role in the cancellation of these discriminatory innovations of tsarism' [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 224].

Mass construction by model projects began after the great fire in Tver in the latter half of the 18th century, and was finally established after the coming into force of the new general plan in Kazan in 1783. Then, in liquidating the consequences of the city being burned by Pugachev's rebels, the experience of Tver was used, and mass construction began of the city center, according to model projects of different building types.

At the same time, on the basis of a study of the architecture of Tatar mosques in Kazan guberniya, by order of Tsarina Catherine II [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 220], the first model project for Tatar mosque for the Muslims of Siberia was developed. It was a centrally planned cubic volume, crowned with a flattened dome and flanked by two three-story minarets on the sides of the entrance. This first experience of its kind shows the complete turmoil of the Russian architect in front of the task: To unite the ancient architectural tradition with modern Russian style without offending the feelings of the Muslims. As a result, an eclectic combination of pure Renaissance rotunda and medieval minarets of Bulgarian style, growing from absolutely alien to their style rusticated bases, appeared. In fact, here started the long-term program of the image of the Tatar mosque of Modern History—the conceptual combination of period building volumes and traditional iconic forms of the minaret, showing at a glance not only the religious, but also national identity of the building. In terms of planning and design, the mosque looked like the development of the Ottoman architectural style, and relied, apparently, on the experience of generalisation of the architecture of the monuments of many groups of Tatars: Kazan, Crimean, Kasimov, and others. At the very least, the similar architectural decisions of the Istanbul mosques look much bolder and more professional. According to the decree of 1782, such mosques were supposed to appear in Orenburg, Verkhneuralsk, Troitsk and Petropavlovsk [Zagidullin, 2007, p. 220]. With the coming into force of this decree, to the architecture of the Tatar mosques in Russia, which still was not subjected to any stylistic constraints, was introduced the framework of the 'model' construction, just as it was to other Russian buildings of that time.

Finally, it is possible to say that despite the significant dependence of architecture from the external circumstances, its evolution shows a certain powerful main idea, which does not allow any essential deviations from tradition, and thus the spiritual arbitrariness of the executor over the customer. Traced quite clearly, on all levels the aesthetic conception, as a kind of a system, allows us to speak about the existence

of a viable and strong tradition in religious architecture of Modern History, originating from the medieval architecture. These traditions manifested themselves in the preservation of compositional and layout types of the mosque, and the expression of its individual external elements, through forms of the Bulgarian, the Kazan and the Golden Horde architecture in the modern interpretation, which was obviously taken from the Ottoman Baroque. In the details of decor, the motifs of the Tatar decorative art were used. This tradition, the bearer of which were the people, being represented by certain customers, formed as a result the wholeness, with all the variety of its manifestations, and quite resistant to the distorting influences from the outside, the architecture of the mosques of Modern History, amenable to systematic analysis at different levels.

The compositional principles of mosque architecture in Kazan and everywhere over the region (since all of them were designed by the same architects of the provincial capital) inherited, to some extent, the main features of religious architecture of the Middle Ages. With some degree of conventionality, these can be summarised in four basic principles: 1) geometrically clear volumes with distinctness of the layouts and silhouettes natural to them; 2) program orientation on the angle view; 3) contrasting combinations of straight and curved forms; 4) contrasting opposition of the vertical lines of the tower, and the massive horizontal volume.

Composite types of mosques, widely spread in Kazan architecture of Modern History, can be reduced to three main groups:

1. *Mosques with a minaret on the roof*, genetically dating back to the period of the Kazan khanate, or even to an earlier time. Mosques of such composition were most widely spread in the 18–20th centuries; they can be found in the 16th century as well. The building material, that is wood, determined the design solution of this type of the mosque: a log building with girder floor and a pitched roof.

Mosques with a minaret on the roof, both stone and wooden, were absolutely similar and represented a rectangular single-story building with a gable roof oriented from North to South. The South side was adjacent to the rectangular,

in terms of volume, mihrab. The roof was cut by octagonal or sometimes cylindrical minaret, completed with high pyramidal or conical tent. The minaret was located, in most cases, above the geometric center of the building (sometimes at the Northern end), and represented a two or three tier tower, consisting of a shaft (with or without a foundation), an internal, usually glazed, site of the Muezzin (sometimes surrounded by an external gallery) and a tent. Wooden minarets were always octagonal, whereas, those made of stone, in addition, could have a cylindrical shape or a combination of shapes. The stone minaret constructively rested on a thick transverse wall, usually dividing the mosque into ritual and lobby areas; the wooden one was fastened to the rafters and joists.

The functional layout of the mosque, with a minaret on the roof, had quite a consistent pattern. If the building had two-stories, the ground floor was occupied by a service zone, where, along with the necessary for the mosque items (inventory, library, wood piles, etc.) were located fireproof storage rooms, representing insulated vaults with separate exits, and used to store the goods of local merchants. The ground floor was also often occupied by the madrasah or mektebemahallah of the mosque. In the Northern part of the building there was the lobby area (hallway, lobby, cloakroom, administration) which occupied about 1/5 part of the floor. The Southern half of the building was designed as the ritual zone (chapels, mihrab). These patterns can be found both in the surviving monuments and the descriptions of contemporaries.

A special function was assigned to the minaret, from the top section of which the adhan (the call to prayer) was proclaimed.

This compositional scheme received extensive development in a variety of stylistic forms: Baroque of the 18th century (the mosque of Marjani and Apanayev), and in the spirit of traditional peasant buildings in the latter half of the 18th century, and some others. In addition to these, there were several mosques in the 17th and 18th centuries, which are not extant even in the pictures, but according to some data, they were identical to the known canonically designed buildings of this type (they were

located in the places of mosques of Marjani, Burnayev, Goluboy, Asimov, Kazakov).

2. *Mosques with a minaret above the entrance.* This is a type of a one-hall mosque, where the minaret is located above the main wall that separates the prayer hall from the relatively small lobby. The minaret is strongly shifted towards the entrance, and situated on the ridge of the roof. Such mosques could be found in the Kazan guberniya, and outside its territory in the places of settlement of the Kazan, Ural, Siberian, Astrakhan, and Lithuanian Tatars in Kazakhstan.

3. *Mosques with two minarets.* The traditional type of the mosque established by the first model project. It is different from the previous one, in that two minarets flank the volume of the lobby symmetrically, in relation to the longitudinal axis of the building. The prayer hall can stand out as a dome or cupola. Such mosques have been preserved in the traditional architecture of Lithuanian (Polish) Tatars.

4. *Mosques with minaret in the corner of the building.* Such building constructions were common to many countries of the East, and existed in the times of the Golden Horde and the post-Horde Tatar states. Basically, such composition is inherent in the Crimean Tatar tradition, but sometimes could also be met among other groups of Tatars.

5. *Centric.* Wooden mosques with the minaret on the roof and the minaret above the entrance, and Polish-Lithuanian centric mosques, had their own inherent style, which preserved some traditions of the times of Bulgaria, the Golden Horde and the later Tatar States. The architecture of these buildings was so canonised, that almost no deviations were allowed from the accepted schemes in the silhouette, image and decorative appearance of the facades. Clear, logical proportions, fine articulations, low plastics, walls, strict decorative forms, a peculiar, clearly defined coloring of the facades, were the main characteristic features of these mosques.

Stone mosques of the same composition, but sometimes with no signs of late Western European decorative details on the facades, also had their own architectural language, which can be defined as the Tatar medieval stylistic

tradition. Such mosques are found everywhere in settlements of the Kazan Tatars and of the Lithuanian Tatars in Azerbaijan.

Mosques of the Volga region, Central Russia, the Urals and Siberia. Despite the existence on the territories of the former Siberian, Astrakhan, Kasimov and Nogai states of their own developed architectural medieval traditions, their complete destruction in the 16th century (except the Khan-Kerman) and the following cultural genocide thwarted possibilities of their further progressive development. The flow of immigrants from Kazan, rushing to these territories, including the territory of Bashkortostan in 16–18th centuries, and then the strengthening of the diaspora in the 19–early 20th centuries, predetermined the formation of an unified architecture of the Tatar mosque in the vast territory of the Russian Empire, from Finland to Vladivostok. This was primarily conditioned by the totalitarian policy of the state, which sought the maximum unification of the design processes and construction of confessional buildings, both in typological and stylistic terms. This legislated policy was carried out during the 18–19th centuries, and was coordinated from St. Petersburg with a greater or lesser degree of rigidity. At the same time, despite the seemingly unified system of implementation of legislated norms and rules for construction of religious buildings, the conditions of their realisation were different in different regions. First of all it, it was influenced by the proximity of the centers of missionary activities, which actively fought against the Islamic ideology and sought the full Russification of non-Russians, including through restrictions in the field of architecture. The very nomenclature of mosques types, from the top down, was not subject to census, but their stylistic and artistic realisation could be different. Thus, the several vectors of influence were manifested, under the influence of which was formed the architecture of the Tatar mosque of Modern History in these regions. However, they all were united on the basis of the common Tatar medieval architectural tradition, supported by an extensive and strong network of contacts of Kazan-Tatar diaspora, with a unified religious center in Orenburg (later in Ufa) and the cultural and industrial center in Kazan.

The mosques of the Polish and Lithuanian Tatars. The mosques of the Polish and Lithuanian Tatars, which developed in relative isolation from the rest of the Tatar world since the 14th century, are wonderfully similar in their composition and layout to the Tatar mosques in the Russian territory, which once again confirms the thesis of the unity of the Tatar tradition of Islamic religious architecture. In those days their number reached 400 in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Kanapatskaya, 2004], which indicates the existence of a stable and well-developed branch of the Golden Horde architectural tradition rooted in this territory. However, after a period of repressions of the 17–18th centuries, the architecture of the Lithuanian Tatars declined, and only moderate and small-sized mosques, descendant in relation to the earlier ones, remained. Some of them were quite ancient: parishes in Nekrashuncy near Lida (1415), in Lovchicy near Novogrudok (1420), a wooden mosque of the 16th century in Minsk survived until the construction of a new one in 1890. Their typology has common patterns: centric (Iwye), the minaret on the roof (Slonim), the minaret above the entrance (Dovbuchki), the minaret in the corner of the building (Minsk). Their appearance, as is typically the case, was marked by the dominant environment, in this case, of the Western European Catholic culture and Polish, Lithuanian and Belorussian folk architecture. 'Some of them,—writes Zarina Kanapatskaya,—reminded of Roman Catholic churches (Krushinyany, Mir, Kletsk, Nekrashuncy, Lyakhovichy, Reizhi, Myadel) or the Orthodox churches (Slonim, Studentsy, Sorok Tatar, Novogrudok, Iwye, Nemezh). The mosques erected by Jewish masters had many similarities with the surrounding synagogues (for example, the mosque in Osmolovo). Some witnesses even compared them to the Chinese pagoda (Baghoniki). There were no fundamental differences were seen between the mosques of the Islamic East and those of the Tatars of Belarus, Lithuania and Poland, which preserved the principles of religious space organisation (a mihrab pointing in the direction of Mecca, minbar, and mugirs with the texts of the Quran or images of the famous mosques of the East). This was primarily due to the re-

moteness of the Belorussian-Polish-Lithuanian Tatars from the Muslim East, and their gradual weakening of relations with it" [Kanapatskaya, 2004]. Of course, it is impossible to accept such opinion, knowing the common patterns used in the formation of Tatar-Islamic architecture. Purely external similarity of the composition in this case is not the fact of borrowing of the fundamental qualities of the mosque from the Christian architecture of the neighbouring people, which is confirmed by numerous interpretations of the same compositional schemes, in the spirit of Islamic architecture, in other places of residence of the Tartars, who never came into contact with the Catholic culture.

Mosques of the Crimean Tatars. After the conquest of Crimea by Russia, the architecture here began to develop according to the scheme, already well-established two centuries before in the Volga region and Siberia. Having lost its state financing and state support, the Islamic religious architecture ceased to grow steadily, dramatically reducing its scope, typological variety and the quality of built buildings. After merging of the Crimean Khanate into the Russian Empire, a special decree of June 28, 1783 enshrined the right of the Crimean Tatars to practice a 'natural religion'. However, harsh discriminatory policy of the Russian government towards the Crimean Muslims led to the mass emigration of the Tatars abroad, and to the destruction of their monuments. 'The total number of mosques built over five and a half centuries in 6 cities and 1,474 villages of Crimea by 1786 amounted to more than 1,600'—writes I. Abdullaev [Abdullaev, 2009, p. 11]. Practically the only type of Crimean Tatar mosque of Modern History became a one-story or two-story stone building with a minaret adjacent to one of the facades. It was designed in the form of a rectangular volume covered by a 4-sloped roof or dome. With all the variations, a special emphasis was made on the Ottoman style, in its various manifestations. The minarets of the Ottoman type, looked like a tall thin cylindrical (many-sided, fluted) bar on a square foundation of greater or lesser height (from a cube to an elongated parallelepiped), usually closely adjacent to one wall of the building, topped with an open sherefe

platform, the exit to which was located in the cylindrical tier of a lesser diameter, which in its turn was topped with a tall roof cone.

In the cities with powerful Islamic cultural context (Kazan, Orenburg, Bakhchysaray, Kasimov), the developed traditions of monumental architecture, the strong economic position of the Tatar merchants, the close relationship of the population with both Russian and foreign Islamic culture, led to the viability and further development of the monumental Tatar tradition. The stylistic conception of the Tatar architecture acquired only some superficial features of the structural and spatial concepts of the mosques, in the manner of one of the stylistic directions of Russian architecture.

Decorative means used in the Tatar cult architecture submitted to the common pattern, which consisted in the predominance of small plastic arts over the large plastic arts, and the predominance of color over the plastic arts. The surviving records of medieval architecture of the Tartars allow us suggest the predominantly planar nature of the modelling of the facades of monumental buildings, where the Arabesque planar carving or painting emphasised only the functionally important elements. The differences in national traditions in the field of color, led in the 19th century to the formation of completely different approaches to decorative designs of the facades: monochrome-plastic approach of the Russians and polychrome-planar approach of the Tatars. And of course there was the common principle of Islamic architecture—to avoid the thematic compositions on the facades and in the interiors, especially with representatives of animal world and people.

The universal crisis of religious architecture of Islam in its territory, caused by the long-standing opposition of the Orthodox clerical state and the Islamic Ummah, not yielding to massive pressure of the Christian mission, was overcome by the end of the 18th century. Archival documents and legal acts demonstrate the gradual growth of influence of the Muslims in the social and industrial life of Russia of Modern History, which, in particular, is evidenced by mosque buildings becoming larger and more decorative in nature, and increasing their value in the skylines of Russian cities.

CONCLUSION

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The late Middle Ages and the early Modern History was a difficult period in the history of the Tatar people, and it was, in many ways, a turning point in the history of peoples of the Volga–Ural region. The Tatar–Muslim population had played an important role in all these processes of the Muscovite state and Russian Empire. Within this period of time, Russia made a long way from a small tsardom on the verges of Europe to a worldwide empire comprising three continents and stretching from Warsaw in the west to California in the east. Russia became not only a huge empire but a territory with diverse natural and geographical conditions and population. Acting as a transit, base point for the invasion and conquest of Siberia, and later the Far East, the Volga–Ural region played an important role in these processes. It used to supply human resources and products for the cities and fortresses of Siberia. The Cis–Ural Region and Siberia were so dependent on the Kazan Krai that during the Time of Troubles Kazan was actually the capital of the entire Russian East. It is clear that the conquest and successful invasion of Siberia and the Far East would have been impossible without the active support of the Tatars, primarily the service class. However, the relatively fast ‘increment’ of Muscovite Rus by ‘Siberia’, broadly speaking, just like the increment of the lands in the east of Volga, concealed a lot of dangers for the country’s development. The conquest of the Volga Region became a crucial starting point, following which the country inevitably moved towards the creation of an autocratic power, abuse of the rights of all subjects, militarisation, imperial ideology, and the great Russian national awareness. Surprisingly, as a result of the conquest, and later centuries-long invasion of Siberia and the Far East, Russia became tilted far back. It was not Russia that colonised Siberia, but Siberia absorbed Russia, and that required huge human and economic resources. There was no breakthrough towards new social relations

and productions, just the preservation of the old order. The expansion of boundaries and colonisation turned into a suppression of all segments of the population, who found themselves under the yoke of the state. The lack of natural modernisation was the price the Russian society paid for the conquest of the Volga Region and later Siberia. The preservation was primarily caused by the fact that the economy was still based on extensive subsistence farming and exportation of various natural resources. Only in the 18th century the country managed to commit to modernisation. From the socio-economic perspective, for Russia these two centuries became a time of gradual acceleration of economic development. At the end of the 16–17th centuries, it was a rather underdeveloped agrarian state, fighting for access to the seas for successful trade of its natural resources—fur, wood, hemp, pitch, tar, etc. These were products of initial processing of primarily forest resources and the country’s wildlife. Gradually, exportation of products, such as crop, fish, fish glue, etc., starts to play an important role. At the beginning of the 18th century, the country took the path of catch-up modernisation, which was reflected in the development of rich natural resources and manufactures. First of all, these innovations affected industries related to production for the army and fleet: ore mining, iron and brass smelting, iron metallurgy. Logging of timber and various materials for the needs of the fleet became a special industry. The Kazan Krai played an important role in these processes, participating in the industrial development of the country. Admiralty, broadcloth factories were established in Kazan; various regions were marked by industrial smelting of brass from brass-bearing sandstones. From the perspective of cultivation methods, agriculture was rather underdeveloped and traditional. Crop yield was growing rather slowly. Economic crisis and shortage of arable lands were growing in the old arable lands of the Pre–Volga

and Trans-Kazan regions, which, along with social factors, caused a mass migration of Tatars into the Trans-Kama and Cis-Ural regions. Occupation of the Trans-Volga region allowed to sharply raise the agricultural productivity across the entire country, and later, to make the country one of the largest grain exporters in the world. However, the chronic shortcoming of agricultural methods and shortage of arable lands hampered the agricultural development. This problem, that was so acute for the Tatar population of the Kazan Krai, continued to be a pressing one even in the next century, forcing the Tatars to engage in trade and seasonal work, as well as provoking migration of the Tatars to the Trans-Volga region, Siberia, and even beyond the borders of Russia. With the expansion of Russia's borders up to the Central Asia and the Far East, ties with China strengthen; the regular tea and silk trade was re-established. For a variety of circumstances, it was the Tatar merchants who, through the Kargala Sloboda, located near Orenburg, became the main trading counter-party in trading operations with the East. At the same time, it should be noted that until the middle of the 19th century the turnover of this trade was not high enough and did not generate great profit. It was, however, enough to improve the financial and domestic political situation of Tatar merchants, who kept claiming leadership rights over Tatar communities. Conversion from a mono-cultural, mono-ethnic, and Orthodox country into an empire with diverse population, professing various religions and beliefs from Protestantism and Catholicism in the west to Buddhism and Shamanism in the east, was the main outcome of the country's development in the 16th-17th centuries. In this period, all Tatar states were conquered by Russia. Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates in the latter half

of the 16th century. After a series of the Russian-Turkish wars, that were unsuccessful for Turkey, in 1783 the Crimean Khanate was annexed to Russia. Given that from the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century, Russia captured the Tatar populated territories of the

state, we can say that almost all groups of Tatars were integrated into the Russian Empire. All this had a wide range of consequences that resulted in significant changes both in the settlement of Tatars and social class structure of the Tatar-Muslim society. It should be noted that the Tatar-Muslim population returned to the lands they had occupied back in the 10th century, which were desolate since the 15-16th centuries for military-political reasons. First of all, those were the Pre-Volga Region territories in the southern part of the Taw yağı (Hill Land i.e. hilly right bank of Volga), as well as the Central and Eastern Trans-Kama Region. Gradually, with decline of the military danger from the Nogais and Kalmyks, almost the entire territory of the Trans-Kama region became an area of active colonisation, with the participation of Tatars, both as service class people at the abatis line and as an agrarian taxable population. At the same time, there were dramatic changes in the structure of the Tatar population, which, in fact, became rural, largely losing its urban secular layer and almost all its specialists in complex and specialised crafts. It resulted in the ruralisation of not only the Tatar population but also its culture. First of all, it included the reproduction and development of 'high culture'. An Islamic culture was preserved and spread instead of the urban and aristocratic secular culture. It affected all spheres of the life and activity of Tatars in the most negative way, contributing to the conservation of the society and intensification of its traditionalism. Interaction with the conquered Tatar society was the first and very important experience for Russia and its ruling elite. It was the first time that the Russian state had captured not only a dispersive foreign language speaking population but a large community of other confession with a complicated social class structure and monotheistic religious system with its own clergy. We can say that Russia was not ready for such a turn of events and such a challenge. The very first desire was to radically change the existing situation. There was an attempt to entirely Christianise and Russify the Tatar population and eliminate the service class. However, these attempts were a total failure.

The Kazan War (1552–1557), the subsequent explosions of discontent of the Serving Tatars and the Cheremis (1570–1580s), as well as the prevailing rebellion in the Meshchera Krai and Taw yağı in the Time of Troubles showed to the Moscow authorities that the policy of direct pressing is doomed to huge costs and depletion of the country. In the 17th century, they decided to rely on the gradual Russification of the nobility, deprive the Muslim aristocracy of dependent people and lands, and hand over the yasak population to the nobles. There also developed the church, mansion, landlord, and patrimonial tenure, which again required arable and other lands. The number of manors of the Russian service class people in the Kazan uyezd alone had doubled by the latter half of the century. There was almost no free land left in the Middle Volga Region. For this reason, large feudal landowners were trying to expand their domains at the expense of the yasak people, whose interests were not protected by law. Sometimes, feudals openly took lands from the communities of yasak peasants, but they often started land disputes and won them. In the 17th century, the norms of the yasak collection were clearly determined. They gradually increased with the reduction in the yasak land allotments. The government was closely following the execution of these norms: local censuses were conducted; the yasak population was subject to various inspections. Local administration often abused power during collection of the yasak. All this caused the protest of the yasak population. They were complaining, leaving their villages and fleeing to the east, to the underdeveloped areas of the Trans-Ural and Siberia, in search of a better life. Their flight acquired particularly wide scope since the 1680s. It is no accident that in 1688 a decree was issued about the search for fugitive peasants in the cities of the Kazan Palace Prikaz. There were also significant changes in the position of the Serving Tatars in the middle and the latter half of the 17th century. Tatars entering into service of the new authorities were protected by law and were given monetary or product grants, and manor (granted lands). Manors of the service class people were conditional

land areas, for which the owner had to serve the state. They could not be sold, exchanged, handed down. For instance, if a service class person died in a campaign, his manor was not automatically handed down to his heirs—only authorities took decision upon the further fate of that land. In the 17th century, the Kazan Serving Tatars participated almost in all campaigns of the Russian state army. Often they constituted 5–7% of all horsemen. Apart from the military service, a significant part of the Serving Tatars was engaged in administrative and diplomatic work. Many of them, just like before, served in different institutions as translators, interpreters, clerks. Some of them were sent to other countries, mainly to eastern ones, with diplomatic missions. In the 17th century, Tatar was the language of diplomatic relations of Russia with the Eastern countries. The Tatar language was the language of correspondence of the Russian tsars with the leaders of Iran, India, and countries of the Central Asia. By engaging Tatars into state service and granting them lands, the Tsar's government was pursuing not only diplomatic and military-strategic plans. An important role was also played by social and political reasons. By engaging a part of Tatars into service, the government subdued them, made them its supporters, split and weakened the Tatar society. In addition, it provided additional opportunity to suppress people's movements, which the 'uprising' century was so rich of.

Changes in the position of the yasak and service class people show the general trend of the government's policy in the Middle Volga Region. The Serving Tatars gradually lost their lands and became poorer. Of course, there were rich landowners among them, but there were very few of them. The Serving Tatars gradually lost their lands, became poorer, joined the class of the yasak people. Thus, the authorities were strengthening their positions. By the beginning of the 18th century, the service class of Tatars almost entirely disintegrated, that is, they ceased to exist as a single class with common interests. The necessity of continuous engagement of the serving Tatars into military service declined with formation of an absolute monarchy in Russia, strength-

ening of the state, expansion of its boundaries in the east. The service class of Tatars underwent significant transformation in the 18th century. Even though the state strictly prohibited the Serving Tatars to dispose of the land, not preventing serving land tenure from degrading, a part of the serving Tatars had completely estranged themselves from land; instead they dealt with trade, became clergymen or landowner *yasak* people. Many of them could still be named as both *murzas* and princes (representatives of the gentry), but by their economic position they were just ploughmen. People started to call these impoverished service class people 'chabataly morzalar' ('lapotnik *murzas*'). Moreover, in the first quarter of the 18th century, the Serving Tatars actually became equal to the *yasak* people. The difference between *yasak* and Serving Tatars gradually disappeared, since the latter were assigned to perform shipbuilding. This created a powerful impetus for active interethnic communications. As a result, the first sprouts of the Tatar nation appeared on the basis of the class of the Serving Tatars, Muslim community, common culture and national identity. At the same time, an offensive was launched against Islam and Islamic institutions. On the one hand, direct methods of Christianisation of the Islamic population were used, for example, following the handover of tributary peasants' lands into the possession of monastery or the landlord. On the other hand, methods of economic pressure were used. According to the decree of Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich, dated 1628, non-Christians were forbidden to have not only Russian serfs but even Christian servants. Only baptised Tatars were provided with manors. The following was stated in article No.24, chapter No.22 of the *Sobornoye Ulozheniye*: 'If an unorthodox (Muslim.—I. G., I. I.) tries to compel by force or deceit a Russian man to his unorthodox religion and circumcises him, and if it is proven, then that unorthodox will be found and executed, burnt mercilessly by fire'. In 1653, only Russian landowners and the newly-baptised were entitled to sell their manors. After a year, it was decided that after the death of an unbaptised landowner, his

lands were to be handed down only to his baptised relatives, regardless of the degree of kinship. Two decrees, infringing on the interests of non-Christians, appeared in 1681. According to one of them, non-Christian Tatar landowners were deprived of lands populated by baptised people. According to the second decree, a baptised non-Christian was granted lands taken from his Muslim relatives. Such newly-baptised people were exempted from tributes for six years. In addition, they were given monetary rewards. 'The serving newly-baptised people' acquired rights that were not given even to the most distinguished and wealthy Serving Tatars preserving the Islamic faith. As landowners, the newly-baptised had the same rights as the Russian nobles, could utilise the labour of Russian serfs. A certain part of the newly-baptised had also lost their language, gradually integrating into the Russian nobility. Therefore, it is no coincidence that many of the most famous Russian families have Tatar origin. Among them, for example, Aksakovs, Apraksins, Arakcheevs, Bibikovs, Karamzins, Molostvovs, Naryshkins, Saburovs, Timiryazevs, Turgenyevs, etc.

In these circumstances, the Islamic communities, experiencing constant social and religious pressure and unable to get rid of the power of conquerors, were more and more plunging into social pessimism and religious conservatism. In the 17–18th centuries, the Tsar's power intensified the commitment of oppressed peoples to pre-colonial spiritual, first of all, religious traditions as a symbol of former independence. Nevertheless, from the very beginning the conviction in affiliation to the 'Islamic World' among Tatars was embroiled with the emerging realisation of an ethnic community within certain geographical boundaries. Unlike many Islamic peoples, among the Tatars this process started earlier and had its own peculiarities. Under the influence of external forces, the interweaving of the religious and ethnic identity in the social conscience of the Tatars only intensified. On the one hand, it was promoted primarily by the Islamisation of the region, while on the other hand, it was impacted by a different level of penetration of Islam into the spiritu-

al world and life of its followers in different areas. For centuries the Muslims of Russia were isolated from the main bulk of Islamic countries; they were literally in a hostile environment on their own land, which could not but affect the ethnic identity to tightly intertwine with the religious identity in the social consciousness of the Tatars. The Islamic conservatism contributed to the appearance of the 'bulgarism' ideology—a kind of a 'crisis cult', proclaiming as its purpose the revival of 'The Sacred City of Bulgar' through strict adherence to the traditional Islam. It was a spiritual movement to the future through the ideal of 'the glorious past'. This ideology was not hostile to the power, and the clergy called for loyalty and spiritual improvement through strict adherence to the orders of the Quran and Sunnah. However, the government policy was constantly provoking Muslims into action. In the 17–18th centuries, the Tatars resorted to all kinds of opposition: from passive rejection and flight to the Cis-Ural region to active armed resistance and recourse to other states. In 1682, the Kazan Tatars sent a delegation to the Turkish Sultan Mehmed IV and asked for help to set them free from the power of the Russian Tsar, who oppressed them as Muslims. There was no outcome of this action, though. Foreign policy developments did not contribute to the fight of the Tatars for their rights. Moreover, as the Turkish Empire was getting weaker, it was less and less able to provide any spiritual and political assistance to co-religionists living in Russia. The Muslims had to rely only on themselves. All this made the Tatar and the Muslim population in general potentially disloyal and periodically ready to support any protest against the government policy. Social and national-religious public outcry was often expressed in the most extreme and active forms. It was most strongly expressed in the events of the Time of Troubles and in the 1670s, and in the 1730–1760s, when the Muslim Tatars supported almost all massive armed attacks. It came to the point that major attacks of the Cossacks, Tatars and Bashkirs, mine workers and peasants were creating serious difficulties for the Tsar's authority and forced it to exert every effort

to fight against the insurgent masses. It all forced the imperial authorities represented by the Empress Catherine II to abandon the policy of Russification and Christianisation and move to a more flexible interaction with the Muslim communities, engaging them into the administrative and political system of the empire. These actions paved the way for the integration of the Muslim Tatars into the Russian political space. It was the Tatar elite, the merchants, who benefited from the mutual loyalty. To a large extent, it emerged from the service class, which was deprived of all class privileges at the beginning of the 18th century. On the one hand, they adhered to the Muslim traditions, but on the other hand, they were eager to protect their new rights by integrating into the Russian political system. The privileged position of the Serving Tatars in the Old and the New Tatar Sloboda in Kazan is quite illustrative in this respect. Unlike the majority of the Tatar and Russian service class representatives, for whom military service was the condition allowing them to own lands and peasant serfs, Kazan Sloboda Tatars served in order to maintain the right to continue trading. Privileges of the Sloboda's Tatars were repeatedly confirmed by the respective decrees issued in the 17–18th centuries. Throughout the period reviewed in this work, the Kazan Sloboda's Tatars maintained their privileges, while the bulk of tradesmen tended towards the unification of the trading activities. This fact can be considered as an example of utilisation of this nation by the Russian government in favour of certain political goals. Living in the administrative, political, and economic centre of the region, they were constantly monitored by the authorities and closely communicated with the governing bodies and the Russian population. Translators, interpreters, and low-class servants were hired from among them to serve at the Kazan Admiralty Office. In addition, the Russian authorities sought to prepare a ground for further entering into Central Asia and Kazakhstan with the assistance of these Sloboda's Tatars and their long-lasting connections with merchants from these regions. As the Tatars of Seitov sloboda pointed out, 'we were called upon from various uyezds

to settle here for a single reason, that is, to spread the Orenburg commerce and to involve the Kirghiz–Kaisaks and other Asian nations into it’. At the end of the 18th century, the tsarist government arrived at a consensus with this community. It was not just the good will and manifestation of the prudence of the ‘sacred’ authorities; in many ways it was done despite the true intentions of the government and due to the relentless fight of the Tatars for their national and religious rights. Even though the peak of repressions against Islam and the Tatar culture was over, in general, the Tatars were rather wary of all the actions of authorities against Muslims. The terrible experience of the previous century taught them to distrust. We must say that they were right.

Although in a different form, the tsarist policy of oppressing the national-religious traditions of the Tatar people continued in the future. Evaluating the era from the conquest of Kazan to the middle of the 19th century in general, it should be noted that it was a period of severe colonisation of the Tatars and it can be described as one of the darkest and most tragic pages in the history of the nation. It is quite surprising that after such hardships, the Tatars managed to preserve spiritual strength and creativity for further national rise and revival. The awareness of their common interests and memories of the past, that were not erased from the national consciousness, became the basis for the formation of the Tatar nation in the next century.

Appendices



1. The Organisation of the Government, Territory, and Population of the Volga-Ural Region

No. 1

A story by an anonymous author about the measures undertaken by Ivan IV relating to the governance of Kazan and Sviyazhsk before he departed from Kazan, leaving voivodes and a military detachment in Sviyazhsk

that occurred not earlier than 15 October 1552.

[...] About the return of the Great Tsar to Moscow Chapter 92.

The Tsar arrived in Kazan and spent 15 days there. He appointed two great voivodes as his substitutes: Prince Olexander Gorbaty and Prince Vasily Serebryany along with 60,000 warriors to judge people and maintain defensive control. As for Sviyazhsk, he left there two voivodes: Prince Peter Shuysky and a boyar named Boris Saltykov, along with 40,000 warriors. So the Russian land went back to its sources gaining a victory over adversaries; by the grace of God Russian warriors went back safe and sound to Nizhny Novgorod through the Volga River. They returned full of military honours, riches and much booty, bringing their adversary—the Tsar of Kazan—alive with them, along with many captivated lancers and murzas, and Kazan princes with their wives and children, a great deal of prisoners and receiving lots of military trophies. Tsar Shigaley and all his troops must be let go to Kasimov in the same track he had used to reach Kazan; Astrakhan princes, elder brother Derbysh must be amply rewarded and let go to the Horde—he may be killed by the Nogais there; junior brother Kaibula must be taken to Moscow and serve him and get a private domain called Yury's grad [city] Polskoy; all other warriors followed him on his way from Kazan to Vasil'grad through Kazan lands, impassable high mountains and meadows, thickets, swamps and deserts; many of them died of famine because of food shortage, others had to eat horse-flesh and carrion. [...]

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, columns 174–175.

No. 2

A note from the razrjadnaja kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] (about sending voivodes to Kazan to spend a year there) that refers to a note about the removal of voivodes Princes P. Shuysky, I. Troyekurov, and V. Mezetsky

May 1553

In May of the same year [7061] the Tsar and Grand Prince sent the voivodes boyar Prince Yury Michailovich Bulgakov, Prince Alexander Ivanovich Vorotynsky, Dmitry Michailovich Pleshcheyev, and Zakhary Ivanovich Ochinnikov Pleshcheyev to spend one year in Kazan. Prince Fyodor Kashin, Ivan's son, had to spend a year in Kazan, but he did not because he fell sick. He had to be replaced by Grigory Shestov, Michail's son. Voivodes Princes Alexander Ivanovich Vorotynsky, Zakhar and Dmitry Pleshcheyev, and Grigory Shestov had to undertake a mission. Prince Vasil Funikov, son of Prince Semen, and Ivan Borisov, Zacheslonsky's son had to be governor-generals. Also the dyak [chief clerk] had to spend a year in Kazan: at Fyodor Ogarev,

Vasily's son. The Tsar and Grand Prince sent boyar and voivode Dmitry Ivanovich Kurlyatev to Kazan¹.

Extract from: P. Milyukov The most ancient razrjadnaja kniga (the official edition dates back to 1565). Moscow, 1901. pp. 159–160; Razrjadnaja Kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] 1550–1636, vol. 1, pp. 25–26.

No. 3

A note from the razrjadnaja kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] about leaving Prince P. Shuysky for a second term of 'godovaniye' [serving for one year] in Sviyazhsk and sending voivodes there to assist.

May 1553

[In May of the same year, 7061] the Tsar and Grand Prince ordered voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky to spend one more year in Sviyazhsk; and he sent voivodes to spend a year with Prince Peter Ivanovich: they were Prince Ivan Michailovich Troyekurov and Prince Vasil Mezetsky, Semen's son. The voivodes and Prince Peter Ivanovich had to spend a year in Sviyazhsk, and Princes Yury Ivanovich Kashin Obolensky along with Prince Peter Shchepin, Danil's son, had to undertake a mission. Semen Ovtsyn, Ondrey's son, and Myasoyed Visly, Semen's son, were to be governor-generals.

Extract from: P. Milyukov The most ancient razrjadnaja kniga (the official edition dates back to 1565). Moscow, 1901. P. 160; Razrjadnaja Kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] 1550–1636, vol. 1, pp. 25–26.

¹ The Razrjadnaja kniga of 1550–1636 provides this text in another edition: 'In that year the boyars Yury Mikhaylovich Bulgakov and prince Alexander Ivanovich Vorotynsky and Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pleshcheyev and Fyodor Ivanovich Kashin were sent to Kazan for a year. And prince Fyodor fell ill, and Grigory Mikhaylov, Shestov's son, was ordered to replace him. / And the sovereign ordered Sviyazhsk voivodes boyar prince Dmitry Ivanovich Kurltelev and prince Yury Kashin and Zakhary Pleshcheyev to go together with prince Yury Mikhaylovich into three regiments: / In the big regiment: boyar prince Yury Mikhaylovich Bulgakov and prince Dmitry Ivanovich Kurltelev. / In the foremost regiment: prince Alexandro Ivanovich Vorotynsky and Zakhary Ivanovich Ochir Pleshcheyev. / In the guard regiment: prince Yury Ivanovich Kashin and Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pleshcheyev. / And princes Ivan Troyekurov and Pyotr Shchepin and prince Vasily Mezetsky with the rest of the people were to wait in Nizhny. And upon uniting with the people, they should go into three regiments: / In the big regiment: prince Ivan Mikhaylovich Troyekurov. / In the foremost regiment: prince Pyotr Danilovich Shchepin. / In the guard regiment: prince Vasily Semenovich Mezetskoy. / And boyar prince Dmitry Kurltelev wrote the following from Nizhny to the tsar: he had been ordered to remain in the big regiment among others, while prince Alexander Vorotynsky was to stay in the foremost regiment among high ranks; and he, prince Dmitry, did not want to occupy a lower position than prince Alexander Vorotynsky. And the sovereign responded to boyar prince Dmitry Ivanovich Kurltelev, ordering him to arrive for a state matter together with boyar prince Yury Mikhaylovich Bulgakov; so that he was in public service with prince Yury Mikhaylovich and watched state matters when the sovereign ordered so. / And boyar prince Pyotr Ivanovich Shuysky together with prince Ivan Mikhaylovich Troyekurov and prince Vasily Semenovich Mezetskoy were to arrive in Kazan from Sviyazhsk. And princes Alexander Ivanovich Vorotynsky and Yury Ivanovich Ochir Pleshcheyev and Grigory Shestov Morozov were to serve in the intelligence service. Princes Vasily Funikov and Ivan Zachelomsky and the dyak were appointed as gorodnichys (heads of administrative-police authorities in the Russian Empire) in Kazan. / And in Sviyazhsk there were sally voivodes: prince Yury Kashin and prince Pyotr Shchepin. / And gorodnys were Semen Ovtsyn and Myasoyed Visloy'—note.

No. 4

A note from the razrjadnaja kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] about the route and the order of movement of the voivodes who had been sent to spend one year in Kazan and Sviyazhsk

May 1553

[7061] In May the Tsar and Grand Prince ordered the Kazan voivodes Prince Yury Michailovich Bulgakov and his friends along with the Sviyazhsk voivodes to leave Nizhny Novgorod for Sviyazhsk and ordered the voivodes to go in three regiments:

boyars Prince Yury Makhailovich Bulgakov and Prince Dmitry Ivanovich Kurtlyayev in the big regiment;

voivodes Prince Alexander Ivanovich Vorotynsky and Zakhar Ochinnich Pleshcheyev in the advanced regiment;

voivodes Yury Ivanovich Kashin and Dmitry Pleshcheyev in the patrol regiment.

Also Prince Ivan Michailovich Troyekurov, Prince Peter Shchepin, and Prince Vasily Mezetsky had to wait for other people in Nizhny Novgorod. And after having met sons of boyars [knights], they had to go to Sviyazhsk in three regiments: voivode Prince Ivan Michailovich Troyekurov had to be in the main regiment; voivode Peter Danilovich Shchepin had to be in the advanced regiment, and voivode Prince Vasily Semenovich Mezetsky had to be in the patrol regiment.

Extract from: P. Milyukov The most ancient razrjadnaja kniga (the official edition dates back to 1565). Moscow, 1901. pp. 159–160; Razrjadnaja Kniga [Razrjadnaja kniga] 1550–1636, vol. 1, pp. 25–26.

No. 5

A chronicle entry about the creation of an eparchy in Kazan, the determination of the territory within its jurisdiction, the material provision of the department, and the appointment of Gury to the post of Archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk.

Not later than on 3 February 1555.

The archbishops of Russia gathered according to the order of the Tsar. In the same year by the order of the Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, and receiving the blessing of the Metropolitan of Russia Makary, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and abbots of Russia gathered to discuss various religious ranks and many other matters concerning Christianity. And the Tsar and Grand Prince along with Metropolitan Makary and all the archbishops and bishops, and all the Russian Synod, according to the rules, elected and appointed an Archbishop in the Kazan Kingdom, and an archimandrite, and an abbot in Sviyazhsk. The Archbishop of Kazan had to have his own archimandrites and abbots; the archbishop had to be near Kazan and neighbouring uluses: Sviyaga city and Taw yağı, the town of Vasil [Vasil'grad], and Vyatka land. The Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan promised to give the archbishop and all of the churches one-tenth of the income from Kazan; but first of all the Metropolitans and all the rulers and monasteries provided the Archbishop of Kazan with money and bread.

About the appointment of archbishop Gury to Kazan. On 3 February Archbishop Gury, Abbot of Selizhar monastery, was assigned to Kazan and Sviyazhsk: the Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, and his brother Prince Yury Vasilyevich, and Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, and Tsar Semion Kazansky attended the ceremony; and sacred archbish-

ops and bishops participated with Metropolitan Makary [...] and other abbots and priests. Overall, there were 76 people there, including the Metropolitan and the Archbishop of Kazan, archbishops and bishops, archemandrites and abbots, archpriests and priests, archdeacons and deacons, excluding podyachies. The Tsar and the Grand Prince, and the Metropolitan, and all of the Synod gathered and found the post for the Archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk near the Archbishop of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov, and it was more significant than that of the Archbishop of Rostov. Many boyars, noblemen, and serving people were present at this ceremony as well as the Tsar and Grand Prince; the king's messenger Yury Tishkevich and Vologda voivode's ambassadors Osif, Nikula, and their mates and old men from the sacred mountains of the Hilandar monastery, for example, the celibate priest Silvester and other old men.

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, part 1, pp. 249–251.

No. 6

**The charter of Ivan IV addressed to Kazan voivode Prince P. Shuysky
about the common opinion of the Archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk concerning
the government of the Kazan Krai**

26 May 1555

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich to Kazan for our boyar and voivode Peter Ivanovich Shuysky. Pilgrim Gury, archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, was let go to Kazan and ordered to ask advice from you concerning his business; and we repeated to you the instruction he had got, word for word. And you, Boyar, our Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuyskoy, should hold this instruction and administer our matters according to this instruction and consult the Archbishop concerning our business based on this instruction.

Composed in Moscow on 26 May 7063.

Extract from: Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, No. 241/III, p. 261.

No. 7

**Boyar's verdict (by Prince M. Vorotynsky) about the organisation of patrols
at the borders of the state: about the determination of four locations in the field where
the voivodes had to stay, the limits of the stanits as of serving people, about appointing
nobles from Kazan and Sviyazhsk to the positions in the border service.**

21 February 1571.

On 21 February. Boyar Prince Michailo Ivanovich Vorotynsky and heads of camping grounds arranged where guardians had to stand who would come from border cities, so that it could be more profitable for the Tsar, and strangers could not come to the borders of the Tsar's lands, and decided:

Four heads must be in the field: the first one from Kazan must be at the Volga, near the Karamansk forest, the second one from Shatsk must be at the Don, on the Nogai side in Vezhky, above the Medveditsa and Khopyor Rivers, the third one from Dedilov must be at Oskol and at other places, and the fourth one from Orel must be in the field near the Sem, at the Khon. Gentries and Cossacks must be with the heads from different towns according to the census; they must be in the field in the Tsar's service according to these three articles, substituting each other every week. As far as patrol is concerned: one should go from the head staying at Karamansk

forest near Kazan to the mountain through the Volga up to the town of Tityushsk (it takes about four days to get there), and then to the Volga up to Bolykley village (it takes about three days or less to get there). Then one should go from the head staying at the Don in Vezhki over the Medveditsa and Khopyor Rivers to the right behind the Don up to the Aidar (it takes about two days to get there), and then to the left to the Volga up to the mouth of Bolykley (it takes about four days to get there). One should go from the head staying at the Sem near the mouth of the Khon to the left in the direction of the Don part of the Sem, and one should cross the Sem at this place and go up to the Korocha and the Koren (it takes about two days or a bit more to reach those places), and then to the right and cross the Reut (it takes about a day or less to reach these places). The head in Oskol at the mouth of the Ubla and from this head should travel through the fields to the left up to the Aidar River, to those places four days or less away; and to the right travel up along Oskol to the Korocha and to the Koren, the travel to those places two or three days away. One should visit the villages at the head of Koromansk along the Volga (six people per village) skipping between villages for a week, not staying long in the first villages, and four people to go to the village on the Aidar, skipping between villages for three days, not staying long in the first villages that lay before them. And from the Sem and Oskol heads to send 6 people to those villages further away and four people to those closer, not staying long in the first villages that lay before them. There must be people and their heads from different remote towns, gentry and the Cossacks according to the census near the Karamansk forest with the heads from Kazan and ten knights, thirty Tatars and Chuvash people from Sviyazhsk, six knights and twenty Cossacks from Alatyry; twelve knights and ten Tatars and ten Mordvins from Temnikov, Kadoma and Shatsk, twenty Cossacks from Shatsk, six knights and ten Cossacks from Ryazan. From all the towns there are thirty-five people of knights and fifty Cossacks and fifty Tatars, Mordvins, and Chuvash. In total there are one hundred and thirty-five knights, Cossacks, Tatars, Chuvash, and Mordvins. And the head will be substituted for another one, and people from those cities being on the list must be with this head. Nine knights and twenty Cossacks from Shatsk with their head, six knights and ten Cossacks from Ryazan, six knights from Donkov, twenty Tatars and twenty Mordvins from Temnikov and Kadom, eight knights and twenty Cossacks from Alatyry must be at the Don River, in Vezhki over the Medveditsa and Khopyor Rivers; in total, there must be thirty knights, fifty Cossacks, forty Tatars and Mordvins—that is, one hundred and twenty people, including all the knights, Cossacks, Tatars, Mordvins, and their head. The head will be substituted for another one, and people from those cities being on the list must be with this head. Nine knights and twenty Cossacks from Dedilovo and Kropivna, ten knights from Donkov, ten knights and ten Cossacks from Novosil, ten knights from Mtsensk, ten knights and twenty Cossacks from Orel must be at the Oskol River near the mouth of the Ublya with their head; in total there are forty-six knights and sixty Cossacks, in total there are one hundred people. And the head will be substituted for another one, and people from those cities being on the list must be with this head. Nine knights and twenty Cossacks from Orel, ten knights from Mtsensk, six knights and ten Cossacks from Novosil, ten knights and thirty Cossacks from Dedilovo must be at the Sem near the mouth of the Khon with their heads. From Kropivensky there are only thirty-six knights and sixty Cossacks, in total there are ninety-six people. The head will be substituted for another one, and people from those cities being on the list must be with this head. The heads of the Karamansky forest must be chosen by voivodes from among the inhabitants of Kazan, Sviyazhsk, and honourable knights. The head from Murom, Meshchera, Ryazan, Tula, and Kashira must be on the Don in Vezha and at the Oskol River at the mouth of the Ublya depending on which of them is closer.

Extract from: Acts of the Muscovite State, vol. 1, pp. 6–7, No. 4.

No. 8

Order charter of Tsar Ivan IV to Sviyazhsk voivode B. Saburov about his transfer to Kazan to 'associate' voivode Prince G. Bulgakov and dyak Michail Bityagovsky with instructions to give 'ammunition', the Treasury, documents, and city affairs in Sviyazhsk to Prince Peter Buinosov-Rostovsky and with a reminder about the inadmissibility of departmental quarrels

30 November 1581

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia to Sviyazhsk to our voivode Bogdan Yuryevich Saburov. It was ordered to be in our service in Sviyazhsk uyezd, you must be substituted for voivode Peter Buinosov Rostovsky and be in our service as a voivode in Kazan in the stockaded town according to our order and administer our affairs in the town with voivode Prince Grigory Bulgakov and confederates and dyak Michail Bityagovsky. And when you get our charter, you should pass the town to voivode Prince Peter Buinosov Rostovsky with military equipment, cannons and hand cannons, and treasury and our previous orders and sent charters, and our different affairs and copy them and head to Kazan to serve there; reaching Kazan, you should continue serving in the stockaded town and take from Prince Grigory Bulgakov the lists of sons of boyars [knights, gentry] who were in your regiment and manage them and administer our affairs; and you should be with voivode Prince Grigory Bulgakov and his confederates and dyak Michail Bityagovsky according to our previous order, and you should coexist peacefully so that we and the zemstvo have no problems.

Composed in Moscow on 30 November 1590.

The charter has the signature of the dyak Andrey Shchelkalov; a two-headed eagle is depicted on the seal.

Extract from: Additions to Historical Acts, vol. 1, No. 127, pp. 183–184.

No. 9

The decree of Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich on the implementation of courts and possible punishment of 'noblemen, knights, and Russian people of different ranks, murzas, Tatars, Chuvashes, Cheremis people and Mordvins' in the Edict of Kazan Court, and not in other decrees

12 July 1672

In the past, before 173, according to the decree of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince Michail Fyodorovich, Sovereign of All Russia, and from 173 to the current year 180, and according to the decree of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, noblemen, and sons of boyars living in towns situated at the lower reaches of rivers, and service people of different ranks, and murzas, and Tatars, and Chuvashes, and Mordvins are administered by the court, and they are accountable under the decree of the Kazan palace, they cannot be judged by other decrees. In 180 the inhabitant of Kazan Dmitry Pristov bowed humbly before His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich and conferred upon Maxim Tverdakov the class of tradesmen in his suit, and Maxim Tverdakov did not want to answer in the decree of the Kazan palace because the class of tradesmen is accountable to the Great Treasury, and boyar Prince Yakov Nikitich Odoyevsky reported about that to His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich. And His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, having heard extracts from reports, ordered, and the Boyars decreed that: Russian service people,

murzas, Tatars, Mordvins and all kinds of yasak people must be accountable to the previous decree of His Majesty. His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Michail Fyodorovich, according to His Majesty's previous decree, orders that they are accountable under the decree of the Kazan palace, and that they are accountable under the decree of the Kazan palace, they cannot be judged by other decrees. His Majesty ordered the decree of the Kazan palace to be extended to other departments.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire -1, vol. 1, No. 526, p. 907.

No. 10

**Order charter addressed to I. Turgenev, appointing him a voivode
in the Kazan suburb of Zainsk**

15 June 1675

On 16 June 1833. His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich ordered citizen Ivan Levontievich Turgenev to be in His Majesty's service in Zainsk due to the service and death of his parents and take Stepan Zakharin's place. Ivan replaced Stepan on 1 March 184. The charter of the Great Tsar about this matter for Prince Yury Ivanovich Romodanovsky and his friends was given to Ivan so that he passed it to Kazan. And Ivan, having reached Kazan, was obliged to give the charter of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich to the boyar and voivodes Prince Yury Ivanovich and his confederates, and according to that charter the boyar and voivodes Prince Yury Ivanovich will order him, Ivan, to go to Zainsk.

And when Ivan reaches Zainsk, he will be obliged to accept Zainsk town from Stepan Zakharin, as well as the stockaded town, and keys and guards, and the treasury and gun supplies, and money and bread crops from granaries, and previous orders and charters of the Tsar in the voivode's chancellery, and Kazan order reports and registers, and different affairs of the Tsar and lists of all kinds of serving people, and copies of local buildings, and make the acquaintance of people of ranks and classes, and examine warders of the stockaded town. Upon his arrival in Zainsk, Ivan must compile and send to the boyar and voivodes, Prince Yury Ivanovich and his confederates nominal lists signed by Ivan himself about how much money is in His Majesty's Treasury, as well as how much lead and gun store he accepted from Stepan Zakharin. Ivan was ordered to exclude Stepan from the Tsar's Treasury in register books on money and bread and now registers must be kept in Kazan, namely beginning from the time when Stepan was ordered to be in Zainsk. Everything taken from him would be sent to Kazan and become a part of the State Treasury. Being in His Majesty's service in Zainsk, Ivan must administer His Majesty's affairs according to His Majesty's orders and instructions, and former orders and Kazan reports depending on the current situation and always seek out profit for His Majesty. The different ranks living in Zainsk must be judged equally in all their affairs, and reconcile their disputes according to the decree of His Majesty, and prevent them from stealing. Henceforth, every building in Zainsk should be strong and dependable and durable to be profitable to His Majesty. Everything about His Majesty's decree must be reported to Kazan.

The legal matters of previous service people and those judged by Stepan Zakharin will not be concluded. Upon his, Ivan's, arrival those matters which were petitioned will be concluded. No matter if there are petitions or not, charges must be investigated according to His Majesty's decree, so that the duties imposed by His Majesty are not lost. According to His Majesty's decree and the Sobornoye Ulozheniye [Council Code] of 157, court duties and retrials must be imposed on the Russian people and foreigners. It is ordered that duties and other monetary income and

bread be given to the Sheshma armourers and defenders as wages and that all expenses set according to the Kazan reports, and not previous practices. It is ordered that all Zainsk expenses be written in the income and expenditure books and in the corresponding list. If any money remains in His Majesty's Treasury after the Zainsk expenses, then that money must be sent to Kazan along with the corresponding list. The amount of money sent to Kazan must be written down. Ivan must live in Zainsk being on the alert so that guards in Zainsk and the stockaded town patrol day and night without interruption. If the Nogais or some other people approach the town walls, he must write about it and send reports on how the decree is implemented to Kazan through fast messengers. This time, Zainsk is to live under great guard. The patrols are continuously on the lookout, day and night. Let him, Ivan order that newcomers and visitors, no one can live in Zainsk illegally. Newcomers and visitors must be asked who they are and why they have come. If someone is suspected of setting the country into turmoil, they must be imprisoned, and it should be written to Kazan and notified about this event.

Ivan must order inhabitants of Zainsk not to heat up banyas and izbas [huts] in summertime. Ovens must be made to bake bread, and they must be situated in a distance. There must be a lot of water everywhere to prevent fires in Zainsk.

Ivan should also order to take the census of prisoners and write down their names, ranks, how long they have been there, if they have been tortured or not, and if so, how many times, get information about their cell mates and send these reports to Kazan. Being in Zainsk, Ivan must administer His Majesty's affairs according to this order and according to His Majesty's previous orders and the Kazan reports as it is written down in the Kazan reports. As far as the heads of the customs and dram shops and tselovalniki [tax collectors] sent from Kazan are concerned, one should make sure they watch and strictly guard such precious goods as: armours, helmets, sabres, guns, or other goods and not to let tradespeople bring any other goods not stated in special passage charters to Kazan and Zainsk uyezds to the Chuvash and Cheremis.

Ivan should also make sure that the heads and tselovalniki do not let such precious goods as gun powder, lead, nitre, broadcloth, hot wine, homespun coats, and other kinds of goods pass through the Volga and Don to thieves-Cossacks or other people passing by without having the Tsar's charters of passage. And if some people overbuy precious goods, these extra goods must be left by the will of His Majesty, and he should write to Kazan about these precious goods. Ivan should also make sure that in Zainsk one can only get alcohol in dram shops.

And if someone decides to open a dram shop, Ivan must confiscate alcohol from them, and compose a decree according to the code dated from the year 157 and according to the Kazan reports, and write to Kazan about that. One should order the head of the dram shop and tselovalniki to sell alcohol and collect payments for it according to the decree of His Majesty, as it was written in the decree charters of His Majesty to Kazan, to the boyars and voivodes. If the head of the customs and tselovalniki [tax collectors] start letting extra goods pass through to Kazan and Zainsk uyezds to the Chuvashes and Cheremis, and if the head of the dram shop and tselovalniki start selling their alcohol and misappropriate His Majesty's Treasury, then he, Ivan, must report to Kazan about it. Ivan himself must not sell alcohol, and he must have no stores and produce no beer and wine in state brew houses and wineries; neither does he have to collect any taxes from the newly arrived in any form, and he must not lend money or drive people into debts or serfdom; neither does he have to force anyone to produce anything, at all.

If being in Zainsk Ivan starts collecting taxes from the inhabitants of the town and the newly arrived, organising funeral and debt servitude or forcing anyone to produce anything, His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince, Sovereign of All Great, Little, and White Russia Aleksey Michailovich will know about that, and he will be in disgrace and executed.—'Prokofiev.'

On the reverse side: Written by Ivashka Aigustov.

Countersignatory: Dyak Michailo Prokofiev.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 1295/9, pp. 25–36.

No. 11

Description of defensive structures in Kazan, its suburbs, and palace villages abstracted from the instruction addressed to cities of the Middle and Lower Volga Region

Not earlier than on 16 June 1704.

[...] The edict of His Majesty addressed to the Closer Chancellery mentioned above dated back to 1704 contains information about different kinds of income and costs, annual salary of serving people according register books and estimate copies and mounted and unmounted service people in the towns situated at the lower reaches of rivers. The Edict of Kazan palace dated back to 1701 ordered them to be in service, and it said about voivodes and prikaz people who survived after the fire of 19 June 1701 enumerated on the list.

The register and drafts saying if there were stone, ground, or wooden towns at the lower reaches of rivers and how many cannons, how much gun powder, lead, what kinds of ammunition there was burnt down in the department of Kazan palace during the aforementioned fire. That was reported in the Chancellery.

As far as registers of buildings and ammunition in towns situated at the lower reaches of rivers are concerned, the charters of His Majesty have been sent to local voivodes. They were ordered to write it down as soon as possible and to send description books. Lists based on the charters of the Great Tsar from towns situated at the lower reaches of the rivers about town-planning and ammunition have also been sent. This information is based on the inventory composed by Nikita Kudryavtsov in 1702.

Kazan. A stone city, the walls of which are 726 sazhen long. They are four sazhen high and two sazhen broad. It is covered with planks. The roof was dilapidated in many places and burnt down during fires. Also, the walls crumbled in many places. There are twelve towers along the walls, including:

the Spasskaya Gate Tower that is three and five quarter sazhen high. Two walls are ten sazhen high, two other walls are eight and three quarter sazhen high. The church dedicated to the Image of Edessa is situated at the same tower. There is no roofing, only roof timber.

A corner round tower is opposite the writing hut. It is almost seven sazhen high. The walls are four sazhen and an arshine high. There is no roofing, only roof timber.

A solid round tower is opposite the stables. It is eight sazhen and an arshine high. The walls are seven sazhen and an arshine high. The tent over it is half destroyed by fire.

The square Dmitryvsky Gate Tower is five sazhen and an arshine high. Two of the walls are five sazhen and an arshine high, the two other walls are five and three quarter sazhen high. It has no roof.

A solid round tower is near the Dmitryvsky Gate. It is six sazhen and an arshine high. The walls are four sazhen minus one arshine each. The tower is covered with a tent.

There is a gate opposite the suburban mills. There is the Church of the Resurrection over there.

A solid round tower is seven and five quarter sazhen high. The walls are five sazhen tall. Covered with a tent.

The square Nikolsky Gate Tower is five sazhen and half an arshine high. The walls are seven sazhen high. Covered with a tent.

A solid round tower near the Nikolsky Gates is seven sazhen and half an arshine high. It is six sazhen long and six sazhen wide. It has no tent.

A solid tower opposite the Business Court. It is seven sazhen high, five sazhen and two arshines long and wide. There is a trussing on it.

A solid square tower. It is six sazhen and an arshine high. It is five sazhen long and seven sazhen wide. It has a tent.

The square Preobrazhenskaya Gate Tower is six sazhen and three quarters high. It is almost five sazhen two arshines long and four sazhen two arshines wide. There is a trussing on it.

A corner round tower opposite the Spassky Monastery is seven sazhen and two arshines high. It is four sazhen, two and two quarter arshines long and wide. There is a trussing on it.

There is another timber town in Kazan. It is 1,200 sazhen in perimeter beginning with the Nikolsky Gates and ending with the stockaded town built after the fire of 202. It is three and a quarter sazhen high and one and a quarter sazhen wide. That wooden town was decayed and dilapidated in many places. The Taynichny Gates are 110 sazhen away from the dull tower, the Zmeyeva dull tower is 70 sazhen away from the Ilyinsky Gates.

That wooden town has thirteen towers:

The square Taynichnaya Gate Tower is six and a half sazhen high. The walls are four sazhen high. It is covered with a tent and is dilapidated.

A solid octagonal tower at the Taynichny Gates is six sazhen and two and a quarter arshines high. The walls are almost five sazhen high. Covered with a tent.

A solid octagonal tower is six and six quarter sazhen high. It is almost four sazhen long and four sazhen wide. It has a tent. Through the Zmeyeva Tower flows the Bulak River. It is three sazhen and an arshine high and three and a half sazhen long, without a tent.

A solid octagonal tower at the Zmeyeva Tower is six and a half sazhen high. It is three sazhen and two arshines long and three and a half sazhen wide. It has a tent.

The octagonal Ilyinskaya Gate Tower is six sazhen and two arshines high. It is four sazhen and half an arshine long and four sazhen and an arshine wide. It has a tent.

A solid hexagonal tower at the Ilyinsky Gates is six sazhen and two arshines high. It is three sazhen and an arshine long and three and a half sazhen wide. It has a tent.

The octagonal Yamskaya Tower is almost eight sazhen high. It is three sazhen long and almost five sazhen wide. It has a tent.

A solid octagonal tower at the Yamsky Gates is six and a half sazhen high. It is three sazhen and half an arshine long and three sazhen wide. It has a tent.

The hexagonal Varlamovskaya Gate Tower is almost eight sazhen high. It is three sazhen long and four sazhen and three quarters wide. Its tent is safe. It is at the same town wall over the Bulak River.

There is a gate not far from the Varlamovsky Gates. It is two sazhen, two and a quarter arshines high. A solid octagonal tower at the Varlamovsky Gates is six and a half sazhen high. It is three sazhen and a quarter long, two sazhen and half an arshine wide. It has a tent. A solid octagonal tower has a gate leading to Bogoyavlenskaya sloboda [suburb]. It is six sazhen and an arshine high, three sazhen long, two and a half sazhen wide. It has a tent. The octagonal Prolomnaya Gate Tower is nine and a quarter sazhen high. It is four sazhen and an arshine long, five sazhen and two arshines wide. It has a tent.

The Prolomnaya Tower is 1,148 sazhen away from the stone town. It is one-sixth of a sazhen high. There used to be twelve towers at that place before the fire. And so far, the building of three towers at this stockaded town has not been finished yet. The octagonal Voskresenskaya Gate Tower is five and a half sazhen high, three and a half sazhen long, three sazhen and an arshine wide. The octagonal Arskaya Gate Tower is five sazhen and an arshine high, three and a quarter sazhen long, and three sazhen wide. The Pyatnitskaya Gate Tower is five and a half sazhen high, three and a half sazhen long, and three sazhen wide. Those towers have no tents either. There is a ditch near the wooden town.

It lies between the Zmeya Tower and the Ilyinsky Gates and is 40 sazhen long, it is three sazhen wide and two arshin deep. The Ilyinsky Gates are 200 sazhen away from the Yamsky Gates, two sazhen crosswise, two sazhen deep less an arshin. The Yamsky Gates are 35 sazhen away from the Varlamovsky Gates, four sazhen crosswise, two sazhen deep, it is covered with sand in some places. The Prolomny Gates are 60 sazhen away from the Voskresensky Gates, four sazhen crosswise, two sazhen deep.

The number of military equipment in the stone town of Kazan: A Dutch copper hand cannon, which is four arshin and one-twelfth of a vershok [measure of length equivalent to 1.75 inches] long, it weighs 197 pood 30 grivenkas, and its core weighs 1 pood and 7 grivenkas. A Dutch copper hand cannon, which is three arshin and ten and a half vershoks long, it weighs 54 pood 20 grivenkas, and its core weighs 6 grivenkas. A Dutch copper hand cannon, it was on fire, it is three arshin and six and half a vershok long, it weighs 114 pood 38 grivenkas, it has a bullet marking in the fuse, its core weighs 25 grivenkas. Those three cannons are on wheeled carriages. A Dutch copper hand cannon, which is three arshin and a quarter long, it weighs 55 pood 25 grivenkas, its core weighs 6 grivenkas. A cast iron hand cannon, which is two arshin less three vershoks long, it weighs 23 pood 20 grivenkas. Its ball weighs almost three grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the third dull tower, which is two arshin and three and a half vershoks long, it weighs 28 pood 20 grivenkas. Its ball weighs two grivenkas. There is a Dutch copper hand cannon at Nikolsky Gates, which is four arshin less five vershoks long, it weighs 54 pood 30 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 6 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the Nikolsky Gates, which is four arshin less three and a half vershoks long, it weighs 75 pood. It has a mill with a trunk on two wheels. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the dull tower near the Nikolsky Gates, which is two arshin less three vershoks long; it weighs 23 pood 30 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 4 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon at the dull tower near the Voskresensky Gates, which is two arshin and half a vershok long, it weighs 30 pood. Its cannon ball weighs almost 4 grivenkas.

There is a Dutch copper hand cannon at the Dmitriyevsky Gates, under the tent, which is four arshin less a vershok long. Its weight is unknown. It has a mill with a trunk on two wheels. Its ball weighs 35 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the dull tower near Dmitriyevsky Gates, which is two arshin less five vershoks long. It weighs 15 pood and 10 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs two and a quarter grivenkas. There is a warning bell in the stone town. It weighs 44 pood and 19 grivenkas.

Around the wooden town

there is a copper hand cannon at the Taynichny Gates, which is three arshin less half a vershok long. It weighs 30 pood and 30 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 4 grivenkas. There is an iron Dutch cannon at the Taynichny Gates under the tent, which is one-eighth of an arshin and half a vershok long. According to the inscription, it weighs 73 pood. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. The iron cannon standing near the tower at the Bulak River is two arshin less long three vershoks long. It weighs 24 pood and 20 grivenkas. Its ball weighs one-eighth of a grivenka. Near the Taynichny Gates, at the dull tower which used to be the Yaroslavsky Gates, there is an iron hand cannon which is four arshin less three vershoks long. According to the inscription it weighs 75 pood. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshin less two vershoks long, at another tower. It weighs 23 pood and 30 grivenkas. Its ball weighs one-eighth of a grivenka. There is an iron hand cannon at the dull tower between the Reshetchnaya Tower and the Ilyinsky Gates, which is two arshin less three vershoks long. It weighs 24 pood. Its ball weighs four and a quarter grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the Ilyinsky Gates. Its length from the fuse is two arshin. There is an iron hand cannon under the tent. Its length from the fuse is four arshin less one fourth of a vershok. According to inscriptions, it weighs 78 pood minus a quarter. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon on the way between the Ilyinsky Gates and the Yamsky Gates at the solid tower, which is two arshines minus one-sixth of a vershok long. It weighs 23 poods. Its ball weighs 4 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the Yamsky Gates, which is two arshines less three vershoks long. It weighs 23 poods. Its ball weighs almost 4 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon under the tent at the Yamsky Gates. It is almost four arshines long. According to inscriptions, it weighs 75 poods and 10 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. There are two iron hand cannons. One of them is two arshines and half a vershok long, and the other one is two arshines less one-sixth of a vershok long.

There is an iron hand cannon on the way between the Yamsky Gates and the Varlamovsky Gates at the solid tower. It weighs 23 poods and 30 grivenkas. Its ball weighs one-eighth of a grivenka. There is an iron hand cannon at the Varlamovsky Gates, which is one-eighth of an arshine long. According to inscriptions, it weighs almost 64 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its ball weighs 7 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon between that gate and the Prolomny Gates, which is two arshines less three vershoks long. It weighs 23 poods. Its ball weighs one-eighth of a grivenka. There is an iron hand cannon under the tent at the Prolomny Gates, which is four arshines less three vershoks long. It weighs 77 poods. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas.

There is an iron burnt hand cannon between the Prolomny Gates and the stockaded town at the scene of the dull tower, which is three arshines and a quarter long. The weight is unknown, it has an inscription, German words. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon at the dull tower near Kirpichnaya sloboda, which is two arshines less three vershoks long. It weighs 22 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 4 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon at the Voskresensky Gates, which is three arshines and a vershok long. According to the inscription, it weighs 67 poods. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas.

There is an iron hand cannon at the Arsk Gates, which is almost four arshines long. According to inscriptions, it weighs 98 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the Schelsky Gate, which is almost four arshines long. According to inscriptions, it weighs 75 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. The iron hand cannon is three arshines and half a vershok long. Its weight is unknown. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. There is an iron hand cannon at the Pyatnitsky Gates, which is almost three arshines long. According to the inscription, it weighs 99 poods. Its cannon ball weighs 8 grivenkas. Nineteen of them are on carriages with support and have wheels.

In the stone town, the military ammunition was under the tent. There are two upper copper cannons, which are two arshines and a vershok long. One of them weighs 27 poods, the other one weighs 24 poods and 20 grivenkas. They are on carriages with wheels. Copper cannons cast in 204. A cannon on a carriage is three arshines and two vershoks long. It weighs 40 poods and 10 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs 4 grivenkas. A regimental cannon on a carriage. It is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 6 poods and 17 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs a grivenka less a quarter. Also there are two old iron cannons. One of them is one and a quarter arshines long. It weighs 8 poods and 16 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs a grivenka. The other one is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 18 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs two and a quarter grivenkas. Cannons, which were delivered to Kazan from Trans-Kama suburbs are to be sent to Simbirsk in 206, according to the charter of the Great Tsar.

There are two iron hand cannons from Zainsk. One of them is two arshines long less five vershoks. It weighs 16 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs two and a quarter grivenkas. The other one is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 16 poods and 20 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs two and a quarter grivenkas. There is an iron cannon on a wheeled carriage from Novy Sheshminsk. It is two arshines and one-eighth of a vershok long. It weighs

28 poods. Its ball weighs three grivenkas. There is an iron cannon on a carriage. It is an arshine and two vershoks long. It weighs 11 poods. Its ball weighs one and a half grivenkas. There are four hand cannons. Three iron cannons came from Sary Sheshminsk. Including a cannon. It is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 18 poods. Its ball weighs one-sixth of a grivenka. The cannon is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 9 poods. Its cannon ball weighs two and a quarter grivenkas. The cannon is two arshines less five vershoks long. It weighs 18 poods. Its ball weighs two grivenkas and a quarter. A copper cannon on a carriage bound with iron is two arshines long. It weighs 5 poods. Its ball weighs half a grivenka. Copper cannons, which were sent to Kazan in 206, according to the charter of the Great Tsar, had to be sent to Astrakhan. The cannons were not sent to Astrakhan because they failed to send a special master from Moscow.

There is a cannon from Tsaryovokokshaish. It weighs 4 poods and 16 grivenkas. It is blown below the fuse. There is a fragment of a cannon from Kurmysh. It is two arshines long. It weighs 11 poods 5 grivenkas. Its cannon ball weighs a grivenka. In the Armoury Chamber and powder-magazine there are: 132 poods 26 grivenkas and a quarter of powder, 402 poods 39 grivenkas and a quarter of gunpowder, 52 poods 37 and a half grivenkas of lead, 13 poods of fuses, 180 iron cores weighing 1 pood 5 grivenkas; 200 cores weighing 35, 32, and 30 grivenkas, 200 cores weighing 25 grivenkas, 440 cores weighing 15 grivenkas, 1,160 cores weighing 10, 9, and 8 grivenkas; 4,900 cores weighing 7 and 6 grivenkas; 5,498 cores weighing 4 grivenkas and 4 grivenkas less a quarter; 25 burnt cores weighing two grivenkas less a quarter and two and a half grivenkas; 1,177 burnt and torn musket Kazan and town barrels; 21 fragments of burnt barrels; 110 fragments of barrels; 183 muskets with fuse locks; 80 muskets with flint locks in new and old gunstocks; 3 carbines with old locks; 36 musket and homemade barrels, including 2 blown ones; 11 old flint locks; 5 old fuse locks.

From suburbs: 12 homemade barrels, 5 of which have locks; 16 musket barrels; 12 muskets in old gunstocks; 11 barrels of burnt and torn hand cannons; a dumbbell weighing 2 poods; 183 whole and broken swords; 6 pairs of old burnt pistol barrels; a big saw for grinding cannons, 593 Dutch spokes, 100 of which have a shaft, and one of them has no lance; 13 painted shafts, 710 iron details; 140 burnt and broken iron details; 950 tenons; 4 red flags with elements of white cloth; two iron dart, one of which is broken; 13 drills of tackle; 254 whole and broken ratchets; wheeled drills; 4 iron scales; a copper pot weighing 16 grivenkas, two hooks, two iron drum buckles; 78 scythes, including two broken ones; 81 iron tampers, 6 of which have no hefts; a copper detail of gun muzzle weighing 3 grivenkas less a quarter; 56 flint musket locks. A gun dated back to 206, according to the Tsar's charter, was taken from villages to Kazan to be repaired. 28 muskets, including 18 pieces with linstocks, 3 pieces with locks, 9 pieces without locks, and 4 pieces without gunstocks from Tsaryovosanchursk. 10 muskets are from Sviyazhsk, gunstocks and locks are damaged, some of them have no locks; 11 broken musket barrels; 38 musket barrels of the same type are broken. There are 33 carbines from Cheboksary, including 712 locks, and many of them have no gunstocks. 33 fuse muskets from Malmyzh, two of them have no locks; 12 muskets and 2 homemade guns, 2 burnt barrels. 29 old fuse muskets and 2 guns from Tetyushi. 70 muskets, old and broken gunstocks and locks, 78 musket barrels, including 3 blown ones from Tsaryovokokshaish. 31 muskets from Arsk, old and broken Scotch gunstocks and locks, a fuse musket with a lock, a musket barrel, a burnt Scotch lock, an old carbine, gunstock and lock. 24 damaged muskets and an old lock musket, 3 blown musket barrels, 2 burnt locks from Bulyarsk. 30 muskets with linstocks, 28 musket with locks, including 5 locks having no firesteels and clubs, 2 muskets without locks, equal number of homemade guns, and a musket fragment from Kukarka. There are 52 muskets and an improvised firearm, a broken gunstock and lock, and a musket barrel from Urzhum. There are 62 muskets from Yaransk. Many of them have old gunstocks and locks.

A burnt rapid-firing hand cannon from Alaty, 6 burnt barrels of hand cannons, 3 barrels, an iron tamper, 150 iron bullets. There are 26 muskets, 6 improvised arms (gunstocks and locks are damaged and old), and the barrel of an improvised firearm from Sarapul. 68 muskets from Yadrino, including one fragment, many of them have no locks, and some of them have broken gunstocks and locks. 146 fuse muskets, 42 lock muskets, 19 homemade guns, including a damaged one from Yelabuga; the gunstock and lock are old. That gun has old locks and gunstock, other guns have no locks, 3 burnt musket barrels. 334 muskets, homemade guns and barrels from Osa, including 3 blown barrels, many of them have old locks and gunstocks. 163 fuse muskets from Sarapul, many of them have no locks, and some of them have old and broken locks and gunstocks. Moreover, there are 16 lock muskets, 24 homemade guns and a rifle, old and broken locks and gunstocks. Than gun has not been repaired yet because there are few gunsmiths in Kazan, except for soldiers.

There are 13 taffeta flags of different colours, 506 lance flags of different colours in the Pri-kaz Chamber [Chancery Chamber], which were sent from Menzelinsk from the detachment of voivode Ivan Savastyanovich Khitrov and his confederates in 192.

Guns made in 207 according to the Tsar's charter were taken from Kazan soldiers, and they were given fuses sent from Moscow.

The first regiment. Four water bottles, old gunstocks and locks, 3 fragments of eater bottles, 108 fuses, 32 of them have old gunstocks and locks, 92 homemade guns, 12 of them have old gunstocks and locks, 2 fragments of homemade guns, 108 Turkish guns, 15 of them have old gunstocks and locks, 6 muskets with old flint locks, 40 fuse muskets, the gunstocks and locks are old, some of them have no locks, 7 burnt and torn barrels. The second regiment. 206 fuses, 42 of them have old gunstocks and locks, 2 fuse barrels, 96 flint muskets, the gunstocks and locks are old, 5 carabines and 6 rifles, the gunstocks and locks are old, 50 homemade guns, the gunstocks and locks are old, 182 burnt, torn, and blown barrels.

Regiment stores. 8 main spurs, 13 additional spurs, 17 bridles, 2 saddles without cushions. 13 machines were sent from Tetyushi, they are iron bound.

Suburbs in Kazan uyezd.

Arsk. Timber town. It is 233 sazhen in perimeter, two sazhen and two arshines high, and it has five towers. The gate tower is nine sazhen high, and four towers are five sazhen high. Military shells. There are two iron cannons, which are two arshines and two vershoks high, and they weigh 25 poods. There is a rapid-firing cannon, which is three quarters long; it weighs one pood. A cannon weighing one and a half poods is two arshines long. A cannon weighing one and a half poods is two arshines long. 447 cannon cores, 39 small cares, 18 iron tampers, an iron ratchet, half a pood of lead and iron pellets, two poods 26 grivenkas of musket powder, three poods 4 grivenkas of gunpowder, 7 poods and a half of lead, 10 sazhen of fuses.

Laishev. Oak stockaded town. It is 925 sazhen in perimeter, and it is two sazhen high. The town has eight towers and a tent. They are six, seven, and nine sazhen high and one-sixth or three sazhen wide, including four gate towers. Military shells. Two iron cannons. One of them is on a carriage, it is two arshines less one-eighth of a vershok. It weighs 17 poods 5 pounds, the other one weighs 17 poods three pounds. There are 99 iron balls for those cannons. Two hand cannons are in gunstocks, which are two arshines long. They have 400 iron pellets, 5 poods and 30 pounds of handmade and common gunpowder, 11 poods and 35 pounds of lead, and 10 pounds of fuses.

Malmyzh. Timber town. It is 168 sazhen in perimeter, and it is two sazhen and two thirds of an arshine high. It has five towers, which are four sazhen and two arshines, and three sazhen and two arshines high. The stockaded town is 230 sazhen in perimeter, and it is two sazhen and an arshine high. There are four towers at the stockaded town. They are either three sazhen and two arshines high or four sazhen high. Military shells. An iron cannon, which is two arshines and five vershoks long, it weighs 29 poods 30 pounds. An iron cannon, which is two

arshines less half a vershok long, it weighs 27 poods 3 pounds. 348 cannon cores. Two iron hand cannons. They have two iron tampers and 100 balls. Ten muskets with locks, 8 poods and 22 grivenkas of handmade gunpowder, and 1 pood and 7 grivenkas of common gunpowder, a bar of lead, which was not weighed, and 4 poods and 9 grivenkas of pieces of lead. Half a pood of subdivided iron cutoffs.

Alatskoy. Timber town. It is 239 sazhen in perimeter and three sazhen high. It has eight towers and a stockaded town. It is 366 sazhen in perimeter and two sazhen and half an arshine high. It has three towers. Military ammunition. 22 poods of gunpowder, 5 poods and half a grivenka of lead, half a pood of iron pellets, 271 cannon cores, 1,130 iron balls, 16 iron tampers. On 24 May 1702 the town of Alatskoy and the stockaded town burnt down.

Tetyushi. Stockaded town. It is 380 sazhen in perimeter, and it is two sazhen less a quarter high. It has two towers. One tower is twelve sazhen and an arshine in perimeter, and it is five sazhen high. A tower at the Volga River is twelve sazhen and an arshine in perimeter and three sazhen high. The stockaded town and the tower are old, and the stockaded town has decayed in many places. Military ammunition. 19 past repair fuse muskets, which are unsuitable for shooting. 10 poods of powder and gunpowder. 5 poods of lead. 196 cannon cores. 4,108 cannonballs and hand cannon cutoffs. Osa. The town had four corners. It is 306 sazhen in perimeter and is one sazhen and half an arshine high. It has seven towers, including seven gate towers. The towers are four and six sazhen and half an arshine tall. Military ammunition. A copper cannon on carriage, which is one and a half arshine long plus a vershok; it weighs 11 poods less a pound and a half. There is a copper cannon on a carriage, which is three arshines long. It weighs 15 poods and 7 pounds. A hammered iron hand cannon, which is two arshines less a vershok and a half long, it weighs 16 and a half pounds. 32 poods 4 pounds of gunpowder. 41 poods of lead. 180 cast iron cores. An old regimental taffeta standard. There is an infantry taffeta standard with silver and golden inscriptions, two kindyak standards and three iron halberds. Four iron partisans. 80 fuse muskets. 303 pole-axes with staffs, 53 pole-axes without staffs, nine of them are broken. 7 poods of fuses, 370 old belts. Two broken musket gunstocks with locks. 750 bandelers without belts. A copper tuyere storing 12 bullets and weighing 6 pounds and a half. Two sabres and cantons, an iron blade. Two iron darts. Three fuse locks. 42 arshines of canvas. Two iron scales and weights. An iron ball. Five picks. 68 spokes. Two worms of a gun. A ratchet. 18 poods of musket iron pellets less a quarter. 12 pounds and a half of rods. A pood 17 pounds of iron.

The Trans-Kama suburbs.

Menzelinsk. It has two stockaded towns. A big oak stockaded town is 637 sazhen long. 74 sazhen of that stockaded town has not been built yet. That stockaded town had 10 towers, including two gate towers. They are two sazhen and a half and three sazhen wide, including two towers, which have not been finished yet. A small oak stockaded town is 157 sazhen long. It has five towers, which are two sazhen and two arshines wide, including two towers, which have not been completely covered with roofing yet.

Military shells. A copper cannon. They weigh 23 poods, they are three arshines less a quarter in length on a military carriage. It has 100 iron cannon balls, each of them weighs one-eighth of a pound. There is a copper regimental cannon on a carriage. It weighs 7 poods and 19 pounds, it is two arshines less two vershoks long. It has 76 balls. An iron cannon. It is two arshines six vershoks and a half long, on a carriage. It has 122 iron balls. There is an iron cannon on a carriage. It is two arshines less two vershoks long. It has 101 iron balls. Eight hand cannons and a damaged hand cannon. They have eight iron tampers. Nine iron linstocks. 366 iron bullets. 26 fuse muskets. Four old matchlock muskets. An old lock musket and 7 poods and 13 pounds of handmade and common gunpowder. Two barrels of powder (they were not weighed because they were old). 12 poods 20 pounds of lead. 5 poods 13 pounds of fuses. 30 pounds of lead and musket bullets.

Zainsk. A pine town having two walls and that is covered with poor quality roofing. It is 190 sazhens in perimeter, two sazhens seven-fourth high. It has seven tented towers covered with planks. The towers are twelve sazhens in perimeter, and they are four sazhens high. Military shells. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshines long and weighs 20 poods, according to the cost estimate. There is an iron cannon, which is almost two arshines long and weighs 1 pood and 10 pounds. It has 50 cannon balls. Two iron hand cannons. There are 420 iron bullets for them. Three poods of iron pellets. 13 poods 20 pounds of powder and gunpowder. 5 poods 10 pounds of lead and two more poods and a half of lead. The fuse is 16 arshines long. A yellow taffeta banner. Two green taffeta banners, one red silk banner, two yellow silk banners. Five copper tuyeres, one iron tuyere. Ten matchlock pipes. Two masters-at-arms, 80 warrant officers.

Novy Sheshminsk. It was surrounded by the stockaded town and decayed. It is 204 sazhens in perimeter. It had six towers, they became dilapidated. Military shells. There are two iron cannons, which are two and a quarter arshines long. They have 124 balls. Two iron hand cannons. They have 216 iron cannons, two iron tampers, seven muskets, two barrels with locks, A barrel without a lock. 19 pounds of lead bullets. 12 and a half poods of powder and gunpowder. 4 poods of lead. Two poods of matchlocks. Ten spokes. Two flags with shafts. An old drum.

Stary Sheshminsk. Stockaded town. It is 210 sazhens in perimeter and one sazhen and one arshine high. It has five towers without tops. It is two and seven quarter sazhens long and three sazhens and an arshine high. The stockaded town decayed. There is a ditch around the stockaded town, it is five sazhens wide and a sazhen deep. Military shells. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshines less two vershoks long. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshines less three vershoks long. An iron damaged cannon. Three poods and 36 pounds of handmade gunpowder. Eight poods of gunpowder. Three poods and 31 pounds of lead. One pood of matchlocks. A red damask flag. Two red kindyak flags. Two drums.

Mainsky town. Pine stockaded town. It is 388 sazhens in perimeter and a sazhen and two arshines high, old and a bit decayed. It has six square towers, including two gate towers. The walls are two sazhens and two arshines long, four sazhens high in total. Military shells. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshine less three vershoks long, it weighs 18 poods. There is an iron cannon, which is as long as the previous one, it weighs 16 poods. Two iron hand cannons, which are one and three-fourth arshine long and weighing 36 pounds, and 2 iron loops weighing 36 pounds. 60 iron balls weighing 2 poods 35 pounds. 4 poods 6 pounds of powder. 5 poods 30 pounds of lead. 4 pounds of fuses. Two iron linstocks.

Tiinsk. Stockaded town. It is 200 sazhens in perimeter. The walls decayed and fell down, the other ones were rebuilt. They are two and a quarter sazhens high. The stockaded town has six towers. Two towers were rebuilt again. They are six sazhens and an arshine high, uncovered. Four towers decayed and fell down. Two towers have been rebuilt, timber blocking can be seen. Military shells. There are two iron cannons on carriages, which are two arshines and six vershoks long. The first one weighs 28 poods, the second one weighs 26 poods. They have 230 stone balls. Two hand cannons in gunstocks. One pood three pounds of iron and lead cores. 30 pounds of iron pellets. 10 poods 37 pounds of powder and gunpowder. Two poods and 12 pounds of lead. A pound and a quarter of fuses. 30 fuse muskets, including those with locks. Three kindyal flags. Two old drums.

Bulyarsk. Oak stockaded town. It is 197 and a half sazhens in perimeter, it is two sazhens and half an arshine high. It has six towers, including the gate tower with a tent that is eight sazhens less half an arshine high. The tower is six sazhens high. Four towers are four sazhens less half a sazhen high. There are two log platforms, which are three sazhens less half an arshine high. Military shells. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshines and six vershoks high, it weighs 28 poods. There is an iron cannon, which is two arshines and six vershoks high, it weighs 27 poods. They have 91 balls, each of them weighs two and a quarter pounds. There is a cannon, which is two arshines long. It has 170 balls and an iron skewer. There are 2 poods 29 and a half

pounds of handmade gunpowder, 4 poods and 10 pounds of common gunpowder, a bar of lead, one pood 28 pounds of pellets, an old carbine, a musket barrel, three sazhens of matchlocks, and two burnt barrels with locks.

Palace villages.

Sarapul. A log town with two walls. It is 379 sazhens in perimeter and two sazhens and an arshine high. It has ten towers, including five gate towers. The town has not been built and covered with roofing yet. Military shells. An iron cannon on a carriage, which is two arshines and nine vershoks long, it weighs 32 poods. An iron cannon, which is two arshines and one-eighteenth of a vershok long, it weighs 30 and a quarter poods. They have 100 iron balls. Two iron hand cannons. One of them is two arshines long, the other one is two arshines and one-eighth of a vershok long. 160 iron balls in addition. 13 poods and a quarter of gunpowder. 14 poods and a half of lead. 7 poods and a half of fuses. 27 pounds of iron rods and pellets.

Kukarsk sloboda. Timber town. It is 337 sazhens in perimeter and four arshines and three-fourth high. It has eight towers, including four carriageways. It is two sazhens and a half long and wide and three sazhens high. Dull towers are two sazhens and two arshines long and wide and two sazhens and two arshines tall. Military shells. An iron cannon on a carriage. It weighs 26 and two quarterpoods, it is two arshines and six vershoks long. An iron cannon on a carriage. It weighs 18 poods, it is three sazhens and a vershok long. A burnt iron barrel. It weighs 18 poods 22 grivenkas, it is two arshines and a vershok long. A burnt iron barrel. They weigh 20 pounds, they are two arshines long. 100 iron cannonballs. 67 balls for hand cannons. 60 iron pellets. 9 poods less a quarter of powder. 7 poods 8 pounds of lead. Three iron fuses. An iron ratch.

The village of Yelabuga. It was a timber town. 270 m long in perimeter. Apparently it had seven towers. The town and its towers decayed. Military shells. A cast iron cannon in a carriage weighing 28 poods. It is two and a quarter arshines long. A cast iron cannon weighing 27 poods, which is two arshines and three vershoks high, 14 poods of gunpowder, 13 poods 26 pounds of lead, 98 iron cannon balls. A musket with a lock and two and a quarter pounds of matchlocks.

Rybnaya sloboda. It is 400 sazhens in perimeter. There are four log square towers at the stockaded town that are two sazhens high and include three gate towers. The stockaded town decayed and fell down. Military shells. Two iron hand cannons. They are two arshines long. One of them weighs two poods less a quarter, the other one weighs one and a half poods. They have 159 iron balls, 8 cannon iron balls weighing three pounds, 26 gunlock muskets, eight matchlock muskets, two bars and a piece of lead weighing 9 poods less a quarter, a linstock and a worm of a gun, 6 poods and 28 pounds of handmade gunpowder, and 8 pounds of common gunpowder.

In total, there is the following amount of ammunition in Kazan: 14 copper cannons; 35 iron cannons, one of them has burnt; 7 hand cannons; 263 muskets with flint and fuse locks, a fragment of copper cannon, a fragment of cannon nuzzle; 15 old carbines and muskets; 28 homemade barrels and muskets; 384 burnt, torn and blown muskets and homemade barrels; 11 burnt and torn cannon barrels; 72 flint and fuse locks; 1,920 iron cannonballs; 132 poods 27 pounds and a quarter of powder, 402 poods 29 pounds and a quarter of powder; 55 poods 37 pounds and a half of lead; 13 poods of fuses, 17 taffeta and carmine flags, 506 flags made of different kinds of cloth; six pairs of old burnt pistol barrels; 183 whole and broken burnt swords; 593 Dutch spokes, 100 of them are with shafts; 710 iron details with spokes and without them; 150 burnt and broken iron details with spokes; 950 shields; two iron darts; 14 cave and wheel drills; 254 safe and broken ratchets; four iron scales; 78 scythes; 81 iron scoop; a copper pot; two carbines hooks; an iron weight; an iron saw. A gun taken from Kazan soldiers and replaced by fusils, 142 improvised firearms, 108 turkas, 346 muskets, 314 fusils. The aforementioned gun has old gunstocks and locks. 4 water bottles, gunstocks and locks are old. Five fragments of water bottles and homemade guns. 189 burnt and torn barrels. Two fuse barrels. 11 carbines and rifles, the gunstocks and locks are old. 17 main cores and two previous saddles. 13 cannon machines. The gun taken to Kazan from towns and Kazan suburbs to be

repaired. 1,307 muskets and carabines, Turkish and homemade guns. A burnt hand cannon, 6 burnt barrels. Three barrels, 140 broken musket barrels. Two locks, 150 iron bullets, an iron tamper.

There are 4 copper cannons, 29 iron cannons, including the torn ones, 30 hand cannons, 213 fuse muskets and those with locks in Kazan suburbs and villages. Two burnt hand cannon barrels. 695 cannonballs. 10,486 hand cannon cores. 39 pellet balls. 1,900 iron cannons. 8 poods 3 pounds of iron and lead pellets, 60 cutoffs. Two poods 12 and a half pounds of musket lead bullets. 230 stone balls. 48 iron tampers. 7 copper and iron tuyeres. 10 fuse tubes. Three iron fuses. Three iron ratchets. 21 poods 35 and a half pounds of powder. 180 poods 25 pounds of musket and gunpowder. Two barrels of powder, which were not weighed because they were old. 160 poods 12 pounds and a half of lead, 3 bars of lead. 27 poods 38 pounds and a quarter of fuses, 13 sazhen of fuses. 18 taffeta and silk dark-red flags. Five drums. 356 pole-axes. 80 flags. 108 spokes. Two iron darts. Two masters-at-arms. Three halberds. Two sabres. 4 partisans. 15 iron linstocks. Worm of a gun. 58 arshines of canvas. 750 bandelers. 370 bandeler belts. 5 picks. A pood and 18 pounds of iron, 12 pounds and half a pound of steel. According to Kazan report dated back to 6 January 704, recruits selected by Duma dyak Avtamon Ivanov in Kazan and sent to Voronezh were given 300 fuses according to the Edict of the Great Tsar. 550 fusils were sent from Simbirsk to Kazan with the same soldier. Afterwards, it was found out that those fusils were inappropriate for shooting because they were burnt. 432 fusils were taken from Kazan soldiers and given to recruits. In total they got 732 fusils. Kazan soldiers were ordered to give back lock guns to be repaired, instead of their fuses. The fusils from Simbirsk were kept in the Armoury in Kazan, according to the edict [...].

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 396, inv. 3, file 3, pp. 5–44 reverse.

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No. 12

Edict on the establishment of guberniyas.

18 December 1708.

18 December 1708.

The Great Tsar <...> ordered to establish eight guberniyas in his Great Russian State for the good of the people and attribute the following towns to them. To be more precise, the following guberniyas were established:

1. Moscow. Moscow, the towns along wide roads to certain towns with versts. There were a total of 38 towns: Klin, Dmitrov, Pereyaslavl-Zalessky, Rostov, Kostroma, Lyubim, Yuryev, Polsky, Vladimir, Suzdal, Shuya, Kolomna, Zaraysk, Pereyaslavl Ryazansky, Mikhaylov, Gremyachy, Prensk, Pecherniki, Kashira, Venev, Yepifan, Serpukhov, Tula, Dedilov, Krapivna, Obolensk, Tarussa, Maloyaroslavets, Aleksin, Medyn, Kaluga, Mozhaysk, Borovsk, Vereya, Tsarev-Borisov, Zvenigorod, Ruza, Volokolamsk.—editor's note). A total of 39 towns [including Moscow].

2. Ingermanland. Saint Petersburg, as well as Narva, Schlisselburg, Veliky Novgorod, Pskov, Ladoga, Porkhov, Gdov, Opochek, Izborsk, Ostrov, Staraya Russa, Velikiye Luki, Toropets, Bezhetsky Verkh, Ustyuzhna Zhelezopolskaya, Olonets, Beloozero, Rzheva Pustaya, Zavolochye, Derptsky uyezd, Kargopol, Poshekhonye, Rzheva-Volodimirova, Uglich, Yaroslavl, Romanov, Kashin, Tver, Torzhok; 29 towns in total. In addition, the following towns were also located in the same guberniya: Yamburg and Koporye, which were given to Prince Alexander Danilovich Menshikov.

3. Kiev Kiev, as well as Pereslavl, Chernigov, Nezhin, Novobogoroditskoy, Sergiyevskoy, Kamennoy Zaton, Belgorod, Akhtyrka, Bogodukhov, Murakhva, Sennoye, Volkhov, Sumy, Krasnopolye, Mezhirechi, Zolochov, Buromlya, Rublevka, Gorodnoye, Suja, Lebedyan, Miropol, the village of Vena, Belopolye, Olshanka, Sevesk, Kursk, Mtsensk, Putivl, Karachev, Kromy, Rylsk, Bryansk, Orel, Novosil; 36 towns in total. The following towns from Azov guberniya were assigned to the Register due to their close proximity to Kiev (17 towns listed, including the distance between them and Kiev and Azov.—Editor's note). Trubchevsk is also assigned to the Register. According to the list composed by Mr Golitsin, the following towns were assigned from Smolensk guberniya: Belev, Volkhov. There are a total of 56 towns in Kiev guberniya.

4. Smolensk. Smolensk, as well as Dorogobuzh, Belaya, Roslavl, Vyazma, Serpeysk, Mosalsk, Meschevsk, Zubtsov, the ancient town of Pogoreloye, Staritsa, Kozelsk, Likhvin, the ancient town of Borisovo, Peremyshl, Vorotyensk. A total of 16 towns. Odoyev from Kiev guberniya was assigned instead of Trubchevsk. There are a total of 17 towns in Smolensk guberniya.

V. Archangelgorod. The city of Arkhangelsk, as well as the Kolskoy stockaded town, Pustozerskoy stockaded town, Kevrol and Mezen, Veliky Ustyug, Totma, Sol Vychegodskaya, Charonda, Ustyansk volosts, Vaga, Vologda, Galich, Sol Galitskaya, Unzha, Chukhloma, Parfenyev, Sudan, Kologrivov and Kineshma. A total of 20 towns.

6. Kazan. Kazan, as well as Yaik, Terek, Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Dmitrovskoy, Saratov, Ufa, Samara, Simbirsk, Tsarev Sanchursk, Kokshansk, Sviyazhsk, Tsarev Kokshansk, Alatyr, Tsivilsk, Cheboksary, Kashpir, Yadrin, Kuzmodemyansk, Yarensk, Vasil, Kurmysh, Temnikov, Nizhny Novgorod, Arzamas, Kadom, Yelatma, Kasimov, Gorokhovets, Murom, Mokshansk, Urzhum, Balakhna, Vyazniki and Yuryevets-Povolskoy. A total of 36 towns. And the suburbs of Kazan, Astrakhan, Simbirsk and Ufa (34 points. —editor's note). According to the verbal declaration of Kazan voivode Kudryavtsov in the Closer Chancellery, Penza was assigned to Kazan guberniya from Azov guberniya. In total there are 71 towns in Kazan guberniya.

7. Azov. Azov, as well as Troitskoy, at Tagan-Rog, Miyus, Pavlovskoy, Sergiyevskoy and Nikinivskoy, Tambov, Verkhny and Nizhny Lomovs. A total of 52 towns. The towns connected with shipbuilding in Azov guberniya: Voronezh, Korptpyak, Ostrogozhski, Olshansk, Kostyansk, Zemlyanesk, Orlov, Usman. A total of 25 towns.

VIII. Siberia. Includes the following towns: Tobolesk, Yeniseysk, Ilimskoy, Tara, Berezov, Surgut, Tyumen, Tomskoy, Mangazeya, Irkutskoy, Kuznetskoy, Turinsk, Narym, Verkhoturys, Yakutsky, Nerchinsky, Krashy Yar, Pelym, Ketskoy. Seaside towns: Kungur, Great Perm, Cherdyn, Sol Kamskaya, Kaygorodok, Yarensk, Vyatka, which was assigned again; in total there are 26 towns and 4 suburbs of Vyatka, thus in total there are 30 towns.

In total there are 314 towns in 8 guberniyas and 25 towns connected with shipbuilding in Voronezh; in total there are 339 towns except for Koporye and Yamburg, which were given to Prince Alexander Danilovich Menshikov.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 4, No. 2218, pp. 436–438.

No. 13

The Edict of Tsar Peter Alekseyevich on the establishment of guberniyas and appointment of governors

29 May 1719.

Being at the Senate, the Great Tsar listened to the reports of guberniyas on their provinces, and he ordered the headmen of all the towns, as well as the assigned governors of Saint Petersburg guberniya to adhere to the instructions presented in the report, and sent the governors of Saint Petersburg guberniya to the provinces immediately after providing them with instructions

from the Senate, to assume the reins of government according to the edict of the Great Tsar dated to the first day of July 1719; as far as other guberniyas are concerned, one should send there commanders elected by the Senate according to the same report, making them take oath as quickly as possible; when the commanders arrive in those towns where they are assigned, they must take instructions from the previous governors and administer in their towns according to these instructions; the former commanders must be set free and ordered to come to the Senate or Collegiums to be told where they are to govern until January 1720.

[...]

The towns of Kazan guberniya are divided by provinces, there are peasants and yasak Russians and adherents of other faiths together in them			
1	Number of yards		Distance between them
	peasant	yasak	
Kazan and suburbs	8,713	37,580, there are 16,472 yasaks in them	From Kazan
Urzhum	198	1,921, there are 846 yasaks in them	250
Total	8,911	39,501, there are 17,312 yasaks in them	
Total number of yasak peasant yards:		48,412	
2			
Sviyazhsk	3,207	17,059, they contain 4,997 yasaks	From Sviyazhsk
Kokshaisk	229		50
Tsivilsk	74		60
Tsarevo Kokshaisk	327	1,436, they contain 1,031 yasaks	80
Cheboksar	245	5,612, they contain 2,619 yasaks	80
Yaransk	477	880, they contain 629 yasaks	80
Tsarevo-Sanchursk	564	1,135, they contain 626 yasaks	100
Vasil	-	-	240
Kozmodemyansk	485	4,514, they contain 2,279 yasaks	130
Total	5,608	30,636, they contain 12,181 yasaks	
Total number of peasant and yasak yards:	—	36,244	
3			
Penza and Ramzayevsky suburb	316	5,604, they contain 2,196 yasaks	From Penza 12
Mokshansk	—	—	30

Saransk	3,129	1,336	50
Total	3,446	6,940, they contain 2,196 yasaks	
Total number of peasant and yasak yards:	—	10,385	
4			
Ufa and its suburbs	1,198	3,134	

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 5, No. 3380, pp. 701, 709.

No. 14

The Edict of Emperor Peter II addressed to Ufa, the Bashkirs, headmen of all roads and volosts and all taxpayers, on the separation of Ufa Province from Kazan Province, its transfer to a special department of the Senate and the assignment of brigade leader Buturlin to the post of voivode

31 July 1728

We have ordered, based on the obeisance of your elected representatives, Bashkir Yarkey Yapchurin and his companions to send the voivode, our brigade leader Peter Buturlin, to the province mentioned to represent a special department of our Senate there, to notify us about everything in writing and demand our edict from that Senate. The governor of Kazan is not in charge of that province; as long as our brigade leader is the voivode in Ufa, you, Bashkirs and other non-Christians, must not resist, impose taxes or accept bribes or allow your subordinates to do so; you must always act according to the charters given to you by our forefathers, our great tsars, and you must impose no fines, except for the yasak, which is obligatory for Bashkirs, which must be collected in the time it should be, and competent and reliable people must be chosen to collect the yasak so that there was no need to seek service people to go to the uyezds for that purpose. If a collector refuses to pay within the time frame, one should send special people to them to make them pay it back. Our brigade leader and voivode is authorised to inflict punishment on you Bashkirs, as special courts were once established where voivodes had the right to perform this function without any bureaucratic tunaround, fuss or trouble, and they still do. If you are going to Moscow or Sepat to make humble petition to the Tsar, he must give you a travel letter signed by his own hand, and you must not contradict him. Seeing the mercy and good treatment of Our Majesty who ordered our brigade leader and voivode to protect your people from all suffering and duties, you must be grateful for that and serve us faithfully as your fathers and grandfathers did, and pay a fixed yasak, and not take in runaway Russians, Mordvinians, Chuvashes, Cheremis, or any other of our subjects. If there are any runaways, they must be taken to Ufa and brought to our brigade leader and voivode immediately.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5318, pp. 69–70.

No. 15
Instructions for governors, voivodes, and their companions
which they must follow

12 September 1728.

[...] 16. On prisoners sentenced to death or exile to the galleys. If there are people under your supervision who deserve to be sentenced to death or exile to the galleys for some offense or misdeed, the voivodes must mention them in the corresponding reports and send the signed sentences to the governors for approval, and the governors must examine the case in a week and make the final decision in two weeks without any excuses, so that the number of prisoners kept in chains does not increase. When the decision is made, they must be sent back to the voivodes, and the latter must act by order of the Governor; the maximum term is one month; voivodes cannot carry out executions without sending Governors and their confederates reports and sentences for their approval.

17. On spies. The Governor and voivode must provide adequate verification measures so that no spies or enemies of the state can establish a presence in the guberniya or province and the common people stay loyal to His Royal Majesty and collect as much information as possible about people suspected to be committing high treason; if there are such people, voivodes must send them to the governors, and as they investigate them notify the Senate and Military Collegium to observe precautions, or the nearest military corps that is superior to the others.

18. On reprobates of the faith. Although religious affairs and the eradication of heresy are under the supervision of the Holy Synod and bishops in eparchies, if there are people who turn the faithful from the Christian Eastern Catholic religion in secret and impose other laws or other heresies that set them in opposition to the church, once the Governor or Voivode finds this out, they must send for guards to the Senate.

19. On people performing circumcisions and baptisms in other confessions. As there are many religious minorities in Russia, to be exact the Mordvinians, Chuvashes, Cheremis, Ostyaks, Votyaks, Lopars and other similar peoples reported to convert the faithful to their religion and perform circumcisions. The Governor or Voivode must watch out for and prevent these incidents. If there are Muslims or other non-Christians who convert a Russian person to their religion and perform circumcision in secret or openly, one should arrest them and act according to the edict on the Legal Code (Chapter 22, Article 24), which stipulates the death penalty and stake without mercy.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5333, p. 100.

No. 16
The edict of the Senate on the elections of Bashkir amanats and their stay in Ufa;
and their liberation from work

13 September 1728.

The Great Senate, abstract from petitions forwarded by different Bashkirs, Yasak Tatars, and Cheremis from the Ufa uyezd on freedom for captives taken from them in previous years to Ufa, Urya and the small towns of Karakulin and Tobolsk, who are forced into different kinds of work. A reference from Ufa province stated that the charter sent to Ufa in 1772 ordered to transfer Bashkir captives from Kazan to Ufa and substitute them for those kept in Ufa according to the charter. Since 1708 there have been 50 Bashkir, Mescheryak and Cheremis captives in Ufa and its suburbs, members of the common people convicted for disorder in Bashkiria. They refuse to

work. It was ordered to send an edict to the voivode of Ufa and treat the captives in Ufa according to the former charter of 1712. As far as the captives in other towns are concerned, there must not be any of them there; if there are some in Ufa, they are not being used for any kind of work.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 8, No. 5334, p. 112.

No. 17

The edict of the Senate on introducing serving murzas and Tatars specialising in legal and other cases in the chancellery of Kazan guberniya

1 November 1750

On 8 and 29 October 1750 at the meeting of the Governing Senate, on the petition of the Senator General and General Adjutant of the Life Guards of Her Royal Majesty, Lieutenant Colonel of the current chamberlain and cavalier Alexander Borisovich Buturlin, all Yakub-Bimetev serving murzas and Tatars of Kazan guberniya and his companions included in the Admiralty addressed to Her Royal Majesty, Her Royal Majesty ordered to accept this petition from them to be considered in the Governing Senate. It stated that according to the decree of the unforgettable Great Emperor Peter the Great, it is in charge with settling their issues in light of their ignorance of law and lack of legal illiteracy, so there was a special judicial order established by the Emperor's decree. As the tribunal was not intended to deal only with arguments between them and other people, but also cases concerning the personal interests of Her Royal Majesty, they must have jurisdiction over cases according to the spirit of the law. In 1718 His Royal Majesty issued an edict addressed to the former vice governor of Kazan guberniya Kudryavtsev to engage all serving Tatars and murzas in various kinds of forest harvesting work for the production of vessels and galleys, after which it was so written. Since 1718 they have been busy with that shipbuilding work in the Admiralty, and they work really hard. It is known that they took part in campaigns and battles without receiving wages, and paid all the necessary taxes according to edicts, and gave their horses regularly and free of charge; so they are assigned to shipbuilding work and registered in the Admiralty. Therefore a special Admiralty office was founded in Kazan responsible for the results of their work and their behaviour. According to the summation of these merciful edicts, only the serving Tatars and murzas involved in shipbuilding at the Kazan Admiralty Office through 1731 were protected from taxes, attacks, and insults, but on 1 June 1731 they were dismissed from the Kazan Admiralty Office and Admiralty based on matters according to the nominal decree of Sovereign Ruler Empress Anna Ioannovna, and found themselves under the jurisdiction of various instances—that is, Kazan guberniya and other provinces—voivode and other secretariats of this guberniya, just because a Tatar man called Ismail from Chukas village near Simbirsk and Roman Kodrikov from the village of Troyevsky in Saransk uyezd were exposed to robbery, and for this reason said Ismail was placed under guard at the Kazan Admiralty Office, where he managed to go unpunished, escape together with his associate Kodrikov to Moscow, compose a false petition and send it to the Governing Senate. And the Senate, unaware of their cheating but trustful of their petition, sent a report to the most merciful Sovereign Ruler Empress, for which the given decree was received as a response: why were they deprived of and not judged at a single place of judgment, but suffered at the hands of various administrative bodies and caused much damage by their commanders, who were severe when the former fulfilled their duties, took their provisions and foodstuff and game. The above-mentioned victims also adopted Christianity, but being aliens were oppressed by the Eparchy Hierarch, yet they were unable to describe all the oppressions they had endured, as they were illiterate. Barely knowing the Russian language, they were so exhausted and financially despondent that they could neither fulfill their shipbuilding duties, nor pay taxes. They cannot be enrolled as recruits, neither can

they use their horses, as they are not in an appropriate condition. So they sought protection for their rights and themselves in many authorities and courts, not solely in the one that treats them unfairly, rudely and causes them devastation and bankruptcy. Her Royal Majesty issued a decree in 1741 according to which the edicts and regulations created by the Emperor Peter the Great concerning executive powers and the settlement of conflicts must be followed, which means that all non-Christians of Kazan guberniya must be under the jurisdiction of the same court, not different instances of it, by order of His Royal Majesty. In other words, they are still under the supervision of the Admiralty. So this edict must be followed without deviation in praise of the Great Emperor and his orders and Her Royal Majesty and her edict of 1741 so that tree felling is performed properly, taxes enter the National Treasury, and people have not exhausted themselves in vain. The Senate enacted the following regulation based on the extract: according to their petition dated 1731, the above-mentioned Tatar Chukas Ismail from Simbirsk uyezd and Kodrikov from Saransk uyezd made obeisance in the Governing Senate, having escaped from guards without the appropriate permission. Their demand lodged in 1731 cannot be fulfilled, as 20 years have passed since the time they were under the supervision of governors and voivodes. Moreover, one can hardly prove if the present-day obeisance from the Tatars of Kazan guberniya towards the Admiralty is trustworthy or not. So the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery must investigate the obeisance of said appellants and report to the Governing Senate whether they escaped from guards for some external reason or voluntarily. In the meantime, the appellants must apply first to local jurisdictions—that is, the secretariats of governors and voivodes, in due order, not the Senate, to arbitrate their disputes. At the same time, the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery shall confirm among local provincial and voivode secretariats the orders that these Tatars must never be insulted or offended. Otherwise fines may be imposed.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 13, No. 9814, pp. 368–370.

No. 18

Story by P. Ryckhov on the establishment of Sayyid sloboda near Orenburg included in his writing 'Topography of Orenburg Guberniya'

Not earlier than 8 August 1755.

Kargala, or the Sayyid sloboda, belonging to the Orenburg trade Tatars was situated on the Sakmara River 20 versts from Berdskaya sloboda and 18 versts from Orenburg. Tatar tradesman Sayyid Khayalin and his children were the first to come to the Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery asking to settle there and promising to bring other volunteers from Kazan guberniya under favourable conditions and privileges, and also asking to be freed from military recruitment and serve near Orenburg with other irregular groups. So Sayyid was given an order dated 8 August 1755 signed by the Senate empowering him and his children to settle near Orenburg as they wished and bring over approximately 200 wealthy and hard-working Tatar families from Kazan guberniya. A family meant a father with his children and grandchildren as well as brothers who live in peace, with The Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery determining the work of any non-family members. Moreover, on the basis of this document they were free from recruitment, allowed to have a legal mosque, and granted a huge territory with seeded grasslands; they are allowed to buy and lease lands from the Bashkirs to cultivate cotton, which is reflected in the decree passed to Sayyid. They were attributed to that settlement in this way, and there are still 1,158 men on the list, with 998 of them paying taxes to Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery, and 160 sent to their former dwellings before the next inspection. There are about three hundred yards in that sloboda built along the course of the Sakmara and Kargala River, which flows into the Sakmara; there is a mosque with a stone foundation in the centre of the sloboda, which is considered the best in all of Kazan guberniya.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 242.

No. 19

Instructions for land surveyors demarcating land.

13 February 1766.

Our only Imperial Wish is to settle all possible conflicts concerning the demarcation of lands and restore peace and calm among the villagers. Our State Economic Department must obtain detailed information on the plans of all dachas and owned plots of land in our empire. As concerns our land-surveyors engaged in the delimitation of lands, it is important to keep in mind that they must not use previous instructions, regulations, edicts, or orders concerning the demarcation of land, as they are all now out-of-date and null and void. From this point on, land-surveyors are ordered demarcate land according to the following points:

30. When public lands belonging to the palace which are under the supervision of the Collegium of Economy and other state volosts, and owned lands belonging to landlords, coachmen, people recently converted to Christianity, Mordvinians, Chuvashes, to put things short, all categories of people owning land, the demarcation must be carried out in the presence of the owners themselves or their accredited representatives. As concerns the Palace and other public volosts, it should be carried out in the presence of the governors, their accredited representatives, or witnesses. This order should be considered universal.

31. If there are no governors in any areas where service class people reside or those occupied by feudal tenants, Tatars, Mordvinians, or Chuvashes, a confidante must be chosen to help carry out the demarcation of land without conflict.

97. When land-surveyors find non-Christened murzas and Tatars possessing Russian peasants, with their own plots of land, this land must be assigned to villages and settlements with indication of how many peasants and how much land are under someone's supervision, and turn them into public property, sending reports to that effect to the Delimitation Chancellery and offices, and then notify the Patrimony Collegium and Confiscation Chancellery, which is responsible for the confiscation of this land in the same way as with public peasants.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1. vol. 17, No. 12570, pp. 560–561, 565, 575–576.

No. 20

Instruction for guberniya land-survey chancelleries and provincial offices

25 May 1766

To realise our merciful intention and carry out the demarcation of all lands of the Russian Empire peacefully and without conflict, we have established these chancelleries and departments. We hope that there will be no quarrels or disputes on the matter of boundaries if they are under their supervision. Our only Imperial Wish is to settle all possible conflicts concerning the demarcation of lands and restore peace and tranquility among the villagers. Our State Economic Collegium must obtain detailed information on the plans of all dachas and owned plots of land in our Empire. It is important to keep in mind that they must not use previous instructions, regulations, edicts, or orders concerning the delimitation of land, as they are all now out-of-date and null and void. Therefore, all previous instructions, orders, edicts, and rules concerning the delimitation of lands must not be used or adopted in any form at this time. The land belonging to owners should

not be reduced too much, and their fortresses shall not be inspected. Delimitation Chancelleries and Departments must act without exception according to these new rules, which form the most recent edition of previously edited rules, and they must not diverge from them by any means.

Chapter XXII. On the lands of adherents to different faiths in towns in the lower reaches.

1. Lands assigned to the Tatars, Mordvinians, Chuvashes and other non-Christians should be confirmed according to the copyist and surveying books and dachas near their settlements in the same way as is customary in all settled lands. To prevent the appropriation of land by opportunistic and avaricious parties who would insult and cheat non-Christians, local governors should choose the most reliable officers so they were present during the course of land delimitation by aliens and land owners, and would be patrons to and warn non-Christians against possible dishonesty, and in those cases explain the details to them by delivering fair judgments.

2. If murzas and Tatars own Russian peasants, and they were signed over because they were non-Christened, the possessions of those peasants, including those in the names of murzas and Tatars, must be surveyed separately.

3. Murza and Tatar villages attributed to the Palace volosts, if they lie adjacent to the Palace volosts, must be surveyed in the same way.

4. Lands granted at different times and given for accepting the Greek Orthodox religion must be assigned to the people to whom they were granted and given.

5. Where there are still non-Christened murzas and Tatars possessing Russian peasants today who have their own plots of land, their possessions must be assigned to public property; they must be sent to the Patrimony Collegium and Confiscation Chancellery, and the Patrimony Collegium must then send them to our Senate and Delimitation Expedition. The Confiscation Chancellery is responsible for the confiscation of these lands in the same way as for public peasants.

6. As regards murzas and Tatars as well as their children and grandchildren who have land and converted recently to Christianity, they must not be deprived of their land according to the edict, but their plots must be surveyed in a special way. The Patrimony Collegium must be notified about such cases and decide what to do in these situations. It should ultimately be sent to our Senate for the adoption of a final decision.

7. As for lands occupied by non-Christians which were earlier reported or public, their corresponding share must be given to these settlements, meaning 8 desyatins per person for free for public land, and three times as expensive for owned land, or one can pay the price they desire.

8. The lands of non-Christians must include the dachas and fortresses situated there, but non-Christians must not be driven away if they have settlements there. On the contrary, they must stay there until they reach a consensus concerning paying quit-rent and have no complaints against one another.

9. As for the quitrent lands of Mordvinians, the Cheremis, Chuvashes, Yasak people, other non-Christians, as well as Tatar lands formally belonging to Mordvinians, the Cheremis and Chuvashes, they must be surveyed according to the share stated in point 7.

10. According to the data, purchase deeds and mortgages for lands that used to belong to non-Christians will be transferred to new owners. One must write about similar cases to the Patrimony Collegium to be examined and then sent to our Senate and Delimitation Expedition.

11. One must record what was sold by non-Christened murzas and Tatars to non-Christened murzas and Tatars.

12. Likewise, there must be records of murzas and Tatars baptised before 714, those who sold or bought dachas or plots of land from other baptised people, or who offered mortgages to other baptised Tatars from their brotherhood, and all information on deeds of conveyance, purchases and mortgages must be collected.

13. The Mordvinian, Chuvash, and Cheremis shall be assigned quitrent lands and lands left by Tatars and given before the edict of 7191; all dachas owned shall be recorded.

14. Non-Christian quitrent and left lands occupied by peasants from the Palace, Synod, Bishop, and monastery patrimonies without dachas must be given to those settlements according to the share stated in point 7 (for free to the Palace, Synod, Bishop, and monastery, and three times as expensive as that for owners), and they can take as much as they want, but not more than the share allows, and then the remaining lands must be surveyed and reclassified as public.

15. As for apiaries, beaver dams, and places rich in game and fish recorded in the *Piscovaja knigas* [Scribe's books] on the territory of the dachas of the Tatars, Chuvashes and other non-Christians or people who have recently converted into Christianity, one must follow the instructions described in chapter 25.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 17, No. 12659, pp. 771–773.

No. 21

Edict of Empress Catherine II addressed to General-Lieutenant Jakobi on the organisation of Ufa guberniya

14 January 1782.

After providing you with orders concerning the management of organisations in Ufa guberniya, we find it necessary to give you the following orders concerning people settled in this land and the differences between them:

1. As the Ufa namestnichestvo includes different ore mining and smelting plants, salt production and customs, its Treasury is conditionally divided depending on the corresponding revenue. But they must still follow the rules adopted by them: 1) Everything must remain in effect concerning plants and customs until we issue a new decree on this matter. 2) The Treasury must not allow individuals to manage plants and factories it owns. 3) The opening of salt shops must be in accordance with our regulations.

2. We established 8 degrees of jurisdiction in Ufa guberniya and two degrees of jurisdiction in Orenburg specially for Bashkirs and Mescheryaks living in Ufa guberniya so they can settle conflicts and disputes between the members of these nations. We ordered to keep three village accessors at Lower Zemsky courts (except for two such courts), so that one Bashkir and one Meshchera settlements could be in their ranks; as concerns the main court and village accessors of honour courts, you should try your best so that representatives of these nationalities are elected there.

3. If you have some headmen who are considered loyal, respected by society, remarkable for their exemplary service and who deserve to be assigned to a higher position, you may notify our Senate about this fact, promising that if they show the proper spirit, their advancement in service will only be a matter of time.

4. Reasoning that the mayor of Orenburg is held responsible for overseeing provinces in its regional town and frontier affairs, we took other towns with mayors as a model and assigned the governor general to assist police officers; he shall be subordinate to the mayor of the town.

5. The major general must administer affairs with local neighbouring peoples under your guidance, and he should have an Adviser to the Secretary, translators, interpreters, and other servants to assist him. The approximate staff count is given below.

6. Securing national frontiers and connecting established lines and fortifications with those in other guberniyas of the Ufa namestnichestvo are in your charge, except for Uralsk, Guryev, and the mouth of the Emba River, as well as villages and areas in Astrakhan Guberniya. You will soon receive more detailed instructions on this matter.

7. The border hospital, pharmacy and other correspondent ranks have to stay in Orenburg until we receive new commands.

The approximate establishment of ranks necessary for customs affairs in the Ufa namestnichestvo (see the Book of Establishment).

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 21, No. 15324, p. 379.

No. 22

The edict of Empress Catherine II addressed to the acting governor general of baron Igelström of Simbirsk and Ufa on providing Kirghiz clans with mullahs

30 September 1785

We duly received your reports about the affairs in the frontier land you govern. Considering your concern about its security and suppression of self-willed peoples as a great asset, we promise to try your instructions and send them to the Kirghiz-Kaisak Horde as per all of your previous orders. Moreover, we will make haste to give reports on the contents of your orders.

1. Providing the Kirghiz with mullahs can be quite useful in our affairs, so try to find the most loyal Tatars and instruct them how to keep the Kirghiz loyal to us and prevent them from carrying out raids and robbing near our boundaries. You may provide these mullahs with a meager monetary reward, and if they turn out to be loyal and reliable, you may increase it.

2. Quarrels and fights between the Kirghiz, Karakalpaks, Khivians, or other such peoples can be ignored if they are far from our boundaries; but if Karakalpaks or other ethnoses decide to become our subjects, we find it expedient to stop these quarrels and fights according to the instructions given to your predecessor in the rescript dated 2 May 1784. The deputies they elect will be in charge of settling these conflicts.

3. We do not believe that the disobedience of so many Kirghiz clans to Nurali Khan poses a risk to our national interests. Even if we do not take into account the fact that he took part in raids and plundering, we remember instead his other circumvolutions, like the loss of his people's trust, and his repeated refusals to meet your predecessor and colleague so as to make him useless and inexpedient to maintain relations with. Nevertheless, try to meet him half-way; invite him, his brother Erali Sultan and other members of his clan if necessary. There you will have a chance to have a closer look at the situation and decide if he deserves to stay on the throne or not, if it is worth reconciling him with opponents or not, or whether the best method is to simply satisfy their petition. Moreover, you must report if the majority of citizens reject the Khan, or if the majority remains loyal to him, his brothers and children. Meanwhile, it would be much better for us if this Horde was separated, especially if the leaders of their clans begin to get accustomed to the direct supervision of our main commanders.

4. If Nurali Khan and other sultans continue refusing to see you, you can tell them that they are considered to be rebels who do not deserve to be protected; if they agree on the contrary and continue to ask for asylum in Our fortresses, you must satisfy this claim, taking all necessary measures to protect our boundaries from the self-willingness of this wild ethnos, and tame them. However, one should be cunning so that they have no impression that they are oppressed or have complaints; as for the guilty, they must be treated according to the law.

5. You also must collect information on Kaip Khan, who is supposed to become the khan of the Kirghiz-Kaisak Horde: Where does he come from? What is he like? Is he reliable or not? If he is elected, you should convince him to be your partner, and he must swear allegiance to you, and then he will be surrounded by your mercy and protectorate.

6. As for the foremen and others who swear allegiance to us and promise not to carry out raids and prevent others from raiding, robbery and other outrages, tell them on our behalf that we mercifully accept their repentance, and they deserve our royal mercy and blessings after taking the oath. First of all, order him to give back the people captured from them, except for those

who belong to the Khan himself and his subordinates. One should suggest the idea that this is advantageous for them. A number of people from each clan should be appointed to defend our frontiers. However, when they are in their nomad encampments, they still must receive wages from our Treasury, as well as other irregular troops. If they serve hard, they can also get additional benefits. However, proper caution is necessary here so that these people do not thoughtlessly believe that they are recruited against their will. On the contrary, they should believe that it is profitable for them, so we rely on your art of persuasion here.

7. As for different kinds of courts in terms of major clans, mosques, and schools, these issues are regulated in our rescript dated 2 May 1784 addressed to your predecessor. We hope that you will continue to follow our orders on this account serve us faithfully.

8. Despite all political orders, first of all the situation near our borders should be stable as a result of the skepticism on the promises of Kirghiz headmen and their subordinates. Second, when it comes to our defense, you should obey us implicitly and follow our instructions. Thirdly, when you start erecting fortifications on the Elba River to reign in those self-willed people, you must send me a plan and your opinion so that I can provide instructions and anything else that is required. We can expect disorder from the Kirghiz people least of all during preparations when the Khan himself is seeking asylum at local fortresses.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire-1, vol. 22, No. 16292, p. 493.

No. 23

Proceedings of the Kazan Tatar town hall on the elections of 1791–1793

December 1790

On 23 December 1790, according to the proceedings of the Kazan namestnichestvo of the Old and New Kazan slobodas from the order received by Her Royal Majesty from the namestnichestvo government of Old and New Tatar slobodas former burgomasters Mukhametrakhim Yunusov, Bakey Yusupov, councillors Nazir Azimov, Yakup Apakov, Salikh Mustafin, and Mukhamet Gabbasov, who have been in office since 23 December 1787, were now released from their positions, according to the decree dated 7 November 1775 on the administration of the guberniya. Burgomaster Gubaydull Rakhmetullin, Abdulvagap Abdulkarimov, councillors Yafer Kilmametev, Yakhey Izmaylov, Abdulla Rakhmetullin Bikken, and Bikken Subkhankulov were assigned instead of them. All of them, except for councillors Yakhey Izmaylov, Abdulla Rakhmetullin Bikken and Bikken Subkhankulov, could not write, so they did not sign the corresponding document and only applied a seal.

[...]

The list of Kazan Tatar slobodas
chosen and approved by the Kazan namestnichestvo for the town council

Headman
Muhammed Rakhmetayev

Burgomasters
Gubay Rakhmetullin
Abdulvagap Abdulkarimov

Ratmans
Yakhya Izmaylov

Abdulla Rakhmetullin
Yafer Kilmametev
Bikkena Subkhankulov

Head Iskhar Galejev, Nedosug's son

Verbal judges
Yakup Yusupov
Davyd Kadykov

Source: National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 567, pp. 15–17.

2. Socio-economic Development of the Volga-Ural Region: Agriculture, Handicraft, Industry, Trade

No. 1

The charter of Kazan voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky to Kazan and Sviyazhsk archbishop Gury about ploughed fields and estates in Kazan and Sviyazhsk uyezds and yards in Kazan

13 August 1555

According to the order and charter of the Great Tsar of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, boyar and voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky and all voivodes gave archbishop Gury of Kazan a ploughed field of two thousand quarters, Troi Kobany, Tarlashi, the village of Kadysh, the village of Karadulat at the Myosha River with all its estates, forests, meadows, lakes, apiaries, and rivers full of beavers, as it was in past times under the Tsars. The archbishop was also given waters of the Volga River with fishing grounds and islands from the mouth of the Kazanka on either side of the Volga, Kazan, and Sviyazhsk to the Kama River, where there is flood-water. According to the Tsar's order, he was also given fishing grounds from the mouth of the Kama River to the upper and lower banks of the Chertytsky; it was prohibited to fish there without his knowledge, and if anyone wanted to, they had to report to archbishop Gury and pay his butler or someone else. If someone decides to fish there without his knowledge, they shall be arrested and punished according to the order of the Tsar and Grand Prince. He was also given thirty winter fish, fifteen salmon, and ten stellate sturgeons, and five sturgeons fished from the Kama; and the archbishop was allowed to fish in the Kazan River in winter and summer wherever he wanted. He was given arable land between the Volga and the Tereuzik River, from beaten haymakings to highlands at an oak tree, and there is an edge at the oak tree leading from the Tereuzik and its mouth to the Volga River. And the archbishop received Tsarevo Lake and the other lakes located nearby. And the archbishop received the sloboda beyond the Bulak at Kuraishev beginning at the stockaded town up the Bulak, which includes one hundred peasant yards. And the archbishop received a vegetable garden near the Prolomny Gates beginning at the stockaded town near the Tatar cemetery, at the foothill, up the Bulak and opposite Kuraishev. He was also given a place at the posad near Saint Nicholas in the direction of Saint Peter. His yard was also expanded up to Bolshaya Street and the first lane of Tezitskaya Street. He was also given a place near two mills at the mouth of the Bulak, and the miller gave him a place seven sazhen long and seven sazhen wide. Boyar and voivode prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky applied his seal on this charter. Composed in Kazan on 13 August 7063.

'Dyak of the Tsar and Grand Prince Kuzma Fyodorov signed this document'

The original is on a large folio. One can see a large black wax seal with the image of a man and the following inscriptions at the end of the document at the fold. From the State Archive of Old Affairs of the Governing Senate.

Extract from: Historical Acts, vol. 1, No. 162, pp. 298–299; History of Tataria in materials and documents, edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 153.

No. 2

The demarcations of the disputed lands of the archemandrite of the Virgin Monastery of Sviyazhsk German and the protopope of Nativity Convent of Sviyazhsk Afanasy in Sviyazhsk uyezd given to scribes by princes R. Vyazemsky and D. Yeremeyev

20 October 1556

20 October 7065 According to the order of the Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich and according to the order of boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich Fyodorov and all voivodes, scribes Prince Roman Semenovich Vyazimskoy and Dmitry Yeremeyev, Semen's son from the Prechisty monastery in Sviyazhsk were searching for disputed lands among the archimandrite villages of Kobarovsky, Devlezerevsky and Seresevcky with the protopope's village of Kozematovsky going to archimandrite German and his community, his servant Olesha Vasilyev, and to protopope Afanasy, his community and dyak Philip.

The scribes judged both plaintiffs, and the old-timers helped to survey the piece of land under question and clarify the issue, and they presented the results of their work (list and draft) to boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich and the other voivodes of the court, as well as the evidence brought forth by the old-timers and evaluation party. The plaintiffs, old-timers and evaluation party all agreed.

Boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich Fyodorov and all the voivodes on the list sent servant Olesha to archimandrite German, and respondent dyak Philip and his community to the place of protopope Afanasy, and ordered the scribes to survey the land, scrape out holes, drive in wedges, draw lines, and give them a receipt concerning their lands, indicating the old-timers and respondents. The old boundary-strip stretches along the black oak forest and old pit, and then across two birches and a small bush near the lake. And then it goes from the bush on the lake through the fields and holes up to the Murom road. The villages of Konbarovo and Devlezerovo belonging to the archimandrite are on the left, and the villages of Kozemetevo belonging to protopope Afonasy and his community are on the right, before the gate. And the boundary between the archimandrite's villages of Seresevsky and the protopope's village of Kozemetyevo where the old-timers took the scribes. There is a boundary from the black forest and two oak trees along the holes up to the threshing floor, and there is a hole dug into the threshing floor. The threshing floor finishes at the hole of archimandrite German and his community, and the chaff is in the pope's land. From the threshing floor along the holes to the brook and then down to the Sekerna River.

According to the order of boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich Fyodorov and other voivodes, scribe Roman Semenovich Vyazimskoy and Dmitrei, Semen Yeremmev's son, gave them a list of these lands so they had no more conflicts or quarrels.

And there was Nekras, Yefim's son, and Peter, Volodya's son.

And the son of boyar Shityako Ivanov, Budinin's son, signed the document.

Prince Roman Sevenovich Vyazemsky and Dmitry Semenov, Yeremeyev's son, placed their seals.

Composed by scribe Dmitry.

Extract from: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from the archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: The latter half of the 16th century—the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 30–32, No. 2.

No. 3**The charter by Sviyazhsk voivode I. Fyodorov to the archimandrite of the Sviyazhsk monastery German about lands other than Busurman sloboda**

14 May 1557

According to the charter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich Fyodorov and all the voivodes, archimandrite German from the Holy Dormition Monastery and his community were given land for yards and ploughed fields in Busurman sloboda—up the Sulitsa from Busurman sloboda, with the boundary running from Sulitsa Lake up to the Krivoy brook. The archimandrite received lands on both sides of the brook. From Busurman sloboda up to the High Mountain and along its mouth up the Krivoy brook in the direction of the maple tree, and then to the linden, and then to two lindens with the same roots, and then to the elm stump, and then to the maple, and then to the oak tree, and then to two elms, and then to a curved linden, and there is a corner hole in this linden, and then to the maple, and then to two lindens and the maple tree on the road leading to Morkvashsky, and then from Sulitsa Lake along the Krivoy brook up the Morkvashsky road, which is a verst long. And then in the direction of Morkvasha, and then to the right to the Gremyachy brook and the linden border, and then to the other linden border, and then to two maples, and then to the elm border, and then to the linden border, and then to the maple border, and then to three lindens, and then to the maple border, and then to the oak border, and to the linden border, and then to the maple border, and then to two lindens with the same roots, and then to the oak border, and then to the Gremyachy brook, and then down the Sulitsa River, and then from the Morkvasha road and the elm border to the Gremyachy brook, and then down the Sulitsa River, which is a verst long. The Gremichevo brook at the Sulitsa River is half a verst away from the Krivoy brook.

And archimandrite German and his community may establish yards and plough fields in the lands of the Busurman sloboda, and he will own these yards and ploughed fields and people living near the Holy Dormition Monastery along the boundaries stated in this charter.

Boyar and voivode Ivan Petrovich placed his seal on this charter.

14 May 7065

Remark by dyak Shemet Alexandrov, Shchelepin's son.

Extract from: Additions to the Kazan bulletin. 1829. No. 35. pp. 279–280.

No. 4**The letters from Tsar Ivan IV addressed to the archimandrite of the German Sviyazhsk monastery on the lands of the Busurman sloboda and ownership of the village of Maly Ityakov in Sviyazhsk uyezd without paying tributes**

February 1558

The Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich granted the Holy Dormition cloister headed by archimandrite German and his community of other priests, who will take up his post in the future with lands in Busurman sloboda numbering two hundred quarters, given to him by our Sviyazhsk voivodes according to our charter. These lands refer to the monastery. Archimandrite German and his community came to the village of Maly Utyakovo because additional land was allocated to this village in ancient times, except for Chuvash land. That village was rented by a Sviyazhsk coachmen, and he ordered this quitrent to be canceled and the village to be transferred to archimandrite German and his community unconditionally.

The charter was given in Moscow. 6 February 7060

On the reverse side: The Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich.

Extract from: S. Kashtanov The emergence of Russian landholding in the Kazan Krai. Documents // Proceedings of Kazan State Pedagogical University. 1973. Iss. 116. pp. 31–32.

No. 5

**The tarkhan charter granted by Ivan IV addressed to Kazan
and Sviyazhsk archbishop German confirming the charter of Kazan voivode
Prince Peter Ivanovich Shuysky addressed to archbishop Gury
Here are the confirmations of Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich
and Tsar Michail Fyodorovich.**

24 August 1565

The Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich ordered his priest of Kazan and Sviyazhsk archbishop German, or his followers, that he had come to us to say that according to the order and charter, boyar and voivode Peter Shuysky and all other boyars were ordered to transfer the lands of archbishop Gury from the Monastery of Saint Virgin numbering two thousand quarters, the villages of Kabany and Tarlashu, the village of Kadysh, the village of Karaish, and the village of Karadulat on the Myosha River, as well as the villages and pochinoks, deserts, forests, meadows, lakes, water sources, apiaries, rivers full of beavers, and such things as i was under other Tsars. And fishing grounds with the islands and lakes that also have meadows at the mouth of the Kazan River on both sides of the Volga, Kazan, and Sviyazhsk, up to the Kama with its high water; and fishing grounds at the mouth of the Kazan and black sands on the bank of the Chertyshsky, from the upper to the lower, and winter and summer fishing in Kazan; and reaping between the Volga and the Tereuzik...meadows from curved backwaters and upper banks to the oak tree, and then to the Tereuzik River and its mouth in the Volga River; and the Tsar's lake and other small lakes into...the Tsar's lake. And it was ordered to give him thirty fish, fifteen salmon, ten stellate sturgeons, and five sturgeons fished from the Kama in winter. And the place...behind the Bulak at Kuraish near the stockaded town up the Bulak numbering one hundred peasant yards. .. and the vegetable garden at the Prolomny Gates from the stockaded town along the Tatar cemeteries up the Bulak opposite Kuraish, and the place in the posad near Saint Nicholas in the direction of Saint Peter not far from the people living on the yards. And Bolshaya Street up to Tezitsky yard must be added to the archbishop's yard. And in 7063 our voivodes Prince Peter Shuysky and other voivodes gave a charter to archbishop Gury assigning him ploughed lands, villages, fishing grounds, and a sloboda and yards with their seal. However, archbishop Gury did not have our letters patent to own these fishing grounds and sloboda and yards. And we must order our voivodes to give archbishop Gury his charter to assign ploughed fields numbering two thousand quarters, and villages, and ancient settlements, and fishing grounds, and apiaries, and various estates, and Volga fishing grounds, and hay fields, and sloboda, and yards. And I, the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich, ordered our voivodes to provide a letter of grant to assign villages, ancient settlements, pochinoks, desert places, hay fields, fishing grounds, apiaries, and various estates to my priest, archbishop German, or his followers in Kazan, as it was before under previous tsars. And if someone (his people or peasants or Chuvashes) decides to live in the possessions of archbishop German in those ancient settlements and villages, they need not pay² taxes until you make a corresponding inventory list of territories and people. And our boyars and Kazan voivodes can judge his people and peasants only for murders and robbery; archbishop German himself or his accredited representative must be the judge of them, and if one should judge his people, peasants, Chuvashes, townsfolk, and volost people, our boyars and voivodes and dyaks and archbishop judge them together. The archbishop

² It seems that this should be: 'tribute.'

must decide if a person is guilty or not. The archbishop was also given waters of the Volga River with fishing grounds and islands from the mouth of Kazanka on either side of the Volga, Kazan, and Sviyazhsk, to the Kama River where there are floodwaters. According to the tsar's order, he was also given fishing grounds from the mouth of the Kama River to the upper and lower banks of the Chertytsky. It was prohibited to fish there without his knowledge, and if anyone wants to, they must report to archbishop Gury on this matter and pay his butler or someone else. If someone decides to fish there without his knowledge, they shall be arrested and sent to archbishop German. The charter was given in Moscow on 24 August 7073.

Extract from: The collection of works of Prince Khilkov. Sankt Peterburg, 1879. pp. 156–160.

No. 6

The social structure of the population of Kazan according to the *Piscovaja knigas* by N. Borisov and D. Kikin

1565–1568.

I. Service class people		
Social status or occupation	Number of people	Total
Voivodes	71	144
Princes	32	
Sons of boyars	31	
Non-Russian sons of boyars	20	
Sons of 'new dweller' boyars 2	2	
Sons of 'Kazan dweller' boyars	15	
Sons of 'old Kazan dweller' boyars	70	
Archbishop's sons of boyars	63	
Service Tatars	8	32
People recently converted to Christianity	24	
Streletsy: headmen	2	626
Sotnia commanders [centurions]	11	
Commanders of fifty warriors	94	
Private soldiers	604	
Artillerists	21	
Dryaby Polotsky ⁵	23	
Governor generals	1	
Gatekeepers	5	
Guards	13	
Watchmakers	1	
Dyaks	3	
Archbishop dyaks	3	
Podyachies	11	
Interpreters	13	

Town customs official	1	
Executioner	1	
Tsar carpenters and blacksmiths	10	
Yam Coachmen	616	
		978
2. Clergy and church officers		
Archbishop	1	
His people: singing dyaks	9	
various house serfs	97	
Abbots	38	19
Archpriest and priests	24	
Archdeacon and deacons	11	
Dyak	1	
Sextons	10	
Prospora bakers	12	
		80
III. Townspeople and sloboda residents		
Trade guests	3	
Foreign guests	20	
Good tradespeople	9	
Middle tradespeople	40	
Junior tradespeople	439	
Residents	63	
Peasant residents	29	
Cossacks	8	
Bobylys (poor landless peasants)	3	
Archbishop peasants	88	
Monastery peasants	32	
Children	9	
Caretakers	4	
Captives	2	
Paupers	5	
Newcomers	2	
People of unknown status	9	
		765

Tatars and Chuvashes in the Tatar sloboda—150 yards³.

Extract from: *The History of Tataria in Records and Documents* / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 189.

No. 7

A note in the chronicles about the destruction of grain by mice in the fields and grain bins of Kazan, Sviyazhsk and Cheboksary

December 1566

In summer 7075 great swarms of mice emerged from the forests to Kazan, Sviyazhsk and Cheboksary and ate all the crops, leaving not a single ear. They also ate everything in the barns, granaries and grain bins, so people were left with nothing to eat. People tried to drive them away with brooms and kill them, but this proved futile, as they came back again and again.

Extract from: *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, vol. 13, part 2, p. 405.

No. 8

Abstract from *Piscovaja knigas* by D. Kikin given to the archemandrite of Sviyazhsk monastery Rodion

Not earlier than in August 1696.

By order of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, Kazan scribe Dmitry Ondreyev, Kikin's son⁴, and his associates provided an excerpt from the books on monastery lands to the tsar's priest archimandrite Rodion and his community serving in St. Nicholas monastery in Sviyazhsk.

Villages and slobodas and pochinoks of the Virgin Monastery in Sviyazhsk uyezd:

A small village on Isakovo Mountain. And in the village there is a wooden church of the Holy Theophany of Our Lord Jesus Christ. And there is a monastery yard in the village. Good ploughed lands number thirty-six quarters, there are three hundred and fifty haystacks in the meadow in front of the Isakovy Mountain village along the Sviyaga, and a lake is located not far. There are ploughed and unploughed forests not far from the Tatar village of Menshoye Khozyashevo, and they are a verst long and half a verst wide.

The village of Maloye Ityakovo on the Sviyaga River. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Davydko Ignatiev and Fedko Samoylov, and three empty yards. Ploughed fields number two quarters, there are forty haystacks near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are approximately twenty desyatinas of ploughed forest and thirty desyatinas of unploughed forest.

The village of Novaya Ityakovo in Menshoye Ityakovo on the Sviyaga River. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Trenka Ondreyev, Nekrasko Fyodorov, Istomka Filipov, Vaska Ivanov, Mikiforko Ivanov, Ivanko Ovdokimov, Borisko Yelsufyev, Stepanko Lukyanov, Ivanko Vasilyev, Matyusha Vasilyev, Grisha Fyodorov, Ondryusha Ivanov. Ploughed fields number seventeen quarters, there are one hundred haystacks near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are approximately five desyatinas of ploughed forest.

³ It is written in the text: there are 150 yards in the Tatar Sloboda. 'Approximately 10 families live in some yards, and in others there are even more than 10 families.' It seems that the law banned the organisation of more than 150 yards because in the 17th century the number of yards in the Tatar Sloboda did not increase. However, there could be several hut-houses in one yard.

⁴ 25 May 1567.

Both the vyts and incomes of peasants from the settlement and both villages were not recorded because the ploughed fields in the settlement belong to the monastery, and peasants have exemptions in the villages. After the exemptions peasants had to plough desyatins of lands depending on the total vyts.

The village of Kichemerevo on the Sukhaya River. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Maksimko Stepanov, Ivanko Ivanov, Bulgak Yefimiyev, Senka Levontyev, and the yard was rebuilt. Ploughed fields number three quarters, there are sixty haystacks near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are around one hundred and fifty desyatins of ploughed forests according to the estimate. There are three vyts in the village. The income coming from peasants for ploughed fields and vyts equals one ruble.

The village of Yurtovo on the Sukhaya River. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Fedko Ivanov, Sidorki Oksenov, Ushak Onikeyev. Ploughed fields number six quarters, there are fifty haystacks near the field and Sviyaga River; there are approximately thirty desyatins of ploughed forests and forty-five desyatins of unploughed forests. And peasants who have social benefits can bring no vyti (benefits) or income. And after peasants must plough desyatins depending on the total vyts.

The village of Kanbarovo. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Danilko Mizinov, Mishka Stepanov, Ignatko Ostafyev, Petrusha Grigoryev, Martemyanko Vasilyev. Those without ploughed fields: the yards of Fetinita Shiryayev's wife, sheepskin dresser Trenka Pronin, Danilko Yamschin, Zlobka Prikhozhey, Kudashka Polunin. Ploughed fields number two quarters, there are one hundred and ten haystacks near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are approximately twenty desyatins of ploughed forests and twenty desyatins of unploughed forests according to the estimate. There are five vyts in the village. The income coming from peasants for ploughed fields and vyts equals twenty-five altyns.

The village of Naletovo. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Vaska Ivanov, Ivanko Michailov, Grisha Naumov, Fefilko Michailov. Those without ploughed fields: the yards of Levka Denisov, Senka Istomin, Kondrashko Sofonov. The last yard is empty. Ploughed fields number thirty-two quarters, there are ninety haystacks near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are approximately ten desyatins of ploughed forests. There are four vyts in it. The income coming from peasants for ploughed fields and vyts equals twenty-five altyns.

The village of Devlezerevo Seresevo on the Sekirka River. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Omelyanko Oksenov, Gavrilko Ivanov, Yakush Omelyanov. Ploughed fields number forty quarters, and there are fifty haystacks [fol. 3] near the field and the Sviyaga River; there are approximately ten desyatins of ploughed forests. And it has two vyts. The income coming from peasants for ploughed fields and vyts equals twenty five altyns.

Beyond Busurmanskaya sloboda is Medvedeva sloboda. Peasants living in the sloboda: the yards of Petrushka Gavrilov, Frishka Ivanov, Pyatoyko Ivanov, Ivashko Ortemov, Severga Stepanov, Istonka Pegusha, Senka Meshek, Luka Polonyanik, Istomka Poloum, Alekseyko Sevastyanov, Vasyuk Maksimov, Ivanko Vasilyev, Stepanko Pereverstka, Ivanko Suyush. There are a large number of arable lands of high quality (forty-one quarters), and ten desyatins of arable lands between the Busurman lands and the Sulitsa River.

A small sloboda on the Busurman Ravine in front of Busurman sloboda. Peasants having no ploughed fields: the yards of Bargak Ivanov, Sidor Plotnik, Vasyuk Plotnik, Fedko Ivanov, Ivanko Butynya, Senka Grigoryev, Vereshchaga Kuznets, Pervusha Shevlyagin, Pronya Melnik, Mitka Borchanik, Ontropko Morkvasha, Serko Zakharyn, Ovdeyko Kozhevnik, Ontipko Pokhomov. There are pastures and hay, but there is no income.

There is a large mill in the village in Busurman sloboda, and the quit-rent coming to the Treasury of the Tsar and Grand Prince constituted three rubles a year and five altyns in the form of taxes. There is a monastery yard and granaries near that mill; the miller of the monastery lives there. And there is a desyatina of land on both sides of the mill. There is a mill not far

from the forest close to the apiary. Archimandrite Larion and his community came to the Tsar and Grand Prince of Moscow to ask him to exempt them from the quit-rent for the mills. And the tsar granted their request and exempted them from quitrent for mills because the monastery has no more mills. According to the petition and extracts from millers' books, the mill was assigned on 25 May of the 75th year by dayk Vasily Stepanov and Sviyazhsk scribe Dmitry Ondreyev, Kikin's son.

And at the Volga River over Sviyazhsk // [fol. 4,] there is the village of Novoye by the Elm Mountains in the dark forest. Peasants living in the village: the yards of Ivanko Ilyin, Ivanko Yuryev, Panka Michailov, Lazarko Vasilyev; and the following receive social benefits, as they are without ploughed fields: the yards of Malafeyko Potapov, Fofanko, Mikitka Anfimov, Ushak Semenov. Ploughed fields number five quarters, and there are three hundred haystacks in front of the village and between the lakes and their sources; there are sixty desyatinas of ploughed forests and more than two versts of ploughed and unploughed forests along the Volga River. And vyts and income were not written down because the peasants receive social benefits.

There is a granary and monastery yard in Sviyazhsk posad near Saint Nicholas. There is also a monastery yard in Sviyazhsk posad behind the stockaded town opposite the Silver gate at Krugloye Lake. They grow malt there. The meadows belonging to the Monastery of the Virgin and situated not far from Sviyazhsk at the Sviyaga River, former monastery hay fields, contain approximately three hundred haystacks.

There is a boundary between the villages of Kichemerevo and Yurtovo at the Sukhaya River and recently christened village of Shirdan, Sergey Tineyev and his associates in the Sviyazhsk uyezd near the Monastery of the Virgin at Saint Nicholas. From the Serkika River to the birch, where there is also a boundary. And up the ravine to the oak tree there is a boundary at the oak, and there are two holes near it. And from the oak tree to the hedge and then to the right to the burnt tree there is a boundary. And from the oak tree along the hedge to another oak and broken elm, there are boundaries near them. And from the oak tree and the elm through the forest to the hedge and then to another oak tree there is a boundary. And from the oak through the forest to the branchy, three-topped oak there is a boundary. And from the oak to the birch there is a boundary. And from the oak and the birch to the linden and the lane there is a boundary. And from the linden to another linden with a hollow in it there is a boundary. And from the linden and the lane to the left to the branchy oak tree there is a boundary. From the oak to the Sukhaya River. And up the river to the left to the branchy elm, and there is a boundary. And from the elm [...] //

On the reverse side: Written by podyachy Bokaka Pavlov. Writen by podyachy Fyodor Sumorukov.

Source: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, Collection 10, List 5, File 1137, fols. 1–4.

Extract from: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from the archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: The latter half of the 16th century–the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 32–37.

No. 9

**A Tarkhan Charter of judicial and financial immunity and protection
(from horsemen) from Tsar Ivan IV granting the Archimandrite of Trinity Monastery
Theodosy and his 'community' land in Sviyazhsk, as well as an ancient village with forest,
pastures, floodlands, and fishing grounds in Sviyazhsk uyezd.**

30 March 1572

I, Ivan Vasilyevich, as the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia, granted my pilgrim Archimandrite Theodosy his community, and their successors the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius. With a reverent bow Archimandrite Theodosy of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius and his followers told me that abbot Gury and his community in Sviyazhsk had asked them to build a monastery dedicated to the life-giving Trinity and St. Sergius. He also requested three plots for farming; the ancient settlement of Kizhdeyevo; a wild forest; another forest area across from the mouth of the Kazan River near Uslon in front of Gostiny island; and fishing grounds. A charter was given to abbot Gury and his community granting them this area, wastelands, and fishing grounds, but it was destroyed in a fire during the arrival of the Crimean Tsar. According to the records, there was a church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Kizhdeyevo settlement. And in the forest belonging to the monastery near the villages of Agishevo and Ulankovo there were two villages Kornoukhov and Ulanov and a mill at the brook.

And we granted to our pilgrim from the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius Archimandrite Theodosy and his community a place for a monastery and pasture land; for a new church and settlement this charter is granted.

As for their villages, settlements, pastures, and anything else, our pilgrim Theodosy along with his followers presented hundreds of letters from Dmitry Kikin and his colleagues records dating back to 7075, in which the following was recorded: An ancient hamlet near Krivoye Lake at the Trinity Monastery, villages and pochinoks [a type of a rural locality]: the pochinok of Pritykin; the pochinok at Krivoye Lake; the village of Kizhdeyevo on the Kurмышka River which was a wasteland; Agishevo village; Ulyankovo Novoe on the Beregla River; the pochinok of Klyuchev on the Chigirka River; a floodplain on the shores of the Volga on the bank above Gostiny Island; and below the Stone Mountains opposite Irykhov island there are only a settlement, two villages, three pochinoks, and a floodplain. There is a good pasture land in the villages and pochinoks, as well as the floodplain with 109 chets of arable land and a quarter, and there are eighty eight chets in the field and two more fields of the same size; there are eight hundred fifty haycocks in the villages and pochinoks, as well as eight hundred latrine haycocks near the floodplain along the piedmont, between the Mountain and Gostiny island to the Mordokvashino latrine mowings to new borders and till the far edge of Podgornoe Lake; 265 desyatinas of ploughed and unploughed forest; 4 versts long and 2 versts wide of ploughed and unploughed forest near the hamlet and villages and pochinoks in different places; there is much ploughed forest at the floodplain not far from the mouth of the Maly Morkvash brook from the Stone cross down the Volga along the mountain, higher than the floodplain, on the right side of Gostiny Island to the first ravine which was on the rise, which, according to the cost sheet, is two versts long and one verst and a half wide across the floodplain.

In two new villages Kornoukhovo and Ulankovo, according to alderman Varsunofya, there are thirty chet of land with two hundred haystacks; they founded new villages there and a mill on their monastery lands, which belong neither to me, the Tsar and Grand Prince, nor to the lords.

The priest of the Trinity Monastery Archimandrite Theodosy and his followers bowed reverently and informed us that our charter was destroyed in the fire, and that the newly-erected villages mentioned in the charter were on their monastery lands. So I, Tsar and Grand Prince, decided to satisfy their demands and promised that we would restore their villages at our own

expense. And upon those, who will begin to live in that monastery and villages and pochinoks with their monastery servants and peasants, will be imposed no tribute or yamskoy duties, or any other tributes; neither will they be involved into construction as a duty, nor will they keep a vigil at voivode or yamskoy yards as a duty; they will not bear duties along with other tax people apart from tree entanglement and city building and stockaded town construction; but they will fulfill the duty of city and stockaded town construction as well as tree entanglement along with other sokhas [a unit of land tax].

And our servants, princes, sons of boyars—everyone in the village and in the countryside would have no food or feed or water for their horses, nor guides.

Our voivodes, governors, and district leaders have no legal authority over servants and peasants except in cases of robbery; they must not pay any tribute or taxes. Only the Archimandrite and his community, or those appointed by him, shall have legal authority over them. As far as other cases are concerned, whether a monastery servant or a peasant sues some city or Sviyazhsk or volost person, they must be tried by the Archimandrite and his followers or his accredited representative; whether a servant or peasant is guilty or not, only the Archimandrite and his followers or his steward may decide.

In the case of a death in the village (for example, someone is run over, or falls from a tree, or devoured by an animal, or an abandoned corpse is found), then the body must be shown either to the voivodes, deputies, or district heads; the person who brought the body receives four altyns.

And if a suit is brought against the Archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius or his steward or peasants, then only I, Tsar and Grand Prince, or a boyar appointed by me, will be their judge. Officials assign cases only during one time period—that is, at Christmas; except for that, they rarely assign any other dates. And if someone assigns them a time period not at Christmas, then I, Tsar and Grand Prince, did not order them to Moscow; and if someone fails to appear, then an Extrajudicial Right of Merit will be issued with a default judgment.

The charter was presented in Moscow on 30 March 7080.

[On the charter is a red government seal].

On the backside of the charter is a remark: 'Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich.'

The charter contains the following postscript: 'Dyak Kirej Gorin.'

Extract from: S. Kashtanov On the history of feudal landownership in Sviyazhsk uyezd in the 1570s // Scientific notes, Kazan State Pedagogical Institute, 1978. No. 184. pp. 134–136 (No. 1).

No. 10

The charter of Tsar Ivan IV to Joseph, the Archimandrite of Sviyazhsk monastery, and 'his community' concerning the village of Savino in Sviyazhsk uyezd.

27 May 1572

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich to Sviyazhsk uyezd, the village of Savino on the ancient settlement of Mordvin in Sviyazhsk with a mill with a large wheel opposite that village, on the Sulitsa River. This village and the mill are rented by Savka Kondratiev and Doronka Onkundinov and Olenka Grishina, Rodion's wife. All the peasants who live in that village as a whole were granted the village and the mill of the monastery of the Virgin belonging to Archimandrite Joseph and his brotherhood or his followers, and they asked him to transfer them 21 quarters of ploughed land numbering three quarters of fertilised land with all of its estates instead of their annual wages. It was written in 7074 in the Sviyazhsk books of

Nikita Borisov and Dmitry Kikin, and Olenka the widow, Grishin's wife, Rodion's mill with a large wheel located on the Sulitsa river in their taxed village: only 8 quarter were assigned to them, loads of bushes, fifty haystacks, ploughed and unploughed forests one verst long and wide according to the estimate, and the quitrent coming from the village, kand, and mill only made up seven rubles and twenty-nine altyns. So the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia ordered them to listen to Archimandrite Joseph or his followers and do as they say. Written in Moscow on 27 May 7080.

Extract from: Additions to Kazan bulletin. 1829. No 32. pp. 255–256.

No. 11

The ownership charter of voivode Vasily Borisovich Saburov concerning the villages of Bezhbatman and Khozyashev in Sviyazhsk uyezd granted to the Sviyazhsk Monastery of Our Lady.

16 July 1574

By the order of Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, boyar and voivode Vasily Borisovich Saburov and other voivodes were sent to the villages of Bezhbatman and Khozyashev in Sviyazhsk uyezd, to previous Tatar properties that had reverted to the Crown, and where no Tatars remained.

The following courts were located in the village of Khozyashev: the court of Taras the newly-baptised; Vasily's court; Tereberdiyev's court; Nogai's court, Aitugan Aishev's court; Kudayar Syunchaliyev's court; Yanbakhtosev's court; Arykiyev's court. There are 28 chet near there in one field, and the same amount in two other fields, with approximately 88 haystacks. In the village of Beshbatman are courts belonging to the following nobles: Yepanchin, Boris Churachikov, Yuchuk, Yenbakhtyyev and Yurachiyev. Near these estates is a ploughed field of 28 chet, and two more of the same size; there are approximately 400 haystacks along the Sviyaga River.

And in Tikhoye Pleso, Yagodnoye village, which is at the brook. There were six estates with 40 chet of fallow land in one field, and two more fields of the same size with one hundred haystacks; there were also ploughed and unploughed forests of about one field long and a verst wide, according to the estimate.

Now the Tsar and Grand Prince granted all of these former Tatar estates, pasture land, and the village of Tikhy Ples, all of which now belonged to the Crown, to Archimandrite Joseph and his followers from the Monastery of the Virgin. As mentioned in the cadastres of Nikita Vasilyevich Borisov and friends, these ancestral lands encompassed 468 chet.

Moreover, 111 chet of good fallow and pasture land in the villages of Khozyashev and Bezhbatman were assigned to Archimandrite Joseph and his community at the Monastery of the Virgin by the Tsar and Grand Prince on 25 November 81.

Thus, according to the Tsar's charter, in 82 the lands were assigned to the Monastery of the Virgin. According to the Tsar's charter, there were 393 chet, although last year, in 81, only 207 were recorded. Thus, Archimandrite Joseph received the same estates and pasture land in the villages of Bezhbatman and Khozyashev and the village of Tikhy Ples in the same way that the nobles in Sviyazhsk once obtained their land from the Tatars.

Boyar and voivode Vasily Borisovich Saburov affixed his seal on this ownership charter. Summer, 17 July 7082.

Dyak Vasiley Shelepin.

Published in: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 157–158.

No. 12

A letter of grant of Tsar Ivan IV addressed to the archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius Pamva and his community concerning four yards at the stockaded town in Sviyazhsk, a settlement with villages, pochinoks, barn, forests, and fishing grounds in Sviyazhsk uyezd (confirmed in 1589, 1601, 1613)⁵.

22 January 1575

I, Tsar and the grant prince of all Russian Ivan Vasilyevich, granted my priest Archimandrite of the Monastery of Trinity Pamva and his community or his followers. Archimandrite Pamva and his community reported that there is a monastery of Saint Sergius at the Sviyaga, and that he acquired a forest of four versts and Dolgoye Lake along Malye Morkvashi, which flows into the Volga near the Zhernovy Mountains, and there are meadows suitable for farming in front of this forest between the mountains and Gostiny Island and Uslon where the lake flows into the Volga near the Zhernovny Mountains. Our Boyar, Peter Bulgakov, who moved from Kazan to Sviyazhsk, and other monastery people, living between the Mountain and Gostiny Island, takes our wages and give them to sons of boyars and Kazan strelets [archers]. Moreover, they acquired three desert areas, the settlement of Kizhdeyevo, and the ancient town and a forest in front of the mouth of the Kazanka River, and at Uslon in front of Gostiny Island and some fishing grounds. Our charter addressed to our priest Abbot Guri and his community giving them that place, deserts, and fishing grounds was burnt during the fire after the Crimean Tsar had come. There was a church of St. Nicholas in the settlement of Kizhdeyevo and two pochinoks in monastery forests near the villages of Agishevo and Ulankovo, Kornoukhov pochinok, Ulanov pochinok, and a mill at the brook.

And we want to give a letter of grant to the pilgrim of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, Archimandrite Pamva and his community assigning a monastery place, desert areas, recently erected church, pochinoks, and fishing grounds to him.

And Sviyazhsk letter of Dmitry Kakin and his fellows, dating back to 7075, says: Monastery lands in Sviyazhsk uyezd: There is a settlement near Lake Krivoye on the Sviyaga River. Local ploughed fields numbering twenty-five quarters, and there are three hundred and twenty haystacks and about one hundred desyatinas of ploughed forest. There are also new pochinoks in the same settlement: Pritykin pochinok (ploughed fields number two quarters, there are fifty desyatinas of forests), Novy Pochinok is desert, ploughed fields number eight quarters, ten desyatinas of ploughed forests. And there is a ploughed territory near the ancient settlement and pochinoks, which is a verst long and half a verst wide. The village of Kizhdeyevo on the Kurmyshka River is situated on the Mordvinian land. Ploughed fields number sixty-seven quarters, fifteen desyatinas of oak thickets, two hundred haystacks along the Kurmyshka and Ochigirka Rivers, ploughed and unploughed fields are one verst long and half a verst wide according to the estimate. The village of Agishevo on the Bekhli River, ploughed fields number ten quarters, three hundred haystacks along the river and mountains, the forest is divided between the Tatars and Chuvash. Pochinok Klyuchov on the Olchigira River, ploughed fields number three quarters, there are about thirty haystacks in the field near the pochinok, ploughed fields number forty desyatinas and unploughed fields number fifty desyatinas. There is a monastery mill in front of the settlement behind the Sviyaga River at the Svetly brook, and there are old meadows and hay meadows nearby, there are around two hundred and fifty haystacks in fields and a lake from which the Svetly brook originated. And the Sviyazhsk scribes report that there is an island behind the Svetly brook up to the monastery lake, from which the Svetly brook originated, and

⁵ The critical text was compiled on the basis of the original and two copies. Reproduced words are given in square brackets.

that forest is one verst long, there is a new barn at the Volga River above Gostiny Island and below the Stone Mountains opposite Irykhov Island in the lower part of the mouth of the Kazan River, on the mountain side of the wild forest, new ploughed fields numbering three fields and six quarters and three desyatinas and many hay meadows based at the barn between the mountain and Gostiny Island; and there were ploughed and unploughed forests from the mouth of the Maly Morkvash brook and the Stone Cross above the barn on the right side of Gostiny Island not far from another ravine at the Zhernovy Mountains. .. lands and different estates according to books; and they were occupied by the headman of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius and his community. There is only a small settlement and two villages in Sviyazhsk uyezd of the Trinity Monastery, and three pochinoks and a barn, ploughed fields numbering one hundred and nine quarters, five desyatinas of thickets, one thousand nine hundred haystacks, fifteen desyatinas of bushes and sedges, two hundred desyatinas of ploughed forests and fifty desyatinas of unploughed forests, and ploughed forests are five versts long and three versts wide. Borders between those lands, meadows, and estates are located in accordance with the books.

So ploughed fields in monastery lands and two newly erected pochinoks, Kornoukhovo and Ulankovo, numbered thirty-four quarters, and there were two hundred haystacks in the field. And there are four yards for stables and cow-sheds with land near the stockaded town. There is a black forest at the Volga near Uslon, in the direction of this flood plain, which is four versts wide, and there is grass between the mountain and Gostiny Island along Maly Morkvash and Dolgoye Lake by the Zhernovy Mountains and the mouth of the Volga. The lake ends at the place where it flows into the mouth of the Volga by the Zhernovy Mountains. Those newly erected pochinoks and stables and cow shed were situated in monastery lands, not in the landowner's ones.

I, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of All Russia, granted lands and estates to pilgrim of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius Archimandrite Pavel and his community, or other archimandrite in the monastery, and he can continue fishing there according to the former edict.

And upon those, who will begin to live in that monastery and villages and pochinoks with their monastery servants and peasants, will be imposed no tribute or yamskoy duties, or any other tributes; neither will they be involved into construction as a duty, nor will they keep a vigil at voivode or yamskoy yards as a duty; they will not bear duties along with other tax people apart from tree entanglement and city building and stockaded town construction; but they will fulfill the duty of city and stockaded town construction as well as tree entanglement along with other sokhas [a unit of land tax].

And our serving people, princes and sons of boyars, and other people in villages and in the countryside should not have food for themselves and horses and should have no guides.

And our boyars and voivodes and governors and governors' assistants of the cities of Sviyazhsk, Kazan and Cheboksary and all cities on the lower reaches, shall not judge prikaz people, their servants and peasants, apart from robbery with the mainour; and so that tax collectors and officials did not levy their own tax and did not inspect them for no reason apart from our matters. And the archimandrite and his community or other people who are ordered should judge them. As far as other cases are concerned, whether a monastery servant or a peasant sues some city or Sviyazhsk or volost person, they must be tried by the Archimandrite and his followers or his accredited representative; whether a servant or peasant is guilty or not, only the Archimandrite and his followers or his steward may decide.

In the case of murder (if someone had an accident, fell from a tree, was devoured by an animal, etc.), they must show the dead body to our voivodes or vicegerents or governors' assistants of the volost and get four altyns for each corpse from them.

If anyone decides to ask for something at the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius from the archimandrite and his community or their clerks and peasants, I, Tsar and Grant Prince, will judge them, or someone from Moscow will who will be ordered. And our employers assign all the gifts for a period of one year to Christmas, apart from that date, they hardly mention any other

dates. He ordered that charters not be given to the archimandrite, his community, and servants and peasants on other days. If the term does not fall on Christmas, I, Tsar and Grand Prince, have not issued the order to go to Moscow then; and if someone accepts a charter breaking the time limit, it shall be invalid.

The charter was given in Moscow on 22 January 7083.

On the reverse side: [Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich].

The Tsar and Grand Prince's dyak Ondrey Yakov's [son] Shchelkalov.

Confirmations: 4 April 7097 The Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Ivanovich of All Russia listened to his pilgrim Archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius Kipreyan and his community or other priests from that monastery and ordered to sign that charter on his behalf and act according to its contents. And [dyak Druzhina Petelin] signed the order of the Tsar and Grand Prince.

By the grace of God, we, the Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fyodorovich of All Russia and our son Tsarevich Prince Fyodor Borisovich of All Russia, listened to those charters and ordered Cyrill, the Archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, and his community to sign that charter on his behalf and act according to its contents. 6 November 7110 And dyak Vasiley Nelyubov signed the order of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich.

3 November 7122 The Tsar and Grand Prince Michail Fyodorovich, the Sovereign of All Russia, listened to charters of the Monastery of the Life-Giving Trinity and Wonderworker Sergius, Archimandrite Dionysios, and cellarer Abramy, or other archimandrites and cellarers of that monastery and ordered them to sign that charter on behalf of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich. And he ordered them to act according to this charter. And dyak Oleksey Shapilov signed the order of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich.

The charter has a red seal.

Extract from: S. Kashtanov On the history of feudal landownership in Sviyazhsk uyezd in the 1570s // Scientific notes of Kazan State Pedagogical Institute. 1978. No. 184. pp. 136–140 (No. 2).

No. 13

Given by a service-class man newly-baptised Climenty Vasilev to Varlaam of Meshchera, the builder of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius in Sviyazhsk, for his votchina [patrimony] in the village of Semenov on the Berla River in Sviyazhsk uyezd.

Not later than 30 May 1575/September 1576

This time, Climenty, son of Vasily, a newly baptised from the city of Sviyazhsk, handed over to the elder Varlaam of Meshchera, the builder of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, located in the uphill part of the city of Sviyazhsk, his votchina [patrimony] in the village of Semenov on the Berla River bank, located between the villages of Naratlyev and Kobuzev, soft tillable lands and twenty desyatinas of hallow lands, and two desyatinas, two hundred heaps of hay in meadow-lands, for future use, without purchase. Henceforth, the builder is free to fell the forest and clear the meadow-lands. My votchina, bought from my brother-in-law, in the village of Semenov, is neither sold nor bonded, and it is not mentioned in servitude, bondage or other records; it is recorded to me only. My family, nephews, children, grandsons are not concerned at all about the votchina, and nobody will buy it from the monastery. If somebody would like to take my votchina in the village of Semenov, my family, tribe or somebody else, and I, Climenty, will clear the estate out of all bondages for the monastery. I gave the bill of sale for the votchina, I gave the old bill of sale—according to which, I was the owner of the estate—to the builder. If

God takes my soul, the builder should record me, my father Vasily, my wife Darya, my children Yemelyan, Login and Semen to his book.

And this was heard by Kuzma, son of Kuzma, and Vasily, son of Neklyud, and Grigory, son of Maksim.

This note is written by Istomka, son of Roman. In the summer of 7080, the fourth.

Extract from: S. Kashtanov The emergence of Russian landholding in the Kazan Krai. Documents // Ucheny'e zapiski Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta. 1973. Iss. 116. pp. 32–33 (No. 18).

No. 14

Charter of Tsar Ivan IV to voivode of Sviyazhsk M. Bakhteyarov-Rostovsky with 'fellows' and dyak V. Shelepin, concerning the allocation of a donation to the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius made by a newly baptised serving man K. Vasilyev in the village of Semenov in Sviyazhsk uyezd

16 June 1576

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich to the voivode of Sviyazhsk, our prince Michail Fyodorovich Bakhteyarov-Rostovsky, with fellows and our dyak Vasily Shchelepin. They sent us a letter on the 30th of May of current year 7084. The builder of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius, Varlaam of Meshchera, and a serving man from the upper part of Sviyazhsk uyezd, newly baptised Klimko, came to see you and told you that he donated his votchina, which he had purchased, to the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius in the village of Semenov on the Berly River bank, between the villages of Naratliev and Kobizev, forty quarters of tillable land in the field and two more, hayfields and other acreages. Hence, you shall issue a decree and tell us to record that votchina [patrimony] to the Trinity Monastery. As soon as we receive your charter, and if you tell Varlaam, the builder of the Trinity Monastery, to possess the votchina of the newly baptised brother Klim in the village of Semenov prior to our decree, so that, if something happens in that votchina with the builder and Tatars, you will inform us and we will issue a decree.

In the future, if newly baptised people and Tatars want to donate their votchinas to monasteries, you will inform us, but do not allocate those estates to monasteries without our decree. Written in Moscow. 16 June 7084.

Extract from: S. Kashtanov The emergence of Russian landholding in the Kazan Krai. Documents // Proceedings of Kazan State Pedagogical University. 1973. Iss. 116. pp. 33–34.

No. 15

A charter given by Sviyazhsk's voivode P. Rostovsky and dyak G. Ivashev to Avraamy, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery, for the votchina in the village of Beshbatman

22 June 1583

Based on the charter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich, voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Rostovsky and Gryaznoy Ivashev, son of Ondrey, a dyak of the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince, donated a votchina to the house of Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas for the Archimandrite Avraamy with brothers, or if there is another archimandrite with brothers,

in the village of Beshbotman in Desyatovskoe manor of Olgov, according to the land division books of Fedar Shmoilov, dated the year of 7091⁶. There are peasant households in the votchina: household of Mitya Ivanov Pleshko, household of Timoshka Grigoryev, household of Fedko Zelenya. Pastures in the households are soft, six quarters with osmina [1/8 of a desyatina], fourteen quarters of soft fallow land and field, seven quarters with osmina of soft land; both soft and fallow lands, given for the soft lands, and fourteen quarters in the field together with Almas locality, and in two fields of the same size. According to the estimates, there are three hundred heaps of hay near fields and the River Sviyaga. // [fol. 501] Forest and other acreages, landlords with lands between that votchina [patrimony] are recorded in land division books, letters and actions of Fedar Shmoilov, dated the year of 7091. The votchina was given in addition to the former votchina of the Virgin Mother, allocated by the charter of the Tsar in Beshbotman locality and Tikhy Ples village, in Britvin village, in Khozyashev locality, in Savin village, a mill and a big wheel are in front of that village. Arable lands in those localities and villages and in the mill which they received for arable lands, and for the reason that they were given the Desyatovskoe manor of Olgov in the size of two hundred and seventy two quarters with osmina in one field, and two more fields of the same size, and votchinas were not allocated to the house of the Virgin Mother Monastery and St. Nicholas the Great Wonderworker in monetary terms of four hundred and forty rubles of votchina in three hundred and twenty seven quarters with osmina. Peasants in the votchina of Virgin Mother in Beshbotman locality will start to live for archimandrite Avraamy and his brothers, and you will till their lands and pay tributes to the monastery, depending on the tribute that Avraamy with his brothers will impose on you.

Voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Rostovsky put his seal on that ownership charter. 22 June 7091. Dyak Gryaznoy Ivashev.

On the reverse side: Dyak Gryaznoy Ivashev.

Extract from: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from the archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: The latter half of the 16th century—the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 39—41 (No. 6).

No. 16

A charter of Ivan IV to Avraamy, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk, concerning permission to have a ship on the Volga River, to load it annually with ten thousand poods of salt or fish and trade in different cities without customs tax

21 May 1584

The Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Ivanovich of All Russia conferred a grant on his pilgrim Avraamy, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk, and his brothers, or any other Archimandrite that will be assigned later to that monastery. Avraamy with his brothers made an obeisance to us telling that earlier the yearly allowance of the Virgin Mother Monastery for keeping the monastery and for clothes was one hundred rubles, but according to the new decree, they will be given fifty rubles, and it is impossible to live on that money; we should feel sorry for them and in order to cover those fifty rubles, tell them to use a ship in Sviyazhsk for the needs of monastery and to go by that ship to Astrakhan to buy salt and fish, and then to come back to Kazan or Sviyazhsk, then to go from Sviyazhsk to Nizhny Novgorod where they will sell the salt or fish and with duty-free allowance will buy bread, butter, hemp-seed oil, woolen cloth, fur coats, sheepskin for the needs of monastery.—The Tsar and Grand Prince of

⁶ 1582/83.

All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich offered Avraamy, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk, and his brothers, or any other Archimandrite that will be assigned later to that monastery, the following: in return for the fifty-rubles-worth yearly allowance, told them to use a ship, buy and load that ship with ten thousand poods of salt or ten thousand poods of fish, to go by that ship to Astrakhan for salt or fish once a year; instead of going to Astrakhan and back to Sviyazhsk, they should carry their goods from Sviyazhsk; when they arrive to Astrakhan, the elder of the monastery or a servant from the monastery will load that ship with ten thousand poods of salt from Astrakhan lakes or will buy the same amount of fish and load it to the ship; our voivodes and dyaks in Astrakhan should not collect customs duty from them; and they should sell that salt or fish in Kazan or Sviyazhsk with duty-free allowance; if they carry that salt or fish to Nizhny Novgorod, they sell it there duty-free; when they sell that salt or fish in Kazan or Nizhny Novgorod, they will buy bread, butter, woolen cloth, fur coat and sheepskin for the needs of the monastery; voivodes, dyaks, customs officers, serving people in Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod shall not collect any local taxes from that ship; in return for all that duty-free allowances, Archimandrite Avraamy with his brothers will not receive any donation from the income of Sviyazhsk for the year 7093 and further. The charter was issued in Moscow on 21 May 7092.

The original document is kept in the archive of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk; it was written on a big sheet of paper; a red wax seal stamp on a raspberry-red silk cord is attached at the bottom. On the reverse side at the top: Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich.

The reverse side also contains the following confirmation:

Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich.

On 15 March 7107, the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich together with his son Tsarevitch and Prince of All Russia Fyodor Borisovich read this charter and granted the following to Sergey, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk, or any other Archimandrite that will be assigned later to that monastery and his brothers: they were told to sign this charter by their Tsar's name and, instead of a monetary allowance, to provide them with a ship to go to Astrakhan for salt and fish with duty-free allowance; they were told to keep the charter and adhere to the points written in the charter.—'It was signed by dyak Ofonasy Vlasyev, son of Ivan'.

Extract from: Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol. 1, No. 322, pp. 382–383.

No. 17

An ownership charter, issued by voivode Prince P. Rostovsky and dyak G. Ivashev in Sviyazhsk to Avraamy, the Archimandrite of the Virgin Mother Monastery in Sviyazhsk, concerning the spare 'empty' lands

26 August 1584

Based on the decree of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovi [ch], from memory written by monarch's dyak Ondrey Shchelkalov, voivode prince Peter Ivanovich Rostovsky and Gryaznoy Ivashev, son of Ondrey, a dyak of the Tsar and Gra [nd] Prince, according to the list of Fyodor Olgov, donated a votchina to the house of the Monastery of Virgin Mother and Great Wonderworker St. Nicholas to Archimandrite Avraamy with his brothers, or to any other Archimandrite, spare empty glades as arable lands, located under the city of Sviyazhsk along their monastery lands: Medvedkovy settlements on the Kularovsky and Motkozisky roads, Belozarov's and Bannikovsky's glades, Ivan Kirillov's, Semeyka Forofonov's and Gorbunovsky's glades, Semen Shumikhin's and Grisha Mezhaedov's glades. One field in those glades contains six quarters with half of osmina of arable lands and a third of half of osmina in one field and there are two more fields of the same size; there is also a verst-long forest area near the arable and non-arable lands on the border of Medvedkovy settlements and Saviny

village, and a half of a verst-long area across the Kularovsky and Momotkozinsky roads up to the Sulitsa River.

Voivode Prince Peter Ivanovich Rostovsky put his seal on that ownership charter. 26 August 7092.

On the reverse side: Dyak Gryaznoy Ivashev.

Published in: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The latter half of the 16th century—the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 43–44 (No. 9).

No. 18

The charter issued by a Sviyazhsk voivode Prince M. Temkin-Rostovsky to serving Tatars Yangild Enandarov and Bakrach Yanchurin for a vacant common on the Irenle River in Sviyazhsk uyezd

18 July 1595

A copy from a copy of the charter.

Based on the charter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich, voivode prince Michailo Grigoryevich Temkin granted as a hereditary estate lands, located on both banks of the Irenle River, to serving Tatars Yangild Enandarov and Bakrach Yanchurin. Yangild and Bakrach made obeisance to the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich. They told that they have served for the Tsar in winter and summer, participated in German, Lithuanian, Cheremis, and Siberian campaigns. When the king was under Pskov, Yangild was captured and spent three years as a captive and was released without paying head money and not as a result of an exchange of captives. The Tsar decided to grant him fifty quarters of arable land. He also granted Bakrach twelve quarters of arable land. In return for that tillable land, they serve the tsar and live on that arable land. There is a vacant common on both banks of the Irenle River in Sviyazhsk uyezd. And there was a common of Tatars. Nobody claimed or owned that land for the last twenty five years. The Tsar decided to grant that land to them, told to add that common, located on the Irenle River, to their arable land. According to the results of investigation and examination by Grigory Tishin, son of Vasily, apart from the arable lands of Yanbakhty and Karaev, that common contains thirty quarters with osmina of fallow and arable lands, and two more fields of the same size, five quarters of arable forest lands, one hundred and fifty heaps of hay upstream the Berle River from the Tatar cemetery and gully. Nobody had claimed or owned that land for the last thirty years. That common, located on the Irenly River, arable lands, forest and heaps of hay, apart from the arable land and heaps of hay belonging to Yanbakhtiev and Karavaev, belong to serving Tatars Yangild Yanandarov and Bakrach Yanchurin. In return for that arable land, they serve the Tsar. In total, Yangild was granted arable and fallow lands, arable forest lands with a summer house, given to him from Bagishev common in the amount of eight quarters less one-fourth of a quarter, two more fields of the same size, five hundred and seventy heaps of hay. Bakrach was given arable and fallow lands, arable forest lands, and according to the records of Afanasy Boltyn, he has nine quarters of arable land without one-fourth of a quarter, two more fields of the same size, two hundred and twenty five heaps of hay. They should divide amicably the arable land, forest and heaps of hay between them.

Voivode Michail Grigoryevich Temkin-Rostovsky applied his seal to the original of the charter. 18 July 7103.

Podyachy [scribe] Osipko Vdovin edited the original charter.

There is the following Tatar phrase at the bottom of the copy.

Copied and drafted on 24 July 1764.

Published in: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The latter half of the 16th century—the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 49–51 (No. 16).

No. 19

Charter of Tsar Fyoodor Ivanovich to Nizhny Novgorod's voivode L. Aksakov and dyak I. Sherapov about allocation of an 'upstream' allowance in the form of a manor of deceased P. Shibarov from Nizhny Novgorod uyezd to the resident of Sviyazhsk G. Tishenkov as an 'upper' salary and dispatching of land division books to Pomestny [Domestic] Prikaz

8 May 1596

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich to our Nizhny Novgorod voivode Levonty Ivanovich Oksakov and our dyak Ivashka Sherapov. Grigory Tishenkov, son of Vasily, from Sviyazhsk made an obeisance to us. According to the order, he is to be provided with an allowance in the form of a manor with additional 300 quarters of land; half of the allowance should be from Sviyazhsk, the other half from the Verkhovskie cities; he has 49 quarters in one of the Verkhovskie cities in...nemenov⁷, and he was given less than his decided allowance in the upstream manor of 101 quarters. We shall grant him an estate from Pyatov Shibarov's manor in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd. But Pyatov passed away in the current year, 7104, leaving behind a childless widow. Pyatov was granted a 90 quarters-worth estate, and now that estate is spare; it has not been given to anyone else. The estate shall be granted to Grigory Tishenkov for the reason that he made an obeisance to us. We have sent you a certificate about Pyatov Shibarov's manor, written after Nizhny Novgorod records and investigation of Vasily Borisov and his fellows, dated 7096 // [Sheet 130] word for word written down by the dyak. As soon as you receive our charter and certificate from the books, you should send somebody to Pyatov Shibarov's manor and tell him to take with him as many local and external priests, deacons, starostas [aldermen] and tselovalniks [tax collectors] as he can to go to Pyatov Shibarov's manor and start a thorough investigation of: Whether Pyatov Shibarov passed away, and whether his wife was left behind childless; if at the end of investigation it turns out that Pyatov Shibarov passed away and his wife is childless, his manor is empty and neither handed over to anybody nor allocated to the state-owned localities and tribute-paying volosts, you shall assign a garden and 20 quarters of arable land from the Pyatov's manor to Pyatov's widow, wife of Shibarov, to provide living. You should order to allocate 70 quarters of arable land from that Pyatov's manor to Grigory Tishenkov from Sviyazhsk in addition to his manor in Nizhny Novgorod in the amount of 49 quarters as half of his allowance of the upstream manor // [fol. 131] of 150 quarters. However, should you be told to designate estate for both from the same place, not separately, neither in the form of land nor from a village, not by choice, the living land and the spare shall be split by quarters. Tell him to record separately in the book of the zemsky or church dyak what was certainly allocated to whom, and those books, signed by the priest, dyak and the person who received the estate, should be sent to us in Moscow and handed over to dyaks Elizary Vyluzgin and Ivan Efanov in the Domestic prikaz. Issued on 15 May 7104 in Moscow. //

Edited by Mikiforko Sverchkov. [fol.131 back side]

Extract from: G. Anpilogov. Documents of Nizhny Novgorod of the 16th century. Moskva, 1977. pp. 149–150.

⁷ Some letters cannot be read.

No. 20

A separate certificate issued by Sviyazhsk voivode Prince V. Lobanov-Rostovsky to serving murza Yanbulat Bekteev for the common of Shalakholar in Sviyazhsk uyezd

10 July 1596⁸

Based on the charter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich and investigation of Grigory Kosyagovsky, dated 7104, voivode Prince Vasily Michailovich Lobanov-Rostovskoy granted serving Tatar Yanbulat murza Bekteev from Sviyazhsk uyezd a manor in Shalakholar common, located on the River Klyary between two copses going up to the River Volga towards the Sulfur Mountains, fifty quarters of arables and fallow land in the field, two more fields of the same size, three hundred heaps of hay along the river bank and bugles. Yanbulat will possess that arable lands and hayfields and serve His Majesty.

The voivode Prince Vasily Michailovich Lobanov-Rostovsky put his seal on the certificate. 10 July 7104.

On the reverse side: Prepared by podyachy Osipko Vdovin.

The original was read by Alexander Nikitin.

Extract from: Acts of Landowning Servicemen of the 15–Early 17th Centuries, Vol. 2, No. 31, pp. 26–27.

No. 21

Charter on behalf of Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich to the Nizhny Novgorod voivode concerning the allocation to Tatyana, widow of Sulesh Tishenkov, a resident of Sviyazhsk, and her three children an 'estate' from the manor of her husband in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd on condition that her son Semen becomes a soldier as soon as he comes of age and sends land division books to Pomestny [Domestic] prikaz

17 November 1596.

[fol. 159] From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich to our voivode Levonty Ivanovich Oksakov and our dyak Ivashka Sherapov in Nizhny Novgorod. Sulesh's widow Tatyana, wife of Tishenkov, made obeisance to us. Last year, in 7104, her husband Sulesh passed away when he was serving on the Yaik, leaving behind him widow Tatyana, the fourth person in the family, with the son Senka, twelve years old, and with two more daughters. We have given to her husband a manor in Sviyazhsk uyezd, 60 quarters of arable and fallow land and, according to our edict, with the deduction from one hundred of 25 quarters, 49 quarters in addition in Nizhny Novgorod, and the allowance of her husband was 350 quarters. And we shall grant her, widow Tatyana, and her children from that husband, a manor in Sviyazhsk and Nizhny Novgorod. Her son Senka, when he is old enough to serve and is 15 years old, will start to serve us from that manor of his father and he will feed his mother, widow Tatyana, and sisters; when his sisters are old enough, he will find them husbands. Let it be so, in the way that Sulesh's widow Tatyana, the wife of Tishenkov, with children, asked in her petition. We sent you // [fol. 160] a word-for-word certificate, signed by the dyak, from the records and letters of Nizhny Novgorod, and report from Vasily Borisov with fellows, dated summer 7096, about Sulesh Tishenkov's manor. As soon as you receive our charter and certificate, you shall send somebody to Nizhny Novgorod uyezd, to Sulesh Tishenkov's manor to his share, and tell him to take with him local and ex-

⁸ It is noteworthy that according to rank notes from the Razrjadnaja kniga in 7102–7104 voivode Michail Grigoryevich Temkin-Rostovsky served in Sviyazhsk, while Vasily Mikhaylovich Lobanov Rostovsky was appointed as a voivode to Sviyazhsk in 7105—that is, not earlier than September 1596.

ternal priests, deacons, starostas [aldermen], tselovalniks [tax collectors], and peasants to go to Sulesh Tishenkov's manor, and there, in Sulesh's manor, according to the certificate from books, concerning his share of 49 quarters of arable land, tell to allocate to Sulesh's widow, the wife of Tishenkov, Tatyana with children, an estate in addition to their manor of 125 quarters in Sviyazhsk. Her son Senka, when he is old enough to serve and is 15 year old, will start to serve us from that manor of his father, and he will feed his mother, widow Tatyana, and sisters; when his sisters are old enough, he will find them husbands. He shall record separately in the book of the zemsky or church acolyte the names of localities, villages, pochinok (inhabited locality), commons, flood land, number of houses and people in them with their names, the size of arable lands, hay, forest and other lands that will be allocated to [Sulesh's] Tatyana from the manor of her husband, then those records, signed by the priest, deacon and the person allocating the lands, shall be sent to us to Moscow and handed over to our dyaks Elizary Vyluzgin and Ivan Efanov in Pomestny [Domestic] prikaz. Written on 17 November 7105, in Moscow.

Did not bring certificates. //

Edited by Mikiforko Sverchkov. [fol. 160 reverse]

Extract from: G. Anpilogov. Documents of Nizhny Novgorod of the 16th century. Moskva, 1977. pp. 164–166.

No. 22

Land division books of Philipp Voetsky concerning allocation of land to Ilya Tishenkov, son of Parfen, from Sviyazhsk land, from obrochny share of Ivan Bolkhovsky in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd 'as half of his upstream manor'

24 May 1597

On 24 May 7105, according to the edict of the Tsar's voivode Levonty Ivanovich Oksakov and the Tsar's dyak Ivashka Sharapov, son of boyar Philipp Voetsky went to Berezopolsky stan in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd to ask about the things mentioned in the obeisance of Ilya Tishenkov, son of Parfen, to the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fyodor Ivanovich. He should have been given a manor of 300 quarters as a state allowance, half of the allowance was to be given from Sviyazhsk, and the latter half from the upstream cities. At the moment, he does not have a manor in upstream cities, and he was asking the Tsar to grant him the obrochny land in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd, that is under obrok of prince Ivan Bolkhovsky now, and that this land will be allocated to him as allowance. // [fol. 29]. Philipp Voetsky was told to go to Nizhny Novgorod uyezd to the obrochny land of Prince Ivan Bolkhovsky, not including the manor of Prince Ivan, and taking the required number of local and external priests, deacons, elders, tselovalniks and peasants, to separate from that obrochny share, except from the manor of prince Ivan, 50 quarters of arable lands to prince Ivan Bolkhovsky in addition to this manor of 450 quarters, making a total of 500 quarters. Allocate 50 quarters of arable land from the same obrochny share to Ilya Tishenkov from Sviyazhsk as half of his allowance in the Upstream manor in the amount of 150 quarters. Philipp had gone to that obrochny land with external people // [fol. 29 back side] with Semion Ivanov, priest of the resurrection, and Ilyinsk's priest Ignat, with one more priest Semion, with [Iva]n Domazhirov's prikazchik [the merchant's clerk] Yakov Ivanov, with Ivan Onuchin's prikazchik Smirnov Rodivonov and Ivan Osorin's prikazchik Rozgildey Osipov, and prince Roman Bolkhovsky's elder Danil Vasilyev, Grigory Glebov's elder Pervy Dmitriyev, a bee-keeper from the Meledina village Ivan Olekseev, bee-keepers from the Zolina village Fyodor Olekseev, Shurman Semenov, Rodivon Ushakov, Kuzma Dmitriev, and Ivan Fyodorovich, son of Kos, from the village of Bogdanov and asked Prince Ivan Bolkhovsky's prikazchik Ulan Fyodorovich and external people, what is the measure of ob-

rochny land from Prince Ivan's // [fol. 30] gardens, and land and from other landlords' lands. Prince Ivan's prikazchik Ulan and external people marked the borders of the obrochny land from prince Ivan's manor and other landlords; that land, a half of one and half of the field sown with rye, completely matched the borders of the previous estate of prince Ivan, the second half, one and half of field is tilled for spring crops, and near th borders of prince Ivan's land, there was a ravine. Philipp told Ilya Tishenkov to separate the field sown with summer crops, but Prince Ivan's prikazchik did not allow for the separation of the land, since that land belongs to His Majesty and borders his land, then Philip told Ilya to separate the rye field, bordering prince Ivan's estate. Instead of Ilya, there was his brother-in-law Grigory Kasagovsky, and Grigory said: it belongs to His Majesty...// [fol. 30 back side] [...] ⁹ because it borders the land of prince Ivan, but the lands of Ilya do not border the field and cannot coincide with the ancient settlement of the prince, and the rye field does not belong to His Majesty, thus I will give him arable lands from lands of Ilya, and I will take an estate from that land; field of His Majesty is sowed with rye, so Ilya does not have land for summer crops and fallow, and he will not have bread for the next two years. When prince Ivan realised that a part of manor was given to Ilya, he intentionally told him to till the fallow field for summer crops, and the rest were shouting out their denunciation for me, for I informed them that a part of manor was given to Ilya, and this is a fallow field of His Majesty and I, Philipp, came to divide the land, Grigory requested // [fol. 31] from prince Ivan's prikazchik the half of the land where [...] ¹⁰ Ilya agreed to yield the land to him but wanted to get the field of rye, but the prikazchik of prince Ivan did not give the field of rye and did not put off his claims for the land, and they began to argue. Philipp Voetsky divided the obrochny land into two and set the border beginning with the ancient settlement through the Zaytsov Ravine up to a pine, from the pine the border shifted to the left to a young pine, and border of Ilya is from that pine to the young pine, but not to the border. The border starts from that pine and finishes at the young pine, then goes from that pine across the road towards the forest up to the pine. Philipp did not allocate land to Ivan Bolkhovsky and Ilya Tishenkov for // [fol. 31 reverse] them to argue about, until the situation was reported to voivode Levonty Ivanovich Oksakov and the Tsar's dyak Ivashka Sherapov, depending on what will be told by the voivode and dyak, and Philipp told prince Ivan's prikazchik Ulan not to sow the land tilled for summer crops until the report is announced, because the land was going to be sowed in 7106, but they both were told to be ready to report on 20 May 7105. Land division books were written by Vaska Kondratyev, an acolyte from the Church of St. Nicholas the Miracle-maker. The book is signed by Philipp Voetsky, priest Semion of the Resurrection Church, priest Ignaty of the Prophet Iliya Church, priest Dolmat of the Church of St. Nicholas.

Extract from: G. Anpilgov. Documents of Nizhny Novgorod of the 16th century. Moskva, 1977. pp. 224–227.

No. 23

**A charter to travel from Sviyazhsk to Moscow issued
by voivode prince M. Gvozdev-Rostovsky and dyak K. Afanasyev to Tlesh Kugushev
and Enaly Tennikov, Sviyazhsk's Chuvash people from Abyzovy village**

1 January 1603.

According to the edict of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich, from voivode prince Michail Fyodorovich Gvozdev-Rostovsky and Kir Ofonasyev from Sviyazhsk

⁹ 3 to 4 words at the bottom of p. 30 and the beginning of p. 30 v. are not legible.

¹⁰ 2 words are not legible.

to Moscow, to all towns of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich, to voivodes, dyaks and all prikaz people.

Sviyazhsk's Chuvash people from Chekursk volost, Abyzovy village, Tlesh Kugushev and Enaly Tennikov are allowed to go from Sviyazhsk to Moscow to make obeisance about their needs to the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich. The Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich ordered voivodes, dyaks and all prikaz people to allow Sviyazhsk's Chuvash people Tlesh and Enaly to go anywhere. Those who read this travel charter shall give it back to show to other prikaz people along the way. If they bring with them bread or any other product to sell, do not allow them go with bread and other product, send them back to Sviyazhsk.

This travel charter is sealed by voivode prince Michailo Fyodorovich Gvozdev-Rostovsky. 1 January 7111.

Written by Kir Ofonasyev.

Published by: Documents on the history of the Kazan Krai from archives of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The latter half of the 16th century—the middle of the 17th century. Texts and commentaries / Composed by I. Ermolaev, D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. pp. 57–58. No. 22.

No. 24

Testament of newly-baptised serving man (?) Ivan, son of Kilibirdy

27 April 1603.

A verbatim copy from memory.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

I, servant of God, Ivan, son of Kilibirdy, being of sound mind and memory, am writing the following testament about what should be given to whom and what should be taken by whom, and I leave my soul to my grandson Kuzma, son of Grigory, leave my house with everything and with serf Antso to my grandson Kuzma, leave five rubles on Kolkoman to my grandson Kuzma, leave my serf Ogra, with his wife and children, to my wife Maria and daughter Irina. All the dresses of my wife I leave to my wife Maria. I allow my serf Tereberdey, with his wife and children, to leave and to go to the sloboda. Neither my children nor my grandsons, neither my dynasty nor my tribe have anything to do with them. I leave my slave Pert to my daughter Ulmes. I left two rubles to my son Chamkul.

I shall claim back seven rubles and twenty altyns without bondage from Tyamty village at Algul at Teregulov. I shall claim back three rubles and two grivnas without bondage from Akhmamat, son of Yenak, from Pimir village. I shall claim back two rubles without bondage from the pentecostals in Kaibul. The peasant of prince Yakov, Ivan, borrowed one ruble without bondage. I shall claim back three rubles without bondage from Teleberdy, son of Sabachiev, living in the village of Bostiry. I shall claim back one ruble without bondage from Stepan Mikitin from Koval village. I shall claim back twenty altyns without bondage from a peasant of prince Yakov, Gavril. I shall claim back one ruble with bondage from the wife of Mamashev, and I have a pawned beaver. I shall claim back two rubles with bondage from Ivan, son of Grigory, from the village of Atret. I shall claim back three rubles without bondage from prince Fyodor, son of Vasily. I shall claim back forty altyns and ten rubles without bondage from prince Yakov, son of prince Vasily. I shall claim back // two rubles without bondage from Ivan, son of Ondrey. I shall claim back five rubles with bondage from Oleksy, son of Fyodor. I shall claim back two rubles without bondage from highland Tatar Merems from the village of Bolgar.

My wife shall live in my house with my grandson Kuzma until the end of her life. My debts shall be collected by my wife Maria with grandson, and they shall commemorate me with this money. Ten rubles from this money shall be given to my grandson Kuzma. The rest of money shall be kept for my daughter Irina.

The testament was written in the presence of: Marko, son of Vakhromy, a priest of the Fore-runner's church, from Ishersky locality, prince Yakov and prince Fyodor, children of prince Vasily Asanov, newly baptised serving people from Sie village Ivan Pumasov, Ofonasei Derbyshaliev, Ivan Ondriev, and Yury Danilov, Ivan, son of Nazary, and Ignatey, son of Vasily, from Isher village, Levontey, son of Ivan, from Ie village, Ofonasei, son of Ivan, from Koval village, Tarabardev, son of Sabanchy, from Voster village.

One copy of this testament is given to Kuzma, one to Maria, and the third copy is given to Yury, son of Danil, from Sie village. This testament is not to be given to Yury alone.

The testament is written by Oleshka Akchyrin, son of Fyodor. 27 April 7111.

Extract from: *The History of Tataria in Records and Documents* / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. pp. 193–194.

No. 25

An amicable agreement between 'highland Cheremis' Karaguz Yakovlev and 'other highland Cheremis' Bolday Isminderev, Kulakhmet Kulaev, Akhkulat Iseev with 'fellows' from Kozmodemyan uyezd concerning the disputed croplands along the rivers Morkvasha, Sralka, Mundora, Yelovcha, Poshnara (?)

September 1603–August 1604

An amicable agreement between Karaguz, son of Yakov, highland Cheremis from Serbiev uyezd, from the sotnia (hundred) headed by Prince Urazlin, and highland Cheremiss Bolday Isminderev, Kulakhmat Kulaev, Akhkulat Iseev with fellows from Kuzmodemyansk uyezd, from the sotnia headed by Alikey Alkechev, that I, Karaguz, was looking for croplands in that Cheremiss land along the river Morkvasha, the Sralka, the river and field Mundora, the river and field Yelovcha, the river and field Poshnara Nastya. And I, Karaguz, made peace with the Cheremis Bolday, Kulakhmat, Akpulat with fellows, and from now on neither I, Karaguz, nor my dynasty, my tribe, my children will do anything with that Cheremis land nor look for anything in there. If I, Karaguz, begin to look for croplands in those Cheremis lands or my children, my dynasty and my tribe begin to look for croplands, I, Karaguz, according to this agreement, will leave the territory and cause no loss. This agreement was recorded in the presence of witnesses Angol Keldyshev and Yanbarys Yanbakhtin from the sotnia of Kogashev. Translation was provided by translator Vasily Baybakhta. Thereto witness Grigory, son of Ivan, and Bazhen, son of Kornil. The agreement was recorded by Ivanka, son of Dmitry. 7112.

The following is written on the reverse side of the ori [g]inal:

Banner¹¹ of Karaguz.

Banner of Yanbarys.

Banner of Yangul.

Extract from: V. Dimitriev. Documents on the history of the Middle Volga Region population in the 16–first half of the 17th centuries // *Proceedings of Research Institute under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic*. Cheboksary, 1963. Iss. 22. P. 123. No. 5.

¹¹ From this point onward, a picture of a tamga is given after the word 'banner'—editorial comment.

No. 26

An amicable agreement between 'highland Cheremis' Paydul Atkunchin and 'other highland Cheremis' Bolday Isminderev, Kulakhmet Kulaev, Akhkulat Iseev with 'fellows' from Kozmodemyan uyezd concerning the disputed croplands along the rivers Morkvasha, Sralka, Mundora, Yelovcha, Poshnara (?)

September 1603–August 1604.

Paydul Atkunchin, a highland Cheremis from Serbiev city and uyezd, from the sotnia (hundred) headed by prince Urazlin, reached an amicable agreement in Kozmodemyan city with highland Cheremis Bolday Isminderev, Kulakhmat Kulaev, Akhkulat Iseev with fellows from Kozmodemyan uyezd, from the sotnia headed by Alisey Alkechev, that I, Paydul, was looking for croplands in that Cheremis land along the river Morkvasha, the Sralka, the river and field Mundora, the river and field Yelovcha, the river and field Poshnara Nastya. And I, Paydul, made peace with the Cheremis Bolday, Kulakhmat, Akpulat with fellows, and from now on neither I, Paydul, nor my dynasty, my tribe, my children will have anything to do with that Cheremis land nor look for anything in there. If I, Paydul, begin to look for croplands in those Cheremis lands or my children, my dynasty and my tribe begin to look for croplands, I, Paydul, according to this agreement, will leave the territory and cause no loss. This agreement was recorded in the presence of Cheremis centurion Kogash Kochin, and Nonik Baysarin and Aligash Oshchurin from sotnia [one hundred] of Otyakov. Translation was provided by translator Pasha Novokreshchen. Thereto witness Grigory, son of Ivan, and Bazhen, son of Kornil. Agreement was recorded by Ivanko, son of Dmitry. 7112.

There were other persons on the land, Otun Patakov, Cheremis, centurion of Cheboksary uyezd, serving Cossacks from his sotnia Yangilda Pigitdin and Paktysh Pigeldiyev, centurion Pikhtul Pitikov, starosta [elder] Karaguz Arasev, serving petidesyatnik [head of fifty] Baysubay Devlechirov from Yadrin uyezd; they said that originally the croplands and hayfields of Kuzmodemyan uyezd belonged to Cheremis Bolday Isminderov with fellows.

The following is written on the reverse side of the ori [g]inal:

Banner of Paydul.

Banner of centurion Kogash.

Banner of Nonik.

Banner of Aligash.

Extract from: V. Dimitriev. Documents on the history of the Middle Volga Region population in the 16–first half of the 17th centuries // Proceedings of Research Institute under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Cheboksary, 1963. Iss. 22. pp. 124–125. No. 6.

No. 27

The charter from the Pomestny [Domestic] prikaz on behalf of the Tsar B. Godunov to Nizhny Novgorod voivode M. Molchanov and dyak Aleksey Karpov concerning the allocation of the former manor of I. Kozlov from Nizny Novgorod in Nizhny Novgorod uyezd to A. Bestuzhev from Sviyazhsk, I. Kairev from Nizhny Novgorod and widow Maria

10 January 1605

A verbatim copy of the charter.

From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Fyodorovich to Michail Vasilyevich Molchanov and our dyak Oleksey Karpov in Nizhny Novgorod. Ondrey Zakharyev, son of Bezstuzh, from Sviyazhsk and Ivashko Islamov, son of Kair, from Nizhny Novgorod made obeisance, according to which, Ondrey should be given four-hundred-quarter manor as allowance,—half of it from Sviyazhsk, the rest of manor to be given from the upstream cities—and Ivashka should be given two hundred quarters. In addition, Ondrey should be given a six-quarter manor in Nizhny Novgorod, but he was not granted the half of his manor in the upstream cities in the amount of one hundred and twenty four quarters, and Ivahska has no manor at all. They kindly ask us to grant them an estate in Nizhny Novgorod from the manor of Ivan Kozlov, son of Ivan. Ivan passed away in 7112, leaving behind a wife, widow Maria, childless. Ivan was granted a manor in Nizhny Novgorod, which amounted to two hundred and forty six quarters with osmina, and his allowance was two hundred and fifty quarters. Ivan's manor is spare, and was not given to anyone.

Let it be so, in the way it was asked in the obeisance of Ondrey Bezstuzhev and Ivashka Kairev. We have sent you copies from Nizhny Novgorod books and reports of Vasily Borisov with his fellows, dated 7096, and land division books from the department of town prikazchik Philipp Voetsky, dated 7105, a verbatim certificate signed by dyak. When you receive our charter and extract from our books, you shall send somebody to Nizhny Novgorod uyezd to Ivan Kozlov's Manor and tell him to go together with the necessary number of local and external priests, deacons, elders, tselovalniks and peasants, and in that Ivan Kozlov's Manor, according to the certificate from our books, signed by dyak, which was sent to you with our charter, allocate thirty quarters of the estate with arable and fallow lands to widow Maria, wife of Ivan Kozlov, to live on until she marries or takes the veil or passes away. Allocate one hundred quarters of arable and fallow lands from Ivan's manor to Ondrey Bezstuzhev, son of Zahar, from Sviyazhsk, in addition to his seventy-and-six-quarter manor in Nizhny Novgorod, for the half of his allowance, to his two-hundred-quarter upstream manor. Allocate arable and fallow lands of one hundred quarters with osmina from Ivan's manor to Ivashka Kairev, son of Islam, to his allowance of two hundred quarters. All of them shall be allocated a land in the field, two more of the same size, from one and the same row, not separately nor across the lands nor across villages nor chosen, but inhabited and free, divided by quarters, houses and people in houses, and hay, and forest, and various acreages for arable lands. You shall tell him to record separately into the book of zemsky or church deacon how many localities, villages, pochynoks [inhabited localities], and commons had been allocated by him and to whom, how many houses and how many people in a house by names, how many hayfields, forest and other acreage have been allocated to each of them. Those books, signed by priest, deacon and the person you had sent to divide the manor, you shall send to us to Moscow and tell to hand them over to our dyaks Vasily Markov and Ivan Efanov in Pomestny prikaz.

Written in Moscow. 10 January 7113.

The charter was signed by dyak Ivan Efanov.

Extract from: Acts of Landowning Service Class People of the 15–Early 17th Centuries, Vol. 3, No. 31, pp. 47–48.

No. 28**Ownership charter issued by Kazan Palace to peasant serfs belonging to serving Tatar Choray Arakovich Kurmanderbyshev, a landlord in the village of Bolshiye Kuyuki in Kazan uyezd**

10 April 1617.

According to the edict of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich and according to the order of boyar and voivode Prince Volodimir Timofeevich Dolgoruky, Prince Semen Nikitich Gagarin, dyaks Andrey Podlesov and Afanasy Istomin, to all peasants living in the manor of serving Tatar Arak Kurmanderbyshev in the village of Bolshoy Kuyuk. On 9 April of the present year of 1617, Choray Kurmanderbyshev, son of Arak, made obeisance to the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, in which he wrote that his father was killed in 1616 serving for His Majesty while they were chasing thief Enaleyko, and His Majesty granted to his father a manor in the village of Bolshoy Kuyuk. The piscovaja knigas [chronicles] of Ivan Boltin with fellows, dated 1603, contain the following information: on the Nogayskaya road in Bolshoy Kuyuk village, serving Tatar Arak Kurmanderbyshev was granted a landlord court, tilled arable lands of eleven quarters in the field, and two more of the same size, hay on Kuyukovksya glade, and 330 heaps of hay beyond the river. Boyar and voivode Prince Volodimir Timofeevich Dolgoruky, Prince Semen Nikitich Gagarin, dyaks Andrey Podlesov and Afanasy Istomin of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich decided to grant him his father Arak's manor as his son Chorayk's allowance of 250 quarters. The certificate was signed by dyak Andrey Podlesov. Thus, all you living in Arak's manor now and those who will be living there in future years shall listen to the landlord Chorayk Arakov, till his arable lands and pay obrok that he imposes on you as a landlord. This certificate of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich was sealed by boyar and voivode Prince Volodimer Timofeevich Dolgoruky with the seal of the Tsardom of Kazan. 1617. April 10th.

On the reverse side: dyak Afanasiy Istomin, Prepared by Markel Amirev.

Extract from: E. Malov. Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty` (Materialy` dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. P. 7.

No. 29**A copy of granted charter for Alatyr serving princes and murzas, Prince Baish Razgildeev and Yamash murza, Prince Mangushev with fellows regarding exemption from certain duties in money and kind**

29 April 1618

By the Grace of God we, the Great Tsar and Grand Prince Sovereign of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, granted to princes, murzas and Tatars from the city of Alatyr, Prince Baish Razgildeev, Yamash murza and Prince Mangushev with fellows, in accordance with what they asked for when they made obeisance and wrote: they are to participate in winter and summer service, ordinary and extraordinary service, and they do not shirk any service, but their manors are small; from old times, their grandfathers and fathers had served the former Tsars, did not have to pay tributes, conscript money, yamsky money, hearth money; but now they are forced to dig ditches and to do ostrog, city and abatis works, and pay yamsky and hearth money, while their brothers, Kasimov, Kadom and Temnikov, Tsensk and Arzamas princes and murzas from all cities, were given our tarkhan letters patent about keeping them free from any tributes except for service. We

shall grant them, shall order our letters patent to be issued to them—the same that was given to their brothers, Kasimov, Kadom, Temnikov, Tsnensk and Arzamas princes and murzas and Tatars. A message was sent to Alatyr to investigate whether the former Tsars claimed tribute, conscript, yamsky and hearth money from Alatyr princes and murzas; whether Alatyr princes and murzas were involved in city, ostrog and abatis works. 240 different people were interviewed and they said the following: Alatyr princes and murzas, Prince Baish Razgildeev, Yamash murza, Prince Mangushev with fellows, participated in different services from their manors, winter and summer, ordinary and extraordinary services, they do not shirk any service; as for tribute, conscript, yamsky and hearth money, they did not pay them.—We, the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, granted Alatyr princes and murzas and Tatars, Prince Baish Razgildeyev, Yamash murza, Prince Mangushev with fellows, and Arzamas princes, murzas and Tatars that became landlords in Alatyr uyezd; and we ordered to grant them letters patent, the same as were given to their brothers, Kasimov, Kadom, Temnikov princes and murzas and Tatars: to exempt them from paying yamsky and hearth money for their manors and to keep their peasants free from yam duty; in return for those manors and allowance, they shall participate in our winter and summer services. This Tsar's letters patent was issued by us on 29 April 7126.—The following is written at the end of this original charter: Dyak of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich Fyodor Apraksin; with a red wax seal and a red silk cord attached.

The following is written on the reverse side of the charter: Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich.

Extract from: Historical and legal materials of the district of Kazan Palace's former Prikaz. Tom. 1. Kazan, 1882. pp. 54–55.

No. 30

Ownership charter for the former manor share of Bibay Uraev in the locality of Tarbaevo in Kasimov uyezd, allocated to serving Tatar Balbek Tenebyakov

8 April 1619

[fol. 10] [From the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich to Kasimov uyezd, Borisoglebsky stan, the share in the locality of Tarbaevo, Bibay Uraev's manor and his share between Tarbaev, Turaev, and Puraev to all peasants who live in that manor in the Bibay's share. Balbek Tenebekov, a serving Tatar from Kasimov, made obeisance to us, according to which, pursuant to his allowance, he shall be granted an eighty-quarter manor, since, at the moment, he owns a ten-quarter manor in the field in Kasimov uyezd, the locality of Tarbaevo, and two more of the same size. Last year, 7126, he, Balbek, was granted seven quarters and osmina of arable land in Bibay Uraev's manor share, the locality of Tarbaevo, Kasimov uyezd, and two quarters and osmina of arable land on the river Kitayka in Bibay's share between Puraev, Turaev and Tarbaev, nine quarters and osmina in total from both. However, he does not have our ownership charter for that manor of nine quarters and osmina. We shall grant Balbek an ownership charter for that nine-quarters-and-osmina manor from Bibay Uraev's share that will] document his ownership over the manor.

The following is written in some books of the department of gorodovoi [city] prikazchik Ondrei Oksenov, dated the current year of 7127. Seven quarters and half of osmina were allocated in Bibay Uraev's share on the Kitaika River in the locality of Torbaev in Kasimov uyezd, and his Uraev's share is located between Torbaev, Turaev and Puraev arable lands in the amount of two quarters and half of osmina, with a total of nine quarters and osmina in the field, and two more of the same size, to Balbek Tenebyakov, a serving Tatar from Kasimov, in addition to his ten-quarter manor, as part of his allowance of eighty quarters.

Let it be so, in accordance with the petition of Balbek Tenebyakov, a serving Tatar from Kasimov, thus, all you, peasants living in his Balbek's manor in the locality of Torbaev in Bibay Uraev's share, shall obey landlord Balbek Tenebyakov, till his arable lands and pay his landlord yield.

Written on 8 April 7127, in Moscow.

On the reverse side: prepared by Sidorko Ondreev.

Source: The depository of manuscripts and textual criticism of Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Ibragimov, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund of M. Ahmetzyanov, item 38.

Published by: D. Mustafina. '...Our forefather was a true Serving Tatar' (from the petition of the Baybekovs to acknowledge their nobility)) // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 89–102.

No. 31

A certificate from the ownership books of A. Aksenov to serving Tatar Bolubek Tenebyakov for the former manor of Bibay Uraev in the locality of Tarbaevo in Kasimov uyezd

8 April 1619

[fol. 12] 8 April 7127. The certificate of the ch [ar]ter. In the locality of Torbaev, Borisoglebsk stan, Kosimov uyezd. Bibay's share consists of seven quarters. Urae [v] share consists of two quarters and half of osmina. Uraev's share is in the locality of Torbaev, next to the estate, through the ravine and hayfields and seventy hay stacks until the end of those three fields on the River Kitaika, on both sides of those fields, and two fields are surrounded by the Ukai Ravine; the border is Maneevskaya and Takaevskaya groves. My father's share is eleven quarters and attached land, and my father's share is three quarters and attached land in the field behind the Maly Torbaev and two more of the same size.

Enbulat, son of Debe: three osminas and attached land of two fields of the same size. My father's hayfields are of the size of seventy haystacks, until the border of three fields on both sides of the Kitaika River. There are neither landlord's courts nor peasants' houses in the locality of Torbaev. According to the charter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, the city commander of Kasimov, Ondrey Aksenov, allocated a manor in its former borders to a servicing Tatar from Kasimov, Bolubek Tenebekov, as allowance // [fol. 8] of twenty quarters and a quarter and three halves of osmina. Ondrey Aksenov, the city commander of Kasimov, issued a certificate from the ownership books to Bolubek Tenibekov, a serving Tatar from Kasimov, for Bibay Uraev's manor and signed it himself.

The following people were present with the city commander Ondrey Aksenov when the ownership charter was issued: local and other people and bughers; sons of boyars Matvey Sur-ov, son of Ivan, Vlas, son of Boris, and Elisey Borsukov, son of Ivan; a Tatar from Novgorod Chenysh Kulushev, son of Utesh; a sender from Kasimov Kudin Nechaev; peasants from Chuskiya volost Ignatey Doronin, son of Ivan, and Arkhip Aleev; Kasimov Tatars murza Urazley Shakaev, Enbulat Devlecharov, Boybulat Kashaev, Chelikeev Devletkazin, Yangildey Azitov, Kunyush Togamaev, Enbulat, Kuchkey Sabakov, Churai Baichurin, Sharap Istomin, Uraz Ivanov, Ishmakai murza, Polovy Ivanov, Kutlush Kutyanov. Those Tatars told him in their language that, according to their faith and traditions, the manor and field quarters belonged to Bibay Uraev.

The certificate was written by Mitka Isaev.

8 April 7127.

On the reverse side: This ownership certificate was signed by city commander Ondrey Oksenov.

Source: The depository of manuscripts and textual criticism of Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Ibragimov, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund of M. Ahmetzyanov, item 38.

Published by: D. Mustafina. '...Our forefather was a true Serving Tatar' (from the petition of the Baybekovs to acknowledge their nobility)) // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 89–102.

No. 32

List of Asian merchants released from Kazan, with a list of their goods

1 December 1619–19 January 1620.

List of Eastern merchants who were allowed to go from Kazan upstream, each with a list of goods.

[...] On 1 December, a *tezık* [Eastern merchant] from Kizilbash lands Mamdeyko Maksyutov was allowed to go from Kazan to Olator and take the following goods with him: 35 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk (manufactured at Resht); 15 coloured *dorogy* [silk cloth, mainly striped or plaid]; 31 *yuft* [Russian leather] *morocco*; 90 *ansyr'* of *pyrs* silk [fine silk cloth]; price RUB 248; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble; total RUB 16 and 4 *altyns* were paid. On 9 December, an Armenian Kazarinko Meretov, was allowed to go to Nizhny, and take the following goods with him: 300 *yuft* [Russian leather] *safian*; 200 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk [manufactured at Resht], 6 poods of blue paper, 80 printed cotton fabric of different colours, price of soft goods is 728 o., fabric goods 118 rub., for soft goods duties of 2 *alt.* in *denga* per ruble, for fabric goods duties of 3 *alt.* per ruble, total 57 rubles 31 *alt.* 2 *denga* have been paid.

On [...] December, an Armenian (from Kizilbash lands) Alkhanko Kharabet was allowed to go to Perm, [...] the lion; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble, total RUB 2 and 33 *altyns* were paid. On 16 December, a *tezık* from Kizilbash lands Mametyevo Mamarifov was allowed to go to Nizhny Novgorod and take the following goods with him: 200 *ansyr'* of *forbat* silk; 120 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk; price RUB 600; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble; total RUB 39 were paid; when Mametko arrived in Kazan, at Kazan customs office, he declared for sale the *farabat* and *las* silk, but when he arrived in Nizhny, he declared *aryas* silk, which was not in the original declaration. Kudaberdey Vyaleev, a man of Shamakhi voivode Isup Khan, sent goods belonging to Isup Khan with him to Nizhny: 100 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk; 30 *shlyansky dorogy*; price RUB 305; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble, total RUB [...], 27 *altyns* and 3 *dengas* were paid. On 2 [...] December Khozya-Brechim Magmetev from Bukhara was allowed to go to Nizhny and take the following goods with him: 1300 coloured printed cotton fabric; 300 coloured *zenden semendi* [triple silk fabric]; 23 Bukhara *dorogy*; 20 printed curtains; 150 *kharchevy belts*; 50 coloured *zenden dyumendi*; price RUB 1244; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble; total RUB 80, 28 *altyns* and 4 *dengas* were paid. On 21 December, a *tezık* from Kizilbash lands Mamin Bakin was allowed to go to Nizhny and take the following goods with him: 80 coloured printed cotton fabric; half of third of pood of soft paint; 6 brushes; 8 *yuft morocco*; 10 *zenden dyumendi*; 4 narrow prints; 6 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk; price of soft goods is RUB 114; price of hard goods is RUB 54; for soft goods duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble; for hard goods [...] 12 were paid.

[...] On 6 January [...] a *tezık* from Kizilbash l. (lands) Metko Maksutov [...] and take the following goods with him: 60 *ansyr'* of *pyrs* silk; 10 *ansyr'* of *aryas* silk; 30 *gilyanski dogory* of poor quality; 20 *kindyashchiks* of poor quality; price RUB 110; duties of 2 *altyns* and *denga* per ruble; total RUB 7 and 5 *altyns* were paid. On 19 January, a *tezık* from Kizilbash lands Nadruseinko

Maametov was allowed to go to Nizhny and take the following goods with him: 120 ansyr' of aryas silk; price RUB 300; duties of 2 altyns and denga per ruble; total RUB 19 And poltina [half ruble]. Total duties of RUB 255, 21 altyns and 5 dengas were paid for traded commodities. ..

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. pp. 236–237.

No. 33

Certificate from the books of 'letters and measures' by G. Koledinsky and podyachy I. Bakov, issued to serving Tatar Bolbek Tenebekov for a share of his father's estate in the locality of Tarbaevo in Kasimov uyezd

19 August 1621.

[fol. 11] By the edict of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, scribe Grigory Grigoryevich Kolodensky and podyachy Ivan Bakov issued a certificate from the books of letters and measures to Kasimov Tatar Bolbek Tenebekov from Kasimov uyezd, Podlipsky stan for a share in the locality of Torbaev, stating that the share was registered to his father.

Whereas the share is registered to him. The house of his landlords. Tilled arable lands of the landlord, middle lands of four quarters and half of osmina, arable and fallow lands of eight quarters in field, and two more of the same size, good lands with additional ten quarters. Ten heaps of hay by the end of the field, ten more heaps between arable lands. The share of the same village of Torbaev is registered to him; that share of the village was registered as an estate of Bibay Uraev. His share comprises arable and fallow lands, middle lands of nine quarters without half of an eighth in the field, and two more of the same size, good lands with an additional one quarter. To him belongs the heath of Bibay Uraev's manor between Turaev, Torbaev, and Puraev; the tillable lands with an inroad in the centre three quarters of the field, 2 more fields of the same size and good soil along with additional two quarters and an osmina.

And all the peasants, that will be living in those lands // shall listen to Bolbek Tenebekov, son of Tenebekov, till his arable lands and pay his landlord rents.

Grigory Grigoryevich Koledinsky affixed his seal to this certificate.

19 August 7129.

On the reverse side: Registered by podyachy and further confirmed by: Ivan Bakov.

Source: The depository of manuscripts and textual criticism of Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Ibragimov, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund of M. Ahmetzyanov, item 38.

Published by: D. Mustafina. '...Our forefather was a true Serving Tatar' (from the petition of the Baybekovs to acknowledge their nobility)) // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 89–102.

No. 34

The confirmation charter of Kazan palace to a serving Tatar, landlord Moskov Zozyashev for ownership of the mill on the River Nurma

5 October 1633

According to the edict of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, boyar and voivodes Matvey Mikhaylovich Godunov, Peter Ivanovich Mansurov, dyaks Stepan

Ugotskoy and Fyodor Rybenskoy issued a charter to serving Tatar Moscov Khozyashev for the reason that in the present year of 7142, he made obeisance to His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, in which he said that in the past His Majesty had allowed him to construct a large wheel on the mill in his estate along the Zyurey road in Tavelev village on the Nurma River. However, Prince Yakov Asanov has an ownership charter for that mill, and Prince Yakov was going to use that mill only for himself and not for any other person, but he placed a large wheel on the mill together with prince Yakov: the one bank is his, Moscov's; and the other, Prince Yakov's. Now, this Prince Yakov, who, despite the ownership charter, wants to take toll money for bread from strangers, and he, Moscov has to pay the toll from his estate holdings; and he presents a petition to His Majesty to order to find the previous ownership charter given to Prince Yakov, explaining why he was ordered to build a mill; in the manorial dachas of the past year 7132, it was written that: on 18 May a charter was issued to serving Tatar Moscov Khozyashev for Khozyashev's Mshey manor of 212 quarters with a third in field, and two more of the same size in the village of Bimer and in the smaller village of Sie, and Moscov Khozyashev was ordered to build from scratch a mill with large wheel on the Nurma River, for a quarter of tillable lands of 30 quarters in the field, and two more of the same size, and both registered to the Moscov's manor of 242 quarters and a third in field, and two more of the same size; in the manorial dachas of the past year 7141, it was written that: Prince Yakov Asanov, son of Vasily, submitted a petition to His Majesty and said that he was given a charter for the mill after a review of boyar and voivode Prince Boris Mikhaylovich Lykov with fellows; he built the mill along the Zyurey road on the River Nurma, a bit further from his village, and the Monastery of the Most Holy Mother of God in Kazan was burnt, and that Moscow charter of His Majesty issued for the mill was burnt as well in his absence, and there was nothing to prove his ownership; and he asks His Majesty to have a mercy on him and order to issue to him a new ownership charter for that mill, according to which he would own that mill, and that mill is located upper than his village of Bimer on the River Nurma; there has not been found any record in dachas in Kazan, and Prince Yakov Asanov told that in the previous year 7131, he submitted a petition to His Majesty in Moscow, so that His Majesty had a mercy on him and told him to build a mill with wheel on his manor in Kazan uyezd a bit further from his village Bimer, as his allowance for a quarter of the arable land, for fifty quarters. And so Prince Yakov was told to build this mill on the River Nurma, a little further from his village of Bimer, for a quarter of the arable land and fifty quarters on the land of his manor. According to the decision of the Okolnichy and voivode Fyodor Buturlin with fellows, Prince Yakov will continue to own the wheel mill on the River Nurma, a little further from his village of Bimer, for a quarter of the arable land and fifty quarters as his estate, and this mill will be built according to the charter of His Majesty from Moscow. In the present year of 7142, according to the decision of boyars and voivodes Matvey Mikhaylovich Godunov and Peter Ivanovich Mansurov, dyaks Stepan Ugotskoy and Fyodor Rybenskoy, serving Tatar Moscov Khozyashev is to own the mill on the Nurma River, based on the ownership charter he was given the previous year 7132 in Kazan, sealed by the seal of the Tsardom of Kazan and signed by the dyak, and he shall use that mill to mill for his own needs and for the external people, and Prince Yakov Asanov is allowed to mill for his own needs up to one hundred and fifty quarters per year, but prince Asanov will not own that mill because he provided false information in his obeisance to His Majesty. Boyar and voivode Matvey Mikhaylovich Godunov affixed the seal of the Kazan Tsardom to this charter of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich on 5 October 7142.

On the reverse side: dyak Stepan Ugotskoy. Prepared by podyachy Gavrilko Vasilyev.

Published by: E. Malov. *Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty* (Materials dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. pp. 8–9.

No. 35
Last will and testament of Galikay Atalyk

11 March 1639

When their time (of nations, people) will come; they will not be in the condition to postpone it for an hour nor to make it come sooner. By the Grace, Will and Power of One God Almighty, by the Hadiths and verses of the Quran of the all-glorious Prophet, by the decrees and regulations of His Great Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Michail Fyodorovich, according to the strict rules of the Sharia, in the presence of sayyids, mullahs and other witnesses, by the merciful assent of the son of Arslan Khan, His Majesty, Sayyid Burgan Sultan, I, servant of God Almighty, son of Akaymurza, Alikey-atalyk, of my own volition, having made obeisance to His Majesty Sayyid Burgan Sultan and asked for his permission, being of sound mind and memory, wishing to arrange matters in this world, as well as in the afterlife, have ordered to write a will in my presence. I have ordered a clergyman to write the will in my presence, so that my heirs, when the hour will come, the hour determined from on high by the One God, and I have to pass from this world, would not quarrel and hold a grudge against each other for the estate that I will leave behind. To my co-father-in-law Ak Muhammad Sayyid, son of Bulyak Sayyid, and my youngest kinsman, Dost Muhammad Murza, son of Khan Gilda Murza, I order the following. The arrangements of matters in this world and future were written in the year 1048, on Sunday, the 16th day of the sacred month of Dhu'l-Qi'dah, in the presence of faithful and reliable Muslims, with the names of the very witnesses at the end of this will. After my death, you, my co-father-in-law, Ak Muhammad Murza, and my youngest kinsman, Dost Muhammad Murza, are to fulfill my last will, according to my testament, make obeisance to His Majesty Sayyid Burgan Sultan and his mother, Her Majesty Fatima Sultan Bikam, so they would forgive me, their servant, and allow me the bread that I ate and water that I drank. As for me, I allow them my service, all the work I have done for them, and I forgive them a hundred thousand times. I do not own anything worthy of leaving them; for that I, their servant, beg their forgiveness. My house, which I have finished by their permission, including all the services and buildings, belongs to His Majesty Sayyid Burgan Sultan; he may do whatever or present it to whomever he wishes. To our free Majesty Fatima Sultan Bikam, I make obeisance with a woman named Ai Sulu, who was passed down to me by Uraz Muhammad Bashmakov; I ask her to accept this woman as a keepsake of me, her old servant; to His Majesty Sayyid Burgan Sultan, I pay obeisance with a grey horse, which I brought up myself, and a last year one-year-old blue horse; I ask him to accept them as a keepsake of me, his old servant. My youngest kinsman, Dost Muhammad Murza, I ask to be gracious and to forgive me; for nothing I have, neither my hair nor my beard, would be enough to pay for all his kind deeds and all the possessions he gave, so I ask him to bring happiness to me, be lenient, and not to harbour a grudge against me. To him, I give my foreigner, son of Ireney, named Kurmanay, bought from the wife of Kutanay, son of Yanbulat; I hope it will please him. From the son of Ak Muhammad Sayyid, my son-in-law, Tin Muhammad Sayyid, and my yudzhun, Bigish Bikach, I ask for forgiveness as well. I leave them my foreigner, son of Iriney, named Ivanaya, bought from the wife of Kutunay as well. To the son of Alibik Hafiz, my son-in-law, Ish Muhammad, and my sister, Shegr Sultan Bikach, both of them, I give my foreign woman, named Kurman Bi, bought from the son of Burnay, Utyamish. I ask for their leniency and forgiveness; and I forgive them too. They have no right to ask for more: as they know themselves, the wardrobe of my sister, Shegr Sultan Bikach, for her wedding cost me more than two hundred rubles. In regard to my other people who were not included in the list of people mentioned above, I order. In order to please God, for the intercession of the Prophet, may peace always be above Him, I set free my houseman, son of Andrey, named Yapush, so that he became like other free people. I also set free the wife of the man named Iriney, the daughter of Yury, Daulyasha, bought from the wife of Kutunay; let her

be free as other free people. The manumissions for them were written in my presence, in front of my eyes; I myself passed along these manumissions to Ak Muhammad Sayyid. When the time comes, determined by God from on high, and I will pass away, let Ak Muhammad Sayyid and my youngest kinsman, Dost Muhammad Murza, do me a favour and give those manumissions to both, Yapush and Daulyasha. No one has anything to do with them; they are free people of His Great Majesty. As to my Russian free man named Andrey, let him go wherever he wants; I order to give him my small house in the village; he may go anywhere he wishes. As to my man named Timoshka, I order to give him the horse that he tills with; he can go anywhere as well; he may go wherever he wants by his will; he is free. To our free and former servant woman, the elderly lady named Ilik, who was set free by my mother, let her live wherever and however she wishes. Besides the people mentioned above, emancipated or already free, the following estate and possessions are supposed to be left: thirty rubles, a bay palfrey, two red horses, a grey horse, two bay horses, a black female-horse, ten rams, two stud rams, three beehives, threshed grain winter crop rye, a pensile cauldron, an axe for chopping, needles and pincushions, thread and clews. From the son of Alyshbikov, Al Muhammad Murza take two rubles by bonded labour, and from Kara, son of Bey Gildyev, take one ruble without bonded labour. To Ak Muhammad Sayyid and Dost Muhammad Murza, I declare, that I do not owe anyone a farthing; only to God do I owe my soul as payment. When the appointed hour predetermined on high by God Almighty arrives and I, Alikey-Atalyk, pass away, Ak Muhammad Sayyid and Dost Muhammad Murza should wash and wrap me in a white shroud, inter me and, as it is right and proper, arrange, using my possessions, my funeral and distribute alms, so that neither my candle nor my lamp would be extinguished. Those who will bathe me and the hafiz, for reading the Quran over me should be rewarded with as much as it is necessary from my estate and possessions. As to my servant man named Ivanay, left by me to my son-in-law Tin Muhammad Sayyid, and my yudzhun Bigish Bikach, they should give away my large house in the village. All of my estate and possessions remaining after the expenses of the funeral, alms, payment to the people bathing me and payment to the hafiz for the reading of the Quran over me, namely: horses, all manner of livestock, poultry, all manner of grains, needles and pincushions, thread and clews, I leave to Ak Muhammad Sayyid and Dost Muhammad Murza. No one cares for all of these affairs except Ak Muhammad Sayyid and Dost Muhammad Murza. For all eternity, whoever it is, be it my son or daughter, my elder brother or younger one, a relative or a stranger, do not enter into a dispute with Ak Muhammad Sayyid and my youngest kinsman Dost Muhammad Murza, claiming to get something left by me, Alikey-Atalyk. However, if someone, whoever it may be, enters into a dispute, then let this person be cursed by God Holiest and Almighty, cursed by the earth and heavens, cursed by the angels, cursed by all people; as for the judges and authorities, let them not pay attention and listen to the words of such claimants and plaintiffs, but deny their claims and take their words as a lie and act according to my testament. I, Alikey-Atalyk, being able to speak, being of sound mind and full reason, in the presence of trustworthy people, ordered to write this testament by my own wish and passed it to Ak Muhammad Sayyid and Dost Muhammad Murza with my own hands. For I, Alikey-Atalyk, as a result of my illness, am incapable of signing this testament with my own hand, so being of sound mind and full reason, I instead ordered Uraz Muhammad Imildash, son of Uraz Gildy Imildash, to sign it in front of me. This testament was recorded in the presence of the following people: son of Bulyak Sayyid, Ish Muhammad Sayyid, son of Beyguvat Bik, Alysh Bik, son of Memesh Bik, Urazay Murza, son of Tengribirdi Murza, Isan Kildy Murza, son of Suyush Murza, Tengri Gul Murza, son of Khudayar, Kutlug Sagat, son of Ishkey Hafiz, Sefer Hafiz, son Jan Ali, Muhammad Hafiz, son of Shaaban, Mussa, son of Jaafar Muezzin Urazay Hafiz. This testament was recorded in the presence of and witnessed by the following people: witness thereto son of Jan Sayyid, Yul-kutlug Hafiz; witness thereto son of Dusay Murza, Sadykay Murza; witness thereto son of Bai-chur Hafiz, Bay Kildy Hafiz; witness thereto son of Kazykey, Daulya Sufi Hafiz; witness thereto son of Jan Gazy, Urazay Hafiz; witness thereto son of Ivanay, Itmekey Hafiz; witness thereto son

of Bazhen, Stepan; witness thereto son of Nikifor, Vasily; witness thereto son of Grigory, dyak Ivan; witness thereto son of Isaya, Nikita Martynov, witness thereto Perv Bazhen; witness thereto son of Kilish Murza, Kuchuk Murza.

Published by: V. Velyaminov-Zernov. Studies on the Kasimov Tsars and Tsareviches. Chast' 3. Saint Petersburg, 1866. pp. 242–249.

No. 36

Trading records of Kazan merchants in Siberia and Middle Asia

1644–1672

a. 1644–45 Kazan Tatar—1. Brought Bukharan goods and Kalmyk furs. 1655–56. Serving Tatars—9. Brought Bukharan goods and Kalmyk furs. Kazan Tatar—1. Brought Bukharan and Chinese goods (textiles). Kazan Bukhara man—1. Brought Bukharan goods.

1657–58. Serving Tatars—2. Brought Bukharan goods and Kalmyk furs. Kazan Tatar man—1. Brought Bukharan goods.

1671–72 Kazan Tatar men—2. Brought Bukharan and Kalmyk goods.

(The records were taken from customs receipt books of the Siberian Prikaz (Office) for the city of Tobolsk).

b. Records of tradespeople and goods passing through Tara customs.

1653–54. 2 Kazan Tatar men brought...rhubarb.

1657–58. Serving Tatars—4 people. Three of them brought furs; one of them, rhubarb.

1658–59. Tatar men—2 (one of them from Kazan). Brought Bukharan goods from the steppes.

1666–67. Kazan Tatar—1. Brought Bukharan goods.

c. Importation of goods through Tobolsk customs (1655–1656)

1655, 25/IX. A serving Tatar (brought) from Kalmykia (textiles) 50 zenzen semendi [triple silk fabric], 50 narrow printed linen, 600 arshins of narrow calico.

27/X. A Kazan Tatar brought textiles from Bukhara: 100 zenden semendi, 50 narrow printed linen, 600 arshins of narrow calico.

1656, 28/VII. A serving Tatar from Tobolsk brought from Kalmykia 10 pig tulups (overcoats), 60 Kalmyk lambskins, 8 vernal badgers.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. pp. 237–238.

No. 37

The social structure of the population of Kazan, according to the census book

1 September 1645–30 August 1646

I. Service class people		
Social status or occupation	Number of people	Total
Noblemen and sons of boyars ⁹	56	
Tatars and service class people ¹⁰	39/47	
Streletsy [harquebusiers]	30/12	
Foreigners	20/16	

Artillerists	7/1	351
Gatekeepers	9/10	
Guards	19/19	
Watchmakers	1/3	
Dyak and podyachy	31/11	
Interpreters	6/3	
Customs officers	1/2	
Yarygas	5/1	
Yam Coachmen	1/1	
	225/126	
2. Clergy and church officers		
Metropolitan Bishop	1	
his podyaks	3/2	
servants (clerks) of him and of monasteries	4	
Archpriest and priests	40/76	
Archdeacon and deacons	20/22	
Acolytes	6/1	
Sextons	18/19	
Prosphora bakers	12/11	
Bell-ringers, guards	3/5	
	107/136	243
III. Townspeople and sloboda residents		
Trading guests and tax-farmers	8/1	
Townspeople	855/1241	
Widows of townspeople	25/24	
Sloboda Tatars ¹¹	105/169	
Monastery sloboda residents ¹²	35/31	
Bobylys (poor landless peasants)	257/210	
Widows of bobylys [landless peasants]	196/173	
Free people	130/35	
Peasants	4/1	
Yasak-payers	2/2	

Soseds [residents of someone else's household], dvorniks [groundskeepers] and various types of serfs ¹³	893/282	
Paupers	85/37	
Exiled and disgraced	2/5	
	2540/2211	4751
Total	2872/2473	5345

Extract from: Records on the history of Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Lenin-grad, 1932. P. 193.

No. 38

Description of the estates of the Yaushevs, serving murzas, in Kazan uyezd by scribe Semen Volynsky 'and his fellows'

Not earlier than 1647

[...] Murza Ishmamet Yakushev, son of Prince Bagish, and his nephews Kadyrmamet, Nur-mamet, Ablay and Asan Yaushevs, sons of Doskey, Ishmamet's father and grandfather of Kadyrmamet and his brothers own the manor of their Prince Bagish Yakushev: a shared settlement which was the village of Staraya Menger on the Menger River. Another share of that settlement belongs to Isengul Uteev and his brothers. Their share includes a household of the Ishmamets landlords, where a hireling Uteshka Tokhtamyshev lives. The share of Kadyrmamet and his brothers includes the household of their landlords, their tillage worker (zadvornoy) Karmyshka Karaev and his four sons, Karmanka, Kamashka, eight-year-old Aituganko and six-year-old Uteganko, live there. The place of a Chuvash Akmametko Akkozin is empty, since Akmametko went to the yasak village Bolshiye Atni. The manor of murza Ishmamet Yakushev and his nephews includes half of Stary Menger village, in total. It has two manor households, five housemen and one hireling live there, and the Chuvash place is empty. The tillages are tilled; there are twenty five quarters of good lands and ten quarters of fallow, and five quarters are overgrown with forest; the total of tillage, fallow and forest come to forty quarters in field, and two more of the same. According to their records and the reference books of Ivan Boltin, the hay in the field and outer areas along the oak groves and in the disposed hayfield along the Semiterek, on both sides and in oak groves, come to one thousand one hundred fifty haycocks, whereas wood and tilled oak groves come to twenty desyatinas.

The sokha lands, living and empty, are one sixteenth sokha, and ten quarters of tillage did not reach the sokha lands. However, the payment involves the living area.

That manor is registered to him.

Whereas murza Ishmamet Yakushev and his nephews own the patrimony in the settlement of Koshary along the same Alatskaya road. They also own additional lands, which they possess in addition to their records, and which are attached to the share of the same settlement, Stary Menger. The share includes: tilled tillages, good lands of ten quarters, fallows of thirty quarters and sixteen quarters of land overgrown with forest. The total of tillages, fallows and overgrown forests come to one hundred sixteen quarters in field, and two more of the same. Hay and wood are shared with the landlords.

The empty sokha lands are one eighth of sokha and sixteen quarters of tillage came with the sokha lands.

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 1209, item 1128, book 2, pp. 255 reverse–257 reverse.

Published by: D. Mustafina The Yaushevs, service class murzas, in the 16–17th centuries // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2004. No. 1. pp. 31–42.

No. 39

**Certificate of ownership, issued by a Kazan voivode boyar I. Morozov
'and his fellows' to murza Kanysh Yakushev for a manor in the village of Bolshaya Atnya,
Kazan uyezd**

May 1648.

In May of the year 7156, by the Edict of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, boyar and voivode Ilya Ivanovich Morozov, okolnichy Prince Ivan Andreyevich Khilkov, dyaks Vasily Nefediev and Fyodor Ivanov issued a certificate to murza Kanysh Yakushev, son of Ishkey, for hayfields in the village of Bolshaya Atnya on the Alatskaya road, on both sides of the Ashita River, across the village of Kubek, as in 7145, his, Kanysh's, father, murza Ishkey Yakushev, son of prince Begish, made obeisance to His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, that the ancient but cleared land and hayfields in the village of Bolshaya Atnya on the Alatskaya road, of ten quarters, on both sides of the Ashita River, across the village of Kubek, for 350 haystacks; all these lands and hayfields belonged to his grandfather and father since the conquest of Kazan, and after his grandfather and father, the lands were owned by him and the yasak Chuvash people without division, but those cleared lands are not registered to him and he does not have an introductory charter for those lands and hayfields, so if His Majesty had mercy on him and could issue an order to give that cleared land and hayfields along both sides of the Ashita River, across Kubek and on both sides of the river creek, for 350 haystacks to his son Kanysh as a manorial dacha of 10 quarters and his manorial oklad [norm], and [the land] in the village of Bolshaya Atnya on the Alatskaya road, to Ishkey's father, Prince Begish Yakushev, as he, Ishkey, has neither manorial lands, nor hayfields in dachas, whereas according to the certificate, signed by dyak Ivan Larionov, the clear land and hayfields were given to Kanysh Yakushev, son of Ishkey, to his oklad [norm] of 300 quarters, and shall there be no claims for it. Recently, murza Kanysh Yakushev, son of Ishkey, has made obeisance to His Majesty: by the Edict of His Majesty, he has been granted a manor on the Alatskaya road of 10 quarters in field, and two more of the same size, which was five years ago, and he asks His Majesty to have mercy on him and order to issue him a certificate for that manor. And, by the decree of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, murza Kanysh Yakushev, son of Ishkey, was granted the ancient clear land, hayfields in the village of Bolshaya Atnya and on both sides of the Ashitka River across Kubek village, according to his obeisance, 10 quarters of tillages, hayfields for 350 haycocks, so he is to own his manorial oklad [norm] of 300 quarters of his manor and additional 40 quarters by his certificate; these tillage and hayfields will be their manor, ancient and cleared, and there will be no claims for those lands and hayfields, neither yasak nor obrok [tax]. Dyak Vasily Nefediev.

Prepared by podyachy Ilyushko Konstantinov.

Published by: E. Malov. *Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty* (Materials dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. pp. 11–12.

No. 40**Extract from 'Commentary on Russian trade in 1653' of I. De Rodés,
published in 'Magazine of Geography and Travelling'**

Not later than 1653

As for grain trade throughout Russia, it is under control of His Royal Majesty, and no private individual is allowed to trade grain. The trade has earned His Royal Majesty a large income during the lean years, especially, in the last 4 years, during which he annually issued orders to prepare up to 200 000 quarters, that were purchased from all the lands and brought to Vologda.

In Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod and other nearby areas, a quarter costs 12 and 25 kopecks; in Moscow, a ruble... Since, during the 4 years referred to, a quarter was sold for 2½ and 2¾ thalers [in Arkhangelsk, from foreigners], in just a short period of time the income of His Royal Majesty from grain came to 1,000,000 thalers [...]

When it comes to pelts, anyone is allowed to trade them. Of all the pelts brought from Siberia, one tenth goes to His Royal Majesty [...] The Kazan region, and the entire country in general, primarily has all kinds of fur sources, except for sables [...] The Treasury of His Tsar Majesty annually receives 20,000–30,000 rubles from furs, collected partly from the tithe, partly from other sources. ... Flax seeds are bought in areas near Kazan, Nizhny, Kostroma, Yaroslavl, Vologda, Galich and along Dvina and brought, as well as the grain, to Arkhangelsk.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 238.

No. 41**Charter of ownership issued by the Kazan Palace to newly-baptised serving men
N. Borisov and I. Ivanov for the manorial land in Ozyak village**

August 1668

By the decree of His Tsar Majesty and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich, stolnik and voivode Prince Yury Petrovich Trubetskoy, okolnichy Nikita Mikhaylovich Boborykin, dyaks Afanasy Tashlykov and Yuri Bludov have given to newly-baptised serving men from Ozyak village on the Arsk road, Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov, a charter for manorial land in the same village of Ozyak, that was in dispute between a newly-baptised yasaks of the same village and Mikitka Ivanov with fellows, that is why on 5th day of May 1668, Mikitka and Ivashko made obeisance to His Great Majesty; last year, 1666, and present (1667 and 1668) years, by the decisions of boyar and voivode Prince Grigory Semenovich Kurakin with fellows, and stolnik and voivode Prince Yury Petrovich Trubetskoy, okolnichy Nikita Mikhaylovich Bobyrkin, dyaks Afanasy Tashlykov and Yuri Bludov, they are to own the lands, as Mikitka Borisov gets the manor after his father Boriska, and Ivashka after his brother Yakushka, in the village of Ozyak, 80 quarters in field and two more of the same. Regarding the same manor, His Great Majesty was made obeisance by newly-baptised yasaks from the same village as Mikitka Ivanov with fellows, and otdelshhik [land divider] for their manor was Artemy Pelepelitsin, but they did not receive introductory charters from the land division books on borders determined in those books, and they ask His Great Majesty to grant them and order to give them an introductory charter for their manorial land and the grinder beater based on the land dividing books of Artemy Pelepelitsin. According to piscovaja knigas of scribes Semyon Volynsky with fellows, newly-baptised serving men Boriska Semenov and Yakush Ivanov from village Ozyak possess tillages and fallows and overgrown forest lands of 80 quarters in field, and two more of the same, hayfields for 160 hay-

stacks, whereas the land division books of Artemy Pelepelitsin of 1667 say: he, Artemy, in the presence of newly-baptised serving men allotted the tillages and fallows and thickets in Ozyak village to Mikitka Borisov, 50 and 3 quarters with a third in field, and two more of the same size, and 30 and 3 quarters with a third to Ivashka Ivanov; in total, Mikitka and Ivashka were granted 80 and 7 quarters without a third in field, and two more of the same size; and in addition to piscovaja knigas, he, Artemy, recorded extra quarters to Mikitka and Ivashka, and those are not recorded in his land division books: the same Artemy's land division books state that the borders between the manor of the service class people newly-baptised Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov are marked by a pole in the village of Ozyak with the newly-baptised yasaks and the Chuvashes of the village of Staraya Utnya and the village of Krylay across the Ozyak River, above the serving men's village Ozyak and lower than the yasak villages and than the newly-baptised village Ozyak in the ravine near the Ozyak River...which is in the borders between the newly-baptised serving man Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov and the Chuvash village Krylay; the land of the yasak Chuvash village Krylay is on the left; their borders are not of the newly-baptised serving men Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov between the land of the newly-baptised serving men Vaska Ivanov from the Ozyak River, downstream the households of Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov, upwards of the Uskunari spring on the left side, there are both manor and land of Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov, and on the left is the land of the newly-baptised serving man Baska Ivanov; and upwards of the Uskunari spring, on the other side of the field lay the hayfields, and according to the records of the long-time residents, those hayfields belong to Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov; according to the estimate, these hayfields are for 40 haystacks, whereas the black forest belongs to the newly-baptised, serving yasak and Chuvash equally, as well as the hayfields along the Ozyak River and by the field. Some peasants live in that manor of Mikitka and Ivashka in the village, and they will continue living there, and they would obey the landlords, newly-baptised serving Mikitka Borisov and Ivashka Ivanov, perform tillage for them and pay the landlords rent, rather than imposing tribute on them, while the manor is registered on them, and until big scribes and measurers will measure and make it into tillage by the edict of His Great Majesty. This charter of His Great Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia Aleksey Mikhaylovich was sealed with the seal of the Kazan Tsardom by voivode Prince Yuri Petrovich Trubetskoy in August 1668¹².

Extract from: E. Malov. *Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty` (Materialy` dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii)* (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. pp. 24–25.

No. 42

Pamyat (form letter) of the Kazan voivode, boyar P. Sheremetev, to the serving Tatars of Tatar sloboda of Kazan, I. Dosaev, A. Ishkeev, I. Shigaev, on their exemption from trading tyaglo (levy), dated

January 26, 1670.

[...] that the grandfathers and fathers of Ishkeiko Dosaev, Apanka Ishkeev, Ishteryak and Aitka Shigaev were serving Tatars: Enaleiko and Kulmametko Akhmametev, and the grandfather of claimers Ishkeiko, Ishteryachko and Aitko. In 1622, Krekeiko Enaleev, Chepaiko Isekeevich, and their, Ishkeika, Ishteryachka and Aitka, brother Achepaiko Isekeev, grandfather of Apanaka Ishkeev, were enlisted for service in the sectional desyatina of boyar and voivode, Prince Bo-

¹² The day of the month remained under the black seal with a picture of a winged dragon—the emblem of Kazan. The document was kept by a Tatar Sagit Khusainov from the village of Serdobrazhka. There is an inscription on the document's reverse side: dyak Afanasy Tashlykov. This decree was fulfilled by Tyutchev

ris Mikhaylovich Lykov, with fellows, and according to another sentence of the stolnik and voivode, Prince Yury Petrovich Trubetskoy, with fellows, the Tatars were ordered to be in posad and pay various tyaglo [levies] with trading people and that sentence was abolished, because last year, on the 5th day of August of 1669, in the charter of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, by the petition, the Kazan serving men, sloboda Tatars, Ishkeika Dosaev, Apanka Ishkeev, Ishteryachka and Aitka Shigaev were assigned to Kazan to the stolnik and voivodes, Prince Yury Petrovich Trubetskoy, and fellows: by the edict of His Great Majesty, those Tatars, Ishkeika and fellows, four people wanted by the boyar and voivode, Prince Grigory Semenovich Kurakin, and fellows, were ordered to serve as they did before, because their fathers and grandfathers were enlisted for service in 1614, 1622 and 1651, as well as because those sloboda's serving Tatar, Iskeika Dasaev, Apanka Ishkeev, Ishteryachka and Aitka Shigaev, were ordered to stay in service by the charter of His Great Majesty and by the sentences of the boyar and voivode, Gleb Ivanovich Morozov, and fellows, and by the previous sentence of the stolnik and voivode, Prince Yury Petrovich Trubetskoy, and fellows, and another sentence of the stolnik, Prince Yury.

This year, 26th day of January, 1670, boyar and voivode, Peter Vasilyevich Sheremetev, stolnik, Prince Aleksey Nefedyevich Shcherbatov, dyaks Gerasim Golovin, Mikifor Bakunin were ordered to work those serving Tatars, Ishkeika Dosaev, Apanka Ishkeev, Ishteryachka and Aitka Shigaev as serving Tatars, and release them from posad, so that zemsky people would not bully them, and seeing the mercy of His Great Majesty, they will hope and serve as serving Tatars, and Ishkeika Dosaev, Apanka Ishkeev, Aitka Shigaev are to serve instead of trading various goods for the money and grain payment to His Great Majesty and paying taxes for trading, and Ishteryachka Shigaev is to serve in the service of His Great Majesty from his manor. This pamyat [= memory; letter] from the Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, was sealed with the seal of the Kazan Tsardom by boyar and voivode, Peter Vasilyevich Sheremetev.

Extract from: E. Malov. *Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty* (Materials dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. P. 26–27.

No. 43

Nakaznaya pamyat [instruction letter] to Andrey Aristov on shipping oak timber from Kazan to Astrakhan

July 4, 1673.

July 4, 7181. Pamyat [letter] to Andrey Aristov, by the edict of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Aleksey Mikhaylovich. Once you receive this pamyat and message that streltsy have loaded the timber onto boats, you too are ordered to load oak timber and to go to Astrakhan for loading, as much as it fits, and write the number of timbers to be loaded that will fit on your boat to Kazan, to boyar and voivodes, prince Yury Ivanovich Romodanovsky, Ivan Pavlovich Akinfov, to dyak, Yakov Portomoin, Kalina Patrekeev. Timbers are to be taken from the Krasnaya mountain from Mikita Mamonin of Kazan and tselovalniks, Timoshka and Kostka Pushnikov.

Extract from: *The History of Tataria in Records and Documents* / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 239.

No. 44

Nakaznaya pamyat [instruction letter] from the Kazan voivode, Prince A. Golitsyn, 'and fellows' to Andrey Aristov, who was sent to deliver lime to Astrakhan

July 24, 1673.

July 24, 7181. By the Edict of His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, boyars and voivodes, Prince Aleksey Andreyevich Golitsyn, Duma nobleman Ivan Afonasyevich Pronchishchev, dyaks Nikiphor Bakunin and Alexander Anisimov shall order Andrey Mikitich Aristov from Kazan, to go from Kazan down by the Volga River to Astrakhan on a boat and on a caique full of lime with a message: by the Edict of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia, the Great and Little and White, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, and by the charter, eight hundred qadi of lime on the boat and caique was sent with him from Kazan to Astrakhan for any Astrakhan building and is to be accepted by tselovalnik [tax collector] Oleshka Rukavishnik; the Kazan fugitive streltsy [harquebusiers] of Ivanov prikaz, Korotnev, and of Fyodorov prikaz, Kokha, fifty two people, who did not serve His Majesty in Astrakhan, were sent to row and accompany him and, in addition to those fugitive streltsy, twenty Kazan streltsy are to stay in Samara, and from Samara the order is to recruit people for rowing and accompanying from city to city, in order to deliver those boats with lime to Astrakhan safe and sound and as quickly as possible. And he, Andrey, and tselovalnik [tax collector] Kuzka Lukovnik are to sail on those ships to Astrakhan with great caution and look after the streltsy and ensure that there would be no stealing, and they would not steal and beat cattle on the coast, and would not take anything for free from anyone and would not rob them, and would not leave the ships and there would be no fire, be it day or night. Upon arrival in Samara, he is to ask voivode Afonasy Fanbisin, son of Denis, whether there is any news about the military Kalmyk and Nogai people, and whether the Volga River is quiet, if there is any news about the military people, he, Andrey, is to ask voivode, Ofonasy Fanbisin, an escort, accordingly, and having taken escort, to sail with great caution, in order to sail those boats with lime to Astrakhan safe and sound and to choose the route with great caution, so that none of the military people would come and cause any trouble. But if there be such cases, he, Andrey, is to pursue and punish them; and return everything stolen from people without any delays. They are to sail on those ships to Astrakhan with great caution, in order to deliver those ships with lime safe and sound, and after delivering those ships with lime, to take to Kazan from Astrakhan boyar and voivodes, Prince Yakov Nikitich Odoevsky, and fellows, a report on receiving the lime and go to Kazan, and after having arrived in Kazan, go straight to the Prikaz office and give the report to boyar and voivodes, Prince Aleksey Andreyevich Golitsyn, Duma nobleman Ivan Afonasyevich Pronchishchev, dyak Nikifor Bakunin and Alexander Anisimov.

Extract from: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 239–240.

No. 45

Nakaznaya pamyat [instruction letter] to Andrey Aristov on sailing the boats with lime from Kazan

August 9, 1673.

August 9, 7181. Pamyat to Ondrey Aristov, by the Edict of His Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Aleksey Mikhaylovich. This year, in 181, you wrote to Kazan to boyar and voivode, Prince Yuri Ivanovich Romodanovsky, Ivan Pavlov-

ich Akinfov, to dyaks, to Yakov Portomoin and Kalina Petrekeev: tselovalnik, Kazan tradesman, Oleshka Rukavishnikov did not depart from Kazan, and the boats containing lime belonging to that tselovalnik remained near Tetki settlement for three days, and tselovalnik Oleshka is assigned to you in the Prikaz office, and there was an order to escort you, tselovalnik and streltsy from Kazan to the Volga with three officials,—but you cheated and remained in Kazan out of your idle greed. It has been established that the streltsy are drinking away the allowance of His Majesty in the settlement of Tetki and that delay and the binge drinking streltsy are all your fault, and so you will receive punishment. During the interrogation, a tradesman from Kazan, Ivashko Vyatkin, said: Oleshka Rukavishnikov hired Ivashka as his tselovalnik, and now he, Oleshka, is at the site of the boats; and in order to have reliable news, tradesman Ivashko Vyatkin and officer Ivashko Chvorin and strelets Doronka Stepanov were sent to you.—Once you receive this pamyat, and the officer and strelets will bring tradesman Ivashko to the boats, as tselovalnik Oleshka have never been to the boats, and you, Ivashka, could take the boats with lime to Astrakhan instead of tselovalnik Oleshka; and if former tselovalnik, Oleshka Rukavishnikov, will be at the boats, then send tradesman Ivashka and officer Ivashka back to Kazan and write about it to boyar and voivodes, to Prince Yuri Ivanovich Romodanovsky, Ivan Pavlovich Akinfov, dyaks Yakov Portomoin and Kalina Patrekkeev.

Extract from: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 240.

No. 46

Charter of the Tsars and Grand Princes, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, on assigning the wild lands of Kazan uyezd on the Nagai side as a manor to the serving Alatyr man, Tatar murza, Derbysh Urmancheev, son of Ahmamet

1688.

In the year [7196], by the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, word was sent to Kazan to okolnichy and voivode, Prince Michail Yuryevich Dolgorukov, by the obeisance of the serving Alatyr man from Tatar murzas, Derbysh Urmancheev, son of Akhmamet: from the olden days, my father and I have been serving His Great Majesty, the Tsar and Grand Prince, Aleksey Mikhaylovich, and took part in campaigns and were granted with tillages and hayfields in different lands, and were given zhalovannaja gramotas [letters patents] and allotment books, and now I, Your kholop, want to move to the Nogai side of Kazan uyezd, where Their Great Majesties have wild lands. Please, Your Great Majesties, order me, Your kholop, to grant Your Great Majesties' wild land. Your Great Majesties, have mercy! In return, murza Urmancheev was ordered to submit a note in the Kazan Palace's Prikaz, according to the Piscovaja knigas of scribe Semyon Volynsky, and the inquiry of Prince Grigory Shakhovsky in 186, 187 and 188, with the attachment of dyak Boris Korelkin, that there is wild land in Kazan uyezd across the Kama in the village of Kamkina. By the Edict of Their Great Majesties and the charter from the Kazan Palace's Prikaz, he, murza Urmancheev, is ordered to measure, out of the wild lands, proper tillable lands in Kamkina village of one hundred twenty quarters in field, and two more of the same size; and hayfields for one hundred haycocks; the tillage, granted him in Altar uyezd, are to be discharged from the books, and the current tillage to be granted him and taken from Moscow, and to belong to murza Urmancheev forever, and no one is to take it away from him, and the Kazan Palace's Prikaz is to give him a certificate of ownership signed by boyar Prince Michail Dolgorukov. Issued in Moscow.

Extract from: Historical and juridical acts and ancient royal charters of Kazan and other neighbouring guberniyas, compiled by Stepan Melnikov. Kazan, 1859. P. 91–92.

No. 47

Information about the trading and working environment in Russia, including the Kazan Region, by the representative of the Swedish ambassador's entourage, I. Kilburger, from his work 'Brief Update on Russian Trade'

September 1, 1673—August 30, 1674

[...] Yufts [Russian leather] are hauled in great amounts and dressed in Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow, but mostly and best in the Yaroslavl and Kostroma Regions [...] Salo [cured pork fat] is largely produced in the regions of Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Moscow, Yaroslavl and Valday [...] Wax is largely produced in Nizhny, Kazan, Mordovo and other regions.

Extract from: B. Kurtz. Sochinenie Kil'burgera o russkoj torgovle v carstvovanie Alekseya Mixajlovicha (Essay by Kilburger on Russian trade during the reign of Aleksey Mikhaylovich). Kiev, 1915. P. 100, 102, 117.

No. 48

Ownership charter by the Kazan voivode, V.D. Dolgorukov, to sloboda serving Tatar from Kazan, I. Shanchurin, for an enclosed area near Tatar sloboda

July 22, 1684.

On 22th day of July, 7192, by the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, boyar and voivodes, Prince Volodimir Dmitrievich Dolgorukov, and fellows have issued a grant for enclosed land to sloboda serving Tatar, Ishmamet Shanchurin, in order to as follows. This year, on 5th day of July, 7192, Ishmametko made obeisance to His Great Majesty, on the manorial field, white (tax-free) lands previously passed on to long-time resident forefathers and fathers, serving Tatars from the sloboda. Since there was an ostrog built nearby the Tatar sloboda, their brothers fenced off the enclosed areas on the other side of the ostrog and Pleteni settlement. His enclosed place is not fenced, but there is free land across the Tatar ostrog behind the field gates along the meadow road near the borders between Yamka Ishmekeev's enclosure and that belonging to Kaibulka Ishmametev. So if only Their Great Majesties could give the order to fence those ancient granted lands from their brothers, according to the inspection of the town-governor, Osip Belavin, between the borders of the enclosures of sloboda serving Tatar, Kaibulka Ishmametev, and of Yamka Ishmekeev, has laid land of 30 sazhen in length, 16 sazhen crosswise in three arshin sazhen. According to the records of the sloboda Tatars, Ishbulatka Abyz and his fellows, that land has been there for ages and belonged to no one, and by the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, he, Ishmamet, will own this enclosure, and let there be no dispute and claims for that place. Dyaks Fyodor Martynov; overleaf; viewed by Timokha Zverev.

Extract from: E. Malov. Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty (Materialy dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. P. 29–30.

No. 49**An obeisance from I. Nagirin from Kazan to Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich to determine the borders of his manorial estate in Kazan uyezd**

Not earlier than May 26, 1682—not later than January 29, 1696.

Your kholop, Ivashko Nagirin, son of Grigory, from Kazan makes you obeisance. In the past, Your Majesties, to me, Your kholop, was given a manor in Kazan uyezd in the village of Veneta, on the Zyurey road, and the wastelands in Kuyuk Kuchyuk, and in Mamet, otherwise known as Popovka, and additional lands and the Kuchyuk wasteland. And the Nurma wasteland across the Murma River was shared with landlords, from Kazan as well, Terenty, Ondrey and Ovdokim Yakovlev, Ondreyan's sons. And I, Your kholop, exchanged their share in that Nurma wasteland for circulating quarters and all that wasteland is now my responsibility, Your kholop, with all its grounds. The Nurma wasteland borders with the yasak village of Tarlovka, on the Arsk road, but it was separated from Your kholop, from me and they built a mill on my manorial dachas in the Nurma wasteland and the village of Veneta on the Murma River, so the yasak Tatars of that village of Tarlovka took ownership of it and they called the wasteland of Nurma of my manorial dachas, as well as the hayfields along the Nurma River and the Nurma riverbank, their own. Whereas I, Your kholop, recorded the mill to my manor, as I was not aware of those yasak Tatars on the other bank of the Murma wasteland. In order to have those manors again. At that time, the village of Tarlovka belonged to the yasak Tatars and they called my manorial lands and hayfields and the Nurma riverbank theirs. When the yasak Tatars of that Tarlovka village learned that the land and hayfields and the Nurma riverbank, where they had built their mill, belong to my manorial dachas, they left the Nurma wastelands and now they belong to me, Your kholop. That village of Tarlovka is now occupied by Russian yasak peasants.

Your Majesties, please, have mercy on me, Your kholop, and do not let that Nurma riverbank by my record to be silted over and order, Your Majesties, to send a land divider to the Nurma waste. And order, Your Majesties, to measure and dissociate that wasteland from the village of Tarlovka and erect borders, according to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky, as it was registered to former landlords.

Your Great Majesties, please, have mercy.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2872.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2001. No. 3/4. pp. 15–37.

No. 50**Granting note of M. Popalotov from Kazan for the manorial lands in the village of Biryuli, on the Arsk road, conveyed to I. Nagirin**

May 15, 1658.

Menshoy Popalotov, son of Grigory, from Kazan gave this document to Ivan Nagirin, son of Grigory, from Kazan, stating the following. This year of 193, from the fifth to tenth days of May, I, Menshoy, ceded to him, Ivan, my manorial lands in the village of Biryuli, Arsk road, Kazan uyezd, of twenty four quarters in field, and two more of the same, including hayfields, forest, all the grounds and estate lands. For that manor, I, Menshoy, charged him, Ivan Nagirin, one hundred rubles of money to make a living for myself and my wife and to pay off my debts. And I, Menshoy, am to bring the petition on that manor for issuance and signing of the certificate in

his place, Ivan Nagirin, and to sign the records of the Prikaz office. From now on, neither of us, I, Menshoy, my wife nor my children, will claim that manor from him, Ivan, his wife, children and relatives or make obeisance to His Great Majesty for it. According to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books], I, Menshoy, was granted forty by eight quarters of manor in the village of Biryuli. And I, Menshoy, am to divide that land, including hayfields, manorial land and various grounds in equal parts with him, Ivan. I am to present the petition for the signed note for that manor instead of him, Ivan, this year nine hundred thirteenth, from the sixth to tenth days of May, and to sign the record of interrogation.

But should I, Menshoy, my wife and my children or my relatives claim the manor from him, Ivan, and his wife, his children and his relatives and make obeisance to His Great Majesty, or should I not submit an obeisance for signing of the note for that manor instead of him, Ivan, and should I not sign the record of interrogation, he, Ivan, his wife, his children and his relatives will charge me, Menshoy, my wife, my children and relatives two hundred rubles. From this moment, this note comes into force. Witnessed by: podyachys of the Kazan square, Vasily Andronnikov, Peter Tolmachev, Michailo Solopov, Kornilo Bronnikov, Yerofej Andronnikov. Written by the podyachy of the same square, Kostka Avramov.

May 15, 7193. On the reverse side: This note was signed by Kazan man, Luka Ostankov, son of Yakov, instead of Menshoy Papalitov, son of Grigory, upon his order. Signed by witness Vaska. Signed by witness Petrushka. Signed by witness Mishka. Signed by witness Kornilko.

Signed by witness Yeroshka.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 3179.

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No. 51

Ownership charter for the village of Shigach and the village of Maslovka, on the Nagaiskaya road, issued by voivode, boyar, Prince V. Dolgorukov 'and fellows' to murzas Kanysh and Kadyrmamet Yakushev 'and brothers'

July 24, 1685.

By the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, boyar and voivode, Prince Volodimer Dmitreevich Dolgorukov and fellows have issued Kanysh and Kadyrmamet murzas of Prince Yaush and brothers an ownership charter for their patrimonial villages Shigach and Maslovka, the Nagaiskaya road, including the hayfields, grounds and state forest, and the manorial land in the settlement of Rozhestvennoye.

For that, in 193, they, Kanysh and Kadyrmamet murzas and their brothers, made obeisance to His Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich. They and their brothers, Uraz, Saltanaley, Asman murzas, children of Ishkey, Nurmamet, Asyan, children of Doskey, and Muradym murzas, son of Abdul, of Prince Yakushev received mercy of Their Great Majesties, patrimonial village of Shigach and village of Maslovka in the state forest on the cleared land, including hayfields and the forest. Kanysh murza and his brother Kadyrmamet also get fifty to four desyatinas of manor in the Rozhestvenny settlement, on the Nagaiskaya road. And they did not need ownership charters for the patrimony, manor, hayfields and other grounds.

But Their Great Majesties had mercy on them and ordered to issue them an ownership charter for that patrimony, manor, additional lands, hayfields and all the grounds.

The manorial dachas [grants] of 130 say: '21st day of March. This charter is given to Ishmamet and Dosmamet murzas Yaushevs, children of prince Bagish, for the patrimonial village of Shigach'. According to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books] of Ivan Boltin, that village has twenty quarters of tillage. In the Piscovaja knigas of scribe Semyon Volynsky and fellows, of last years, 156, 157, 158, 159 and 160, the ancient patrimony of their fathers is registered to serving men Kanysh Murza Yakushev, son of Ishkey, and his brothers, and Kadyrmamet Murza Yakushev, son of Dosmamet, and his brothers. Before that, the patrimony belonged to Prince Bagish Yakushev.

The village of Shigach is located near the Kama River, on the Shigach River. The share of Kanysh and his brothers includes: tilled tillages, twelve quarters of good lands, five quarters of fallow, land overgrown with forest of three quarters in field, and two more of the same. According to their record, the hay along the Kama River from the brook Oshnyaka to Lake Kinderli, and along the brook Oshnyaka to the coast Shigach on both sides, comes to three hundred haystacks, and the tilled and untilled forests are three verst in length and one and a half verst in breadth.

Murzas Kanysh and Kadyrmamet Yaushevs and their brothers also own the village of Maslovka near the Kama River, up to the Sorochoyi Gory [Mountains], on the Betka brook, they include the patrimony on the Shigatskaya cleared lands which they cleared from their state forest. The half of it, belonging to Kanysh and his brothers, includes: tilled tillages, newly cleared good lands of ten quarters in field, and two more of the same.

In the past, in 185, according to the records of the дума dyak and voivode, Grigory Stepanovich Karaulov, Kanysh and Kadyrmamet murzas of Prince Yaush were granted fifty four desyatinas of obrok [rented] land in the royal settlement of Rozhestvennoye, which was rented by Kanysh and Kadyrmamet themselves.

On the 23rd day of June, according to the mark on the obeisance by dyak Artemy Volkov, an order was issued to grant an ownership charter by the edict, with no dispute.

By the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, those patrimonial villages and manorial land are to be owned by Kanysh and Kadyrmamet and their brothers within the borders that land dividers and measurers will determine, and they will dissociate them tillages and hayfields, according to the Edict.

This charter of ownership of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, was sealed with the seal of the Kazan Tsardom by boyar and voivode, Prince Volodimer Dmitreevich Dolgorukov.

July 24, 7193.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 4028, page 14.

Published by: D. Mustafina The Yaushevs, service class murzas, in the 16–17th centuries // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2004. No. 1. pp. 31–42.

No. 52

Ownership charter, issued by boyar and voivode, Prince P. Urusov, to I. Nagirin for the manorial land along the Ametevka River, Zyurey road

August 30, 1686

[...] of five hundred quarters. His manors in Kazan uyezd along the Zyurey road in different places came to two hundred eighty seven quarters. Near his manorial village of Veneta, on the other side of the Ametevka River, a brook flows, named Kuchyugovka, and there is a surround-

ing land with an ancient settlement, which begins from the creek of the Ametevka River up the Kuchyugovka brook and up the Murma River, which is called the Kuchyuk heath. According to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky and his fellows, that surrounding land is not registered to anyone. That Kuchyuk heath includes an outland meadow, hayfields, which is called the meadow of Enabekov. That meadow, in turn, includes smaller meadows, hayfields, up to the Biksha brook. Near the Kuchyuk heath and those meadows, there is a leafy forest, and other grounds up to the Biksha brook. Their Great Majesties had mercy on him and ordered that he be given the Kuchyuk heath along with those meadows of fifty quarters in field, and two more of the same, with the forest and other grounds up to the Biksha brook.

By the charter of Their Great Majesties, an order has been issued to determine whether that Kuchyuk heath and the outland meadow of Enabekov, including the hayfields and small meadows belong to anyone, and whether it falls into the Tatar or Mordvin lands? Should the investigation show that the land is free and does not belong to Tatars or Mordvins, or anyone, and is not in dispute, then the land shall // [fol. 2] be measured into desyatinas and quarters, and then tenure be granted to Ivan Nagirin from Kazan, for fifty quarters of field, and two more of the same, including the forest, hayfields and all the grounds: the Kuchyuk heath on both sides of the Ametevka brook, known as Kuchyugovka, and the surrounding land along the Kuchyugovka brook, starting from the creek of that Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka, and up the Murma River, as well as the Kuchyuk heath meadows, hayfields, known as the meadow of Enabekov, and small meadows, hayfields, up to the Biksha brook.

The Kuchyuk heath with meadows and hayfields are not registered in yasak and obrok [rent] books and manorial dachas to obrok [rent], yasak or manor. Last year, on the 13th day of February, 193, by order of boyar and voivode, Prince Volodimer Dmitreevich Dolgorukov, and fellows, a nobleman was sent to that land to obey the charter of Their Great Majesties and grant venture, as it is said in the charter of Their Great Majesties. The investigation and otkaz [rent] books of 193 say: having arrived in the Zyurey road, Kazan uyezd, to the Kuchyuk heath on the sides of the Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka, he examined the surrounding land from the creek of that brook up the Murma brook, as well as the surrounding meadows, hayfields, known as the meadow of Enabekov, and small meadows up to the Biksha brook.

The examination included interrogation of the third parties. Eleven Russian people said: they do not know whether the Kuchyuk heath with meadows and the meadow of Yanabekov and other // [fol. 3] meadows are free, or taken by Tatars, or belong to anyone else. However, one of the Russians added: the Kuchyuk heath and the meadow of Yanabekov used to belong to a Kazan man, Timofey Andreyanov, and after him, they are owned by Ivan Nagirin, but he is not aware whether or not there are any bonds. Three newly-baptised people said: the Kuchyuk heath used to belong to a Kazan man, Timofey Andreyanov, and after him, they are owned by Ivan Nagirin, but on what bonds, they do not know.

The hay on the meadow of Yanabekov and the other one, by the Biksha brook, was mown by a yasak Tatar, Yanibechko, whose father's name no one remembers, as too many years have passed. They do not know whether he was a serf or a hireling of any landlord. And afterwards, those meadows belonged to Timofey Andriyanov, and now to Ivan Nagirin, but on what bonds, they do not know. Two Tatar people have said: the Kuchyuk heath used to belong to a Kazan man, Timofey Andreyanov, and after him, they were owned by Ivan Nagirin, but they do not know whether there are any bonds. During the ownership of Timofey Andreyanov, Cholpanko cut hay in the Yanabekov meadow, while renting it from Timofey.

And in ancient days, podyachy Ilya Silin measured the surrounding land and the meadow of Yanabekov of the Kuchyuk heath on the sides of the // [fol. 4] Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka. The size of the Kuchyuk heath from the Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka, up the Nurma brook to the manorial lands of Ivan Narmatsky, and from the

Nurma brook up the Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka, all three fields of thirteen desyatinas with one eighth and one twelfth; in quarters, it is one hundred forty six quarters with half of osmina [1/8 of desyatina] and one twenty forth, and forty nine quarters without half of eighth in one field. Regardless of Ivanov's obeisance, the heath of Nagirin came short of a quarter by half of osmina.

The size of the Yanabekov meadow amounts to three desyatinas and one third; in quarters it is seven quarters less a third of sokha in all three fields; and in one field it is two quarters and half of osmina less one twelfth and less one twenty forth, and two more of the same. The tenure was granted to him, Ivan, in addition to his previous dachas. Near the Yanabekov meadow behind the grove by the Biksha brook lays a meadow, which is estimated to produce thirty haystacks. The Kuchyuk heath by the Nurma brook and creek of the Ametevka brook, known as the Kuchyugovka, also has an ancient settlement. Upwards from that ancient settlement there is a spring, starting from the mountain and falling into the Ametevka brook. As for the ancient settlement // [fol. 5] other people have said: they do not know whom the ancient settlement belongs to. And the tenure for that meadow was granted to Ivan Nagirin as hayfields. This year, on the 2nd day of March, 194, by the submission of the petition of dyak Artemy Volkov, an order was issued that he, Ivan, be granted a charter of ownership, according to the Edict, no dispute. By the Edict of Their Great Majesties, he, Ivan, shall hold the Kuchyuk heath and other meadows, including the ancient settlement, hayfields and other grounds, within the borders, to be determined and registered by scribes and measurers, and they will assign him tillages, hayfields and other grounds, according to the Edict. The ownership charter of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, was sealed with the seal of the Kazan Tsardom by boyar and voivode, Prince Peter Semyonovich Urusov. August 30, 7194.

On the reverse side, below the sign of 'kryzh' [cross]: 'Sent to the podyachy of the Prikaz of fice, Ivan Silin, for examination and granting tenure'

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 3232.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // Gasırlar avazı=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 53

Pamyat [letter] of retirement, issued by Colonel P. Bolsyrev, to serving Tatar from a military formation, K. Tenebekov

February 28, 1687.

[fol. 9] February 28, 195. By the Edict of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, and Her Great Majesty, Right-believing Tsarevna and Grand Duchess of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Sophia Alekseyevna, and by the order of the Inozemsky prikaz (Office for the Affairs of the Foreigners), signed by Grigory Protopopov, Colonel Peter Yakovlevich Bolsyrev examined the serving Tatar from the military formation, Kodraleyka Tenebekov, son of Bolbek, in the custody facility in Kasimov, according to a report from the Kasimov Tatars of Torbeye settlement, that he, Kadraleyka, is poor and blind, so he has been retired from the service of Their Great Majesties. Instead, his brother, Teryagulka Tenebekov, son of Bolbek, was enlisted according to the record of civilians of Torbayev settlement. For that I, Colonel Peter Yakovlevich Bolsyrev, issued him, Kadraleyka, a pamyat [letter] of retirement for other recruiters and press gangs.

This pamyat [letter] of retirement was sealed by Colonel Peter Yakovlevich Bolsyrev.

Source: The depository of manuscripts and textual criticism of Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Ibragimov, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund of M. Ahmetzyanov, item 38.

Published by: D. Mustafina. '...Our forefather was a true Serving Tatar' (from the petition of the Baybekovs to acknowledge their nobility)) // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 89–102.

No. 54

Petition of I. Nagirin to determine the borders of his manor along the Zyurey road from the village of Tarlovka, along the Arsk road, and confirm his ownership of the mill on the Nurma river

Not later than April 4, 1691.

Your Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, Your kholop, Ivashko Nagirin, son of Grigory, from Kazan makes his obeisance to You. In the past, Your Majesties, I, your kholop, was given a manor in the village of Veneta, Zyurey road, Kazan uyezd, and wastelands Kuyuk Kuchyuk and Mamet, otherwise known as Popovka, and the additional lands, along with the Kuchyuk wasteland, whereas the Nurma wasteland across the Nurma River belonged to other landlords, from Kazan as well, Terenty, Ondrey and Ovdokim Yakovlev, sons of Ondreyan. And I, Your kholop, exchanged their share of the manor in the Nurma waste for circulating quarters. So now that wasteland, along with all the grounds, is registered on me, Your kholop.

The Nurma waste borders with the yasak village of Tarlovka, Arsk road, but it was not separated from me, your servant. There is also a mill, built on the Nurma River in my manorial dachas of the Nurma heath and the Veneta village. The yasak Tatars of the Tarlovka village took ownership of the Nurma waste, my manorial lands, and hayfields along the Nurma River and the riverside and called them theirs. But I, Your kholop, have recorded that mill to my manor, being not aware of the yasak Tatars, as I was granted that manor, but at the time the yasak Tatars of Tarlovka village took ownership of my manorial lands and hayfields and the Nurma riverside and called them theirs. But once the yasak Tatars of Tarlovka village found out that those lands, hayfields and the Nurma riverside, where the mill was built, belong to my manorial share, they gave up the Nurma waste and now it belongs to [fol. 2] me, your servant. The village of Tarlovka is now occupied by Russian yasak peasants. Your Gracious Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, have mercy on me, Your kholop, do not command a land divider to the Nurma waste and order, Your Majesties, to leave that Nurma riverside in abeyance. And command, Your Majesties, to measure and separate that wasteland, as it was for the previous landlords, according to the *Piscovaja knigas* [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky, from the village of Tarlovka and to set borders. Please, Your Great Majesties, have mercy.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2879.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 55

An ownership charter of Kazan voivode D. Boryatinsky, to serving Tatars from the village of Taveli, the Syuyundukovs, in the meadow across the Kama River

January 21, 1691

By the Edict of Their Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, boyar and voivodes, Danilo Afanasyevich Boryatinsky and fellows, issued a charter of ownership to serving Tatar from the village of Taveli on the Zyurey road, Yermak, son of Moskov, Ishteryak, son of Akhman, Supka, son of Tenyuk, and Irka, son of Kopen, Syundyukovs for hayfields across the Kama River along the Choruk brook; in 1690, he, Yermak and fellows, made obeisance to His Great Majesty and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, that in the past years, they were granted hayfields in Kazan uyezd, on the Zyurey road, across the Kama River along the Choruk brook for quarter tillage of 80 quarters in field, and two more of the same, but they have never received charters for those hayfields. And if only Their Great Majesties had mercy on them and commanded the issue of a charter of ownership for those hayfields.

... According to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky and fellows, the serving Tatar, Kulbayka and Tolboyka, have a patrimony across the Kama River, in the village of Nyrsyvar, on the Zyurey road, with beekeeping trees, beaver dams and different hunting areas along the Choruk brook, with lower borders on the Bersutsky creek and upper border along the Sheshma River, to the steppe along the Tolkish River, and there is a pine wood on this side of the Kama River and on both sides of the Bersut River, and there are free hayfields near that patrimony, within it and in those locations, but they have no owner and are not registered; so the hayfield near the Kulbaikov patrimony, within it and in those locations are ordered to be given for their manor at a rate of ten quarters per person and registered to them, and as to the borders and locations of hayfields, on which the serving Tatar Yermak Syundyukov and his nephews made obeisance to His Majesty for service Tatars, Kulbayka and Tolbayka Isheev, are not recorded in the dachas and Piscovaja knigas, and last year, on the 23rd day of October, 1681, it was ordered by the marking in the note of dyak Alexander Alekseev to investigate those hayfields and interrogate the local people...

The investigation and otkaz [rent] books say: he came to the Zyurey road, Kazan uyezd, to the free hayfields across the Kama River of the patrimony of the serving Tatars, Kulbayka and Tolbayka Isheevs, and took third parties with him, seven yasak Tatars from Usyuli village, 14 people from the village of Bersut, 12 people from Katмыш, five people from Verkhnyaya Sun, 10 newly-baptised from Kuluschi, 10 people of the village of Yenikei Chishma, and questioned those people, during which the newly-baptised and 59 Tatars have said: firstly, the patrimony along the Choruk brook, the lower border of which on the Bersutsky creek and the upper border along the Sheshma River to the steppe along the Tolkish River, belonged to serving Tatar of the village, Nyrsyvar and Tolbayko Isheev, and after them it was passed on to their children, but they do not know on what basis, and now the patrimony has no owner, it lays free, and the hayfields are cut by Tatars of different villages, there are hayfields of Ivan Zmeev at the lower borders of that patrimony,...during the interrogation on the patrimony owners, serving Tatars from the village of Nyrsyvar, the Zyurey road, Tokhtagulko, son of Kulbay, and Smailko, son of Tolbayko, Isheevs, they have said: the patrimony across the Kama River, beaver dams in the Sheshma and Tolkish Rivers and the Chyurik River up to the creek, and the pine woods with hayfields and other grounds on this side of the Kama River were owned by Kulbayko and Tolbayko in equal parts, but they do not know on what basis, as their fathers passed away, they held the patrimony without grants and petition to His Great Majesty, but as the patrimony and hayfields did not belong to them, they do not claim them, as they pay three grain and money yasaks honourably:...

By the Edict of Their Majesties and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, serving Tatar, Yermak Syundyukov and fellows are to hold the hayfields, described above, up to the borders, that will be determined by land dividers and surveyers, and registered by them, according to the Edict of Their Great Majesties. The charter of ownership of Their Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great, Small and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, was sealed with the seal of the Kazan Tsardom by boyar and voivode, Prince Danilo Afanasyevich Boryatinsky. January 21, 1691.

Extract from: E. Malov. *Drevnie gramoty i razny'e dokumenty* (Materialy dlya istorii Kazanskoj eparxii) (Ancient Charters and Various Documents (Materials for the History of the Kazan Eparchy).) Kazan, 1902. P. 41–44.

No. 56

An obeisance from I. Nagirin from Kazan to Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseyevich to determine the borders of his manorial estate in Kazan uyezd

Not earlier than May 26, 1682—not later than January 29, 1696.

Your kholop, Ivashko Nagirin, son of Grigory, from Kazan makes you obeisance. In the past, Your Majesties, to me, Your kholop, was given a manor in Kazan uyezd in the village of Veneta, on the Zyurey road, and the wastelands in Kuyuk Kuchyuk, and in Mamet, otherwise known as Popovka, and additional lands and the Kuchyuk wasteland. And the Nurma wasteland across the Nurma River was shared with landlords, from Kazan as well, Terenty, Ondrey and Ovdokim Yakovlev, Ondreyan's sons. And I, Your kholop, exchanged their share in that Nurma wasteland for circulating quarters and all that wasteland is now my responsibility, Your kholop, with all its grounds. The Nurma wasteland borders with the yasak village of Tarlovka, on the Arsk road, but it was separated from Your kholop, from me and they built a mill on my manorial dachas in the Nurma wasteland and the village of Veneta on the Nurma River, so the yasak Tatars of that village of Tarlovka took ownership of it and they called the wasteland of Nurma of my manorial dachas, as well as the hayfields along the Nurma River and the Nurma riverbank, their own. Whereas I, Your kholop, recorded the mill to my manor, as I was not aware of those yasak Tatars on the other bank of the Nurma wasteland. In order to have those manors again. At that time, the village of Tarlovka belonged to the yasak Tatars and they called my manorial lands and hayfields and the Nurma riverbank theirs. When the yasak Tatars of that Tarlovka village learned that the land and hayfields and the Nurma riverbank, where they had built their mill, belong to my manorial dachas, they left the Nurma wastelands and now they belong to me, Your kholop. That village of Tarlovka is now occupied by Russian yasak peasants.

Your Majesties, please, have mercy on me, Your kholop, and do not let that Nurma riverbank by my record to be silted over and order, Your Majesties, to send a land divider to the Nurma waste. And order, Your Majesties, to measure and dissociate that wasteland from the village of Tarlovka and erect borders, according to the *Piscovaja knigas* [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky, as it was registered to former landlords.

Your Great Majesties, please, have mercy.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2872.

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No. 57

Petition of I. Nagirin to separate his manorial estate in the village of Veneta from the estate of I. Bedarev's widow and from the grounds of yasak Tatars in the Nurma wasteland.

Not later than June 3, 1692.

Your Great Majesties, Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, Your kholop, Ivashko Nagirin, son of Grigory, makes obeisance to you.

The manor, given to me, Your kholop, includes the wasteland Kuyuk Kuchyuk and the wasteland Mamet, otherwise known as Popovka, in the village of Veneta, on the Zyurey road, Kazan uyezd, as well as the heath Kuchyuk and the Yanabekov meadow and other free meadows, and the wasteland Karmash, the wasteland Nurma across the Nurma River and the free meadow.

In the village of Veneta, I, Your kholop, was given various dachas for rent and exchanged manors. Those manors in Veneta village border with the estate and field of the wife and widow of Ivan Bedarev, Fedosya Dmitrievna, and her children. I, Your kholop, was also given the manor of Aleksey Bedarev. The Nurma waste comes to the borders of the yasak Tatar land in the village Tarlovka, otherwise known as Nurma, on the Arsk road. But my dachas have not been separated from hers, widow and wife of Ivan Bedarev, and her children, neither was the Nurma heath from the yasak Tatar village Tarlovka, otherwise known as Nurma. Your Majesties, I, Your kholop, have already made obeisance to you, Great Majesties, in regard of land marking my manorial estates in the Nurma wastes, but the Edict was not issued.

Merciful and great Tsars and Grand Princes of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, have mercy on me, Your kholop, and order to send a land divider to the Nurma waste by this and previous obeisance and to separate that yasak land from my manorial estate, including the forest, hayfields and other grounds, according to the Piscovaja knigas [cadastral books] of Semyon Volynsky, determine the outlines and put up the borders. And to separate from the estate and field of the wife and widow of Ivan Bedarev in the village Veneta by the Piscovaja knigas of Semyon Volynsky as well, and determine the outlines and put up the borders around Alekseev's manor of Bedarev, my manor, forest, hayfields and other grounds. And to separate the manor of Aleksey Bedarev, which he, Aleksey, and his wife, Orina, sold me, from the manor and field of the wife and widow of Ivan and her children in the forest, hayfields and other grounds and put up the borders.

And to attach my current obeisance to my previous obeisance and certificate. Your Great Majesties, have mercy.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2879/1.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 58

**An obeisance of the yasak Tatars from the village of Nurma, on the Arsk road,
to the Tsar Peter Alekseyevich on unsupported claims of landlords from Kazan,
I. Nagirin, Ya. Chertkov, N. Pisemsky, for their lands**

Not earlier than August, 1696.

Your Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, Your orphans, yasak Tatars of Nurma village, otherwise Tarlovka, on the Arsk road of Kazan uyezd, Bayterechko and Yanshikeyko Ishkineevs, Chorashko Tyaneev, Kadychko Topaev, Tokhtarko Yaneev and fellows, make obeisance to you. In the past years, Your Majesty, we, Your orphans, have left the village of Nurma to other villages out of poverty. But we rent that land and its grounds and pay yasak, money and grain, and all the other payments, bear and Tyumen tributes, for that land. And in those lands, we, your orphans, have been cutting hay for all those years. In the past years, Your Majesty, Ivan Nagirin, son of Grigory, from Kazan presented, Your Great Majesty, a petition in Moscow and brought from there a charter of Your Great Majesty, that granted our yasak land to him, Ivan, for rent, as if that land is empty and brings no income. However, that land has been yasak for many years and has never been without its yasak payment. And, having seen that the yasak has been paid for all the years, by the charters on the Edict in Kazan, we have not made obeisance to Your Majesty after his, Ivan's, obeisance. The same year, Rotamaster Yakov Pavlov made obeisance to Your Great Majesty in Moscow. And this Chortov claimed our yasak land in the village of Nurma, otherwise known as Tarlovka, as well and brought to Kazan a charter of Your Great Majesty, that said that the land is empty and granted him, Yakov, our land to his manor and for rent. Regarding of those charters, we, your orphans, made our obeisance to Your Great Majesty in Kazan, represented by the peasant of Ivan in his manorial village Veneta, who pays yasak for us, the monetary and grain one, and owns that land and hayfields, Grishka Maksimov. And, according to our obeisance in Kazan and the agreement with him, Grishka, he is ordered to pay yasak for that village of Nurma for us, and the land and hayfields and other grounds were ordered to be registered on him, Grishka. In the last year, 204, making obeisance to Your Majesty, Kazan reiter cavalryman, Mikifor Pisemskoy, son of Yelisey, presented a petition to Your Great Majesty, in regard of the same yasak land of ours in the village of Nurma, otherwise known as Tarlovka, and brought from Moscow to Kazan a charter of Your Great Majesty. It ordered to give our yasak land to him, Mikifor, to his manor for annual payment.

The charter said that by his, Mikifor's, obeisance, he and his brothers, reiter cavalrymen, were given our yasak lands for annual payment in Kazan. But their brothers, reiters, were never given our yasak lands in Kazan. So he, Mikifor, made obeisance to you, Your Great Majesty, wanting to get our land for his manor. But that land, Your Majesty, has been our yasak land since olden days and we, your orphans, really need it, and now we make our obeisance to you, Your Great Majesty. The Edict of Your Majesty and newly decreed provisions say that it is not permitted to give our yasak Tatar lands to landlords and patrimony owners for rent or manor. Merciful Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great, and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, have mercy on us, your orphans, do not let, Your Majesty, Ivan Nagirin, Yakov Chortov, Mikifor Pisemsky have our yasak lands for their manor. And order, Your Majesty, to issue an Edict on our yasak land, according to the Edict of Your Great Majesty and the newly decreed provisions, and attach this obeisance to charters and other obeisances and petitions. Your Great Majesty, have mercy.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 585.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 59

Certificate of ownership for the village of Shemerdenevskaya, otherwise known as Ortem, on the Alatsk road, issued by voivode, okolnichy, Prince P. Lvov 'and fellows', to M. Yakushev and his son, Semeney

December 13, 1697.

December 13, 7206.

By the Edict of His Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, okolnichy and voivode, Prince Peter Lukich Lvov, and fellows issued a certificate to murza Mustafa Yaushov, son of Prince Bogdan, and his son, Semeney, for registered manorial quarters, that were registered as patrimonies in the certificate of his, Mustafa's, father, Prince Bogdan Yaushov, son of Iseney, that passed the manor on from him, Bogdan, to Mustafa.

Which is why, this year, on the 13th day of December, 206, murza Mustafa Yaushov, son of Prince Bogdan, and his son, Semeney, made obeisance to His Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich. Last year, in 205, Mustafa and his son were assigned the registered manorial quarters of his, Mustafa's, father, Prince Bogdan murza Yaushov, son of Iseney, that were noted in his father's certificate as manors and patrimonies passed on him by his father in the waste Shemerdenevsk, otherwise Ortem, on the Alatsk road, Kazan uyezd, of four quarters by the cadastral land books of Semyon Volynsky and his fellows, additional lands of forty four quarters and one eighth and one sixteenth in field, and two more of the same, in addition to their manorial and patrimonial lands. And they do not need a certificate for those registered manorial lands. But His Great Majesty had mercy on him and ordered to issue him a certificate for the registered manorial lands.

The obeisance is signed by Ivan Osipov: 'December 13, 206. It will be done, issue the certificate, according to the Edict'.

Last year, in 205, Mustafa murza, son of Bogdan, and Semeney murza, son of Mustafa, Yaushovs, made obeisance to His Great Majesty. By the Edict of His Great Majesty, registration obeisance and according to the interrogation of his, Mustafa's, father and Semeney's grandfather, Prince Bogdan murza, son of Iseney, Yaushov, the patrimonies and manors in Kazan uyezd are registered for them. The certificate of acceptance states that the manor in the Shemerdenevsk waste otherwise known as Ortem, on the Alatsk road, Kazan uyezd, comes to four quarters, as it said in the piscovaja kniga [cadastral book] of Semyon Volynsky and his fellows, whereas the additional lands in the same waste are said to be forty four quarters with one eighth of desyatina and one sixteenth in field, and two more of the same. And those registered quarters are not registered for them. So, His Great Majesty had mercy on them and ordered to grant them those registered quarters and additional lands to their previous lands.

The obeisance is signed by dyak Pavel Mukhin: 'Ordered to issue'.

And the record of their obeisance said: 'In 130, Iseney murza Semenev was granted with hereditary Tokhtar manor of Tokhtamyshev in the Shemerdenevsk wasteland of nine quarters without half of osmina in field, and two more of the same; the hay in the oak grove and along the Ortem brook makes up for three hundred haycocks. The cadastral household books of scribe Semyon Volynsky and his fellows from 156 to 164 state that Bogdan Yaushov, son of Iseney, have a village in his manor on the Alatskaya Road, which was the Shemerdenevskaya wasteland, otherwise known as Ortem. Two shares of that village belong to the manor of serving Tatar, Urazmametka Tleushev. The Bogdan's portion includes: the landlords' household with Chuvash Urasko Semenov and his son-in-law, Urazaiko; tilled tillages, good lands of five quarters, three quarters of fallow, and a quarter of the grounds overgrown with forest without half of osmina [1/8 desyatina] in field, and two more of the same. According to his records, the hay in the oak grove and along the Ortem brook makes up three hundred haycocks. In total, Bogdan

owns nine quarters without half of osmina of tillage. Whereas two shares of the serving Tatar, Urazmametka, come to seventeen quarters with osmina in field, and two more of the same. According to the cadastral land books of the same scribes of 161, Bogdan murza Yaushov, son of Iseney, and serving Tatar, Urazmametka Tleushev, son of Urazlin, share a village, which was the Shemerdenevskaya wasteland, otherwise known as Ortem, of eight in length, ten across, and a total of eighty desyatinas in field, and two more of the same. When counted in quarters, it means one hundred sixty quarters in field, and two more of the same. The share of Bogdan Yaushov includes fifty three quarters with third of sokha in field, and two more of the same. In addition to his previous dacha, Bogdan murza has additional lands of forty four quarters with osmina and one sixteenth in field, and two more of the same.

Last year, on the 22nd day of November, 204, by the obeisance of Prince Bogdan murza Yaushov, son of Iseney, and his, Bogdan's, interrogation, his son, Mustafa, and grandson, Iseney, were granted with the tillage of five quarters without half of osmina in field, and two more of the same, and hay for three hundred haycocks.

According to the cadastral land books, the certificate of acceptance of manors and votchinas [patrimonies] register him, Bogdan, an old dacha of four quarters and additional land of forty four quarters with osmina and one sixteenth in the Shemerdenevskaya wasteland, otherwise known as Ortem. In total, the old dacha and additional lands come to forty eight quarters with osmina and one sixteenth in field, and two more of the same.

On the 21st day of October, 205, by the sentence of senior stolnik and voivode Michail Grigoryevich Naryshkin and fellows, it was ordered to give the registered quarters and additional lands to the son of Prince Bogdan Yaushov, Mustafa murza, and his grandson, Semeney, in addition to their dachas. So those registered quarters and additional lands were registered on Mustafa murza and his son, Semeney. By the Edict of His Great Majesty, this certificate was given to Prince Mustafa murza Yaushov, son of Bogdan, and his son, Semeney, on the registered manorial quarters, described above, for them to own.

Source: private archive of I. Galeev, fols. 1–5, original.

No. 60

Record from the books of the Ambassadorial prikaz, issued to serving Tatar M. Appakov as a confirmation of his marriage with Crimean Tatar K. Irmukhammetova, with appended texts of the obeisances

22 April 1699.

Text of the obeisance and the record of interrogation of Kinteika on 21 March 1699.

Your Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, your poor and helpless and defenseless slave, Kenteika, daughter of Irmukhamet, makes obeisance to you. [Last year, in 204], [Zaporozhian Cossacks] captured me, your slave, [and brought me] to Moscow. In Moscow, [I, your slave], was given to stolnik Aleksandr Ivanovich Miloslavsky. Having found out about me, your slave, being here in Moscow and having bought for his [belongings an imprisoned Muscovite strelets], my brother brought him to you, Your Great Majesty [to exchange him for me]. By the obeisance of the Muscovite strelets, Alexander Ivanov, I, your slave, [was searched for in Moscow] and brought to the Ambassadorial Prikaz. From [the Ambassadorial prikaz], I, your slave, in exchange for that strelets [harquebusier], [was freed and given] // to my brother, Kurmanaleika. And [I was ordered to live in] Moscow in Tatar sloboda in the household of [translator of the Ambassadorial Prikaz] Suleiman murza Tankacheev with my brother, waiting for the Edict of Your Majesty. The same year, Your Majesty, in 205, [my brother, Kurmanaleika,] have died in Moscow, by God's will, and I, poor thing, [was left alone]. [There is no one] to look after me, to feed and dress me. Now I, poor

thing, [do not want to return] home, to Crimea, to my relatives, I want to live [in the Empire of] Your Great Majesty, the Tsar [and Grand Prince].

Your Graciousness, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, have mercy on me, your slave, order me, Your Majesty, to live in the Tsardom of Your Majesty freely and marry the man of my religion, a Muslim, who serve Your Majesty in the Tsardom of Your Majesty, the one I, your slave, will choose, so I, poor thing, will not starve to death and stray between households. And order, Your Majesty, to record my petition in the books of the Ambassadorial prikaz. Have mercy, Your Great Majesty. // The obeisance is marked by [Boris] Michailov as follows: Interrogate her on the 21st day of March, 207, by the edict of His Great Majesty, whether this was indeed her obeisance and whether or not the contents of the obeisance are truly as she pleads them.

By this marking, [Tatar Kinteika] [was interrogated] in the Ambassadorial Prikaz. During interrogation, she said that she wanted to live in Moscow and did not want to go to Crimea or anywhere else. His Great Majesty allowed her to stay in her original Islamic religion and marry a Tatar man, one of those, serving His Majesty in the Empire of His Majesty in Moscow or other cities, the one she will choose and want to get married with. [Therefore], she handed in a signed obeisance to the Ambassadorial prikaz. And that obeisance was written on her, Kenteika's, account [...].

4 April 207. Write the petition of the Tatar woman and her interrogation into the book. She is free to marry a man of Islamic religion, living in the Muscovite state, of her will. //

Text of the obeisance of M. Appakov from 9 April 1699.

Your Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, your kholop, serving Tatar from Kazan sloboda, Mammetka Apakov, makes obeisance to you. This year, Your Majesty, in 207, by the Edict of Your Majesty, petition and interrogation of Kinteika, daughter of Irmukhammet, in the state Ambassadorial prikaz, she, Kinteika, was granted freedom to marry a man of Islamic religion, a Muslim of the Muscovite state in the Empire of Your Great Majesty of her choice.

This year as well, Your Majesty, on the 9th day of April, 207, I, your kholop, Memmetka, and she, Tatar Kinteika, made obeisance to Your Majesty, for me to marry her, Kinteika, by the Islamic laws and for her, Kinteika, to marry me, your servant, by the edict of His Majesty, her, Kinteika's, petition and interrogation, and record it, and by voluntary [obeisance] and agreement. By our voluntary obeisance, I was allowed to marry her, Kinteika, and it was ordered to confirm our free will to marry, by the edict of Your Majesty, and record our petition.

Thus, I, your kholop, have married her, Kinteika, according to my Islamic religion. But as I, your Kholop, have married her, Kinteika, the state Ambassadorial prikaz has not granted me a confirmation for her, Kinteika, to clear our names in front of strangers and people of our Islamic religion and from relatives and foreigners.

Your Graciousness, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich, have mercy on me, your servant, and order, Your Majesty, the state Ambassadorial prikaz to issue a certificate, confirming the deed, to clear our name in front of strangers and relatives, and foreigners of our Islamic religion.

Your Great Majesty, please, have mercy. //

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, item 1.

Published by: Mustafina D. '...zhelaet-de ona, chob ej zhit' vovse na Moskve' (shrikh k sud'be poloyanki-musul'manki v Rossii XVII v.) ['...she wishes to live in Moscow' (a mark on the fate of a captive Muslim woman in 17th century Russia) // Gasırlar avazı=Echo of the centuries. 2006. No. 1. S. 3–7.

No. 61

**Certificate, issued in the Ambassadorial Prikaz to Kazan sloboda serving Tatar,
M. Appakov, of his marriage with the captive Crimean Tatar, Kinteika,
daughter of Irmukhammet**

22 April 1699.

On the 22nd day of April, 7207, by the Edict of His Great Majesty and the petition, [duma] dyak Yemelyan Ignatyevich Ukraintsov and fellows issued this [certificate] to Kazan sloboda Tatar, Mammet Apakov [from the Ambassadorial Prikaz] stating the following.

This year, on the 21st day of March, 207, a Muslim Tatar Kinteika [captive Kenteika, [daughter] of Irmukhammet] made obeisance to His Majesty. In the past, in 204, she was taken captive by the Zaporozhian Cossacks and brought to Moscow. In Moscow, she was given to stolnik Alexander [Ivanovich] Miloslavsky, son of Ivan. In 205, his brother, Kurmanaleika, found out about her being in Moscow, bought a Muscovite strelets [harquebusier] for his belongings and brought to Moscow for exchange. By the petition of the Muscovite harqubusier and her brother, she was found and taken from stolnik Alexander [Ivanovich] Miloslavsky, and brought [into Your state] Ambassadorial prikaz. In the Ambassadorial prikaz, she was freed for exchange of that harquebusier and given to her brother, Kurmanaleika. And she and her brother were ordered to live in the household of translator of the Ambassadorial prikaz, Suleiman murza Tonkacheev, in Tatar sloboda in Moscow, while waiting for the edict of His Great Majesty. In 205, her brother, Kurmanaleika, died in Moscow, by God's will. She was left alone. There is no one to look after her, to feed and dress her [here]. [And now she is Kinteika]. But she does not want to go home to her relatives in Crimea. She wants to live in the Muscovite state [in Moscow freely]. And His Great Majesty had mercy on her and allowed her to live in Moscow as a free woman and marry a Muslim man, one of those who serve His Great Majesty in Moscow, of her choice, so she, poor thing, will not starve to death and stray from house to house. She, Kinteika, was interrogated on that petition in the Ambassadorial Prikaz, [the petition is marked by dyak Boris Michailov as follows: on the 21st day of March, 207, by the Edict of His Great Majesty, interrogate her on whether it is her petition and whether or not the content of the petition is true. [The Tatar woman, Kinteika, was interrogated, according to this marking].

During the interrogation, she said that she wanted to stay and live in Moscow. She did not want to go home to Crimea or anywhere else. If only His Great Majesty could allow her to retain her Islamic religion and marry a Tatar man, who serves His Great Majesty in the Empire of His Great Majesty in Moscow or other city, of her choice and by her will. For that, she signed a petition in the Ambassadorial prikaz. And the petition was written by her, Kinteika's will. So, by the Edict of His Great Majesty and by the marking on her interrogation by dyak Boris Michailov [on April 4th, 207], it was ordered to enter the petition and interrogation in the book of the Ambassadorial Prikaz and give her freedom to marry a Muslim citizen of the Muscovite state of her choice.

On April 9, she, Kinteika, and Kazan sloboda Tatar man, Mammetka Apakov, mentioned above, presented a petition to His Majesty. In 204, she was taken captive by the Cossacks and brought from Crimea to Moscow. In 205, her brother, Kurmanaleika, brought from Crimea to Moscow an imprisoned Muscovite strelets [harquebusier] to exchange her for. By the Edict of His Great Majesty, she was freed in exchange for the Muscovite harquebusier in the state Ambassadorial prikaz. As she did not want to go home to her relatives in Crimea, she presented a petition to His Majesty in the state Ambassadorial prikaz, to be allowed to live in Moscow. And to be allowed to marry a Muslim man, serving His Great Majesty in His Empire in Moscow or other cities. It was ordered to interrogate her in the Ambassadorial Prikaz on her petition and her interrogation was recorded, during which she said that she,

Kinteika, agreed to marry a Muslim man, [a serving Tatar from Kazan] Mammet Apakov. He, Mammet, [wants] to marry her, Kinteika, as well. But without an edict of His Majesty and permission of the Ambassadorial prikaz, he, Mammet, does not dare to marry her, Kinteika. So she wants His Majesty to have mercy on her, order to issue a certificate on her previous petition, interrogation and the entire case and allow him to marry her, Kinteika. And her, Kinteika, to marry him. And issue them from the Ambassadorial Prikaz a permission for marriage, signed by the dyak. The petition, signed by dyak Boris Michailov on April 9th, 207, is to be included in the case [by the edict of His Great Majesty] and entered into the book. They were issued an edict by His Majesty on the voluntary agreement for marriage [which have been done]. That Edict of His Majesty was implemented first of all. On the 20th day of April, the same serving Tatar from Kazan sloboda, Mammetka Apakov, paid obeisance to His Great Majesty. In 207, by the Edict of His Great Majesty, after the petition and interrogation of the Tatar woman, Kinteika, daughter of Immukhammet, in the state Ambassadorial prikaz, she, Kinteika, was granted a permission to marry a Muslim Tatar man of her choice by her own will. On April 9th, 207, he, Mammetka, and she, Tatar woman Kinteika, asked His Great Majesty for permission for him to marry her, Kinteika, and for her to marry him, Mammetka, by the edict of His Great Majesty, by her petition and interrogation, and the marking on the case and their voluntary agreement according to the Islamic law. By their voluntary agreement, he received a permission to marry Kinteika and pronounce the edict of His Majesty during their voluntary wedding, and it was ordered to enter their petition to marry Kinteika by Islamic laws. But he did not receive a confirmation from the Ambassadorial prikaz, for strangers, their Islamic religion and foreign relatives, according to which he could marry her, Kinteika. So he asked His Majesty to have mercy and order to grant him from the Ambassadorial prikaz a certificate, confirming the validity of the case for clearing their name in front of the strangers and foreign relatives.

So, by the Edict of His Great Majesty and the mark on his petition by dyak Boris Michailov, he, Mametka, was given a certificate from the Ambassadorial prikaz. First, he received a confirmation of the previous petition and interrogation of that Tatar woman, Kenteika, and of the voluntary marriage, that he, Mametko, married her, Kinteika, and she, Kinteika, married him voluntarily, according to the mark on the petition made by dyak Boris Michailov. Signed by dyak Boris Michailov.

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 131, item 1.

Published by: Mustafina D. '...zhelaet-de ona, chob ej zhit' voyse na Moskve' (shrikh k sud'be poloyanki-musul'manki v Rossii XVII v.) ['...she wishes to live in Moscow' (a mark on the fate of a captive Muslim woman in 17th century Russia)] // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of the centuries. 2006. No. 1. S. 3–7.

No. 62

Notification petition of I. Nagirin on stolen horses

19 July 1700.

Your Kholop, Ivashko Nagirin, pays obeisance. This year, Your Majesty, on the 8th day of July, 1700, someone has stolen from me, your servant, from my city household in Kazan, five horses: a mottled gelding and bay gelding, a grey gelding, seal brown gelding, buckskin gelding with a white front leg and white patch on the left shoulder blade. Along with my horses, the criminals have stolen a horse, a gelding, of Bogdan Bidarev. On 9 July, Your Majesty, one of my stolen horses, the mottled gelding, was found in the patrimony of the Kazan Monastery of the Transfiguration in Voznesensk settlement, by the night herder, // [overleaf] Mikitka, whose father's name I do not know. This mottled gelding was returned to me by the elder of the Monas-

tery of the Saviour of the Voznesensk settlement, the monk Sergey. But my other four geldings and the gelding of Bidarev have not been found.

The price for my geldings is 23 rubles. Your Graciousness, have mercy on me, your servant, and order, Your Majesty, to enter my petition and submission.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolai Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 3188.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 63

Receipt for 'beekeeping and mosque money' for 1704 from I. Nagirin to the Treasury

10 December 1704.

December 10th, 1704. Ivan Nagirin paid to the Treasury of His Majesty the remaining cash of the money for beekeeping and mosques for 1704, in accordance with his census books, twenty two altyn two pieces of money. The money was received and entered as income by Aleksey Ivanov. Prepared by Aleksey Ivanov.

Extract from: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolai Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2900.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 64

Edict of Tsar Peter Alekseyevich from the Kazan Palace's Prikaz to I. Nagirin on grain storage

14 March 1702.

The year 1702, from the birth of Christ, the 12th day of March. To Ivan Grigoryevich Nagirin, by the Edict of His Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyevich. On March 11, you wrote to Kazan to stolnik and voivode, Nikita Alferyevich Kudryavtsev and his fellows. You were ordered to send the milled rye flour from Rybnaya sloboda to Laishevo and put it into storehouses, but the storehouses in Laishevo were not suitable. Once you receive this Edict of His Great Majesty, you are to put it into storage immediately. If the grain is not in place, you will have to stay there, until you can garner that grain. Dyak Andrey Molchanov. On the reverse side: Prepared by Andryushka Stepanov.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolai Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 3196.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 65

List of house serfs of landlord I. Nagirin, issued by M. Lukoyanov to Kazan commandant N. Kudryavtsov

September, 1710.

On the day of September, 1710, the census commandant of Kazan uyezd, Nikita Alferyevich Kudryavtsev, have received a list of house serfs of Ivan Nagirin, son of Grigory, from the

settlement of Troitsky, on the Zyurey road, delivered by his man, Maksim Lukoyanov, which included information on house serfs of the landlord in Troitsky settlement and the males and females living in the peasant houses. The landlord household includes: Maksim Lukoyanov. His wife, Matrena Ftonova, son Nikifor and daughters: maids Marya, Avdotya, Marfa and step-daughter, maid Nastasya Borisova. There is also his mother, widow Palageia Kondratyeva, and sister, maid Arina.

Larion Fedorov, his wife, Fetinya Melentyeva, children, son Nikifor and daughter, maid Marya. Ivan Khrustalev, son of Ivan. His wife, Ustinya Ivanova, and daughter, maid Aksinya. Nikon Ivanov. His wife, Mavra Artemyeva. Trofim Yakovlev. His sister, maid Marfa. Ivan Kolmikh, son of Fyodor. His wife, Fedosya Mikhaylova. Wife of Ivan Filonov, Agrafena Ivanova. Her son, Antipa. Her husband, Ivan, ran off 10 years ago. Driven by poverty, her peasant son, Ignatey Ivanov, lives in the household. He has a wife, Tatyana Filovna. He, Ignatey, returned from his escape after the census of 709. Wife and widow of Spiridon Nikitin, Darya Mikhaylova. Her children, Zakhar, Stepan, Anika, Arkhip and Karp Spiridonov. Zakhar's wife, Alena Ignatyeva.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolai Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 3189.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 66

Acquittance of payment to the Treasury with the money, collected by the Konskaya (Equine) secretariat, 'upon arrival' of I. Nagirin

6 May 1711.

Copy. May 6th, 1711. By the Edict of His Great Majesty, Tsar and Grand Prince of All the Great and Little and White Russia, Peter Alekseyev, the Treasury of His Majesty in the great governor chancellery in Kazan received the remaining money of the Konskaya [Equine] secretariat of tax-collection in 710, paid for grain purchase, upon the arrival of Ivan Nagirin, which amounted to three hundred seventy rubles. The original acquittance was confirmed by dyak Andrey Mikhaylov and prepared by podyachy Fyodor Sukhorev. Dyak Dmitry Neupokoev. The original acquittance was delivered by Ilya Kalushkin.

The original acquittance was recorded.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolai Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2844.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 67

Story of ensign M. Nagirin about his career

March, 1720.

1720, March on—day. The ensign of Kozlov infantry regiment, Michail Nagirin, came to St. Petersburg Military Division and said. He is thirty eight years old. He served from the year 704, was enlisted in the army of His Majesty Tsar from minors, as a soldier of colonel Nelidov's regiment. And he was on guard in Voronezh for protection of the sea fleet. And in 705 he and the regiment were sent to Belgorod from Voronezh. And in 706, in Belgorod he was under the command of the general, Prince Ivan Koltsov-Mosalsky, for protection of Ukraine outside Kalandayev from the Crimean Horde. And in 708 he was in the guard of Preobrazhensk regiment

under the command of Major, Prince Dolgorukov, in the Don campaign against the Bulavintsy (Bulavin's detachment). And they were in the battles near Esoulov and near Reshetov. And in 709 he was outside Poltava in the division of General Rentsel, under the command of foreman Sava Aigustov. And they were sitting in redoubts. From near Poltava he was sent with the Swedish captives to Seredi, that is now called Pavlovsk. In 710 from Pavlovsk he was sent under the command of Major-General Shilovsky for the protection of Ukraine beyond the Dnieper from the Crimean Horde. From behind the Dnieper we came to Pavlovsk // [verso] And in 711, by the order of His High Count Excellency General and Admiral Fyodor Matveevich Apraksin, he was raised to the rank of ensign. And from 712 to 718 was at the same regiment in retrenchment. And nowadays I serve as the above-described ensign at the same regiment. And in 720, soldiers and recruits of the fifth Pavlovsk garrison were sent to St. Petersburg for inspection.

And everything I said is the simple truth, under penalty of losing my rank and name, without keeping anything back.

Source: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2839.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 68

Story of I. Nagirin for the president of the heraldic office S. Kolychev and companions

February, 1722.

1722, February on–day. At the order of His Imperial Majesty, nobleman Ivan Nagirin told the simple truth according to his position, true to the military oath, without keeping untruth or insincerity to the president of heraldic office Stepan Andreyevich Kolychev with his companions in Moscow in the chancery of the city of Kazan. I am eighty seven years old. And I served in the city with noblemen under contract. And I was on service of His Imperial Majesty in Orzyamas, at the Time of Troubles against thief Stenka Razin, in the regiment of the boyar and voivode, Prince Yuri Dolgorukov. And after that I was on service according to the Kazan command in Astrakhan, as the head of the Kazan streltsy. And I was there for three years. And from Astrakhan I was sent for state affairs to the Kalmyk uluses to Ayukay-taishi for two years. And after that I was sent from Kazan to Astrakhan by water with the same order. And according to that order I was exchanged. And I was on service in the Crimean campaign in the regiment of the boyar and voivode, Prince Vladimir Dolgorukov. And in another Crimean campaign I was in the regiment of the boyar and voivode, Boris // [reverse side] Sheremetev. And later in 196, I was on service at Kamyshenka in the regiment of Prince Andrey Shekhovskoy. And in 197, I was on service in Syzran in the regiment of stolnik Stepan Sabakin. And in 198, I was in Kamyshenka in the regiment of the stolnik, Prince Pyotr Dashkov. And I was resigned at the order of Alexander Sergeev in Kazan. And at the order of the boyar Pyotr Apraksin, I was enrolled as a member of the office of records in Kazan. I was in the political office for more than five years. And at the discretion of vice-governor Nikita Kudryavtsev, I resigned from political affairs because of old age, frailty and illness. The illness was to do with the intestines: the guts go out the back passage and do not stay in. And it is specified in Kazan, in the guberniya chancery, when I served my turn. And my manor and votchinas with peasants in Kazan uyezd are given to my own nephew, Michail Nagirin. And my nephew was on service in the Swedish campaign in the regiment of His Imperial Majesty for about 20 years and more. And at present he serves as an ensign in Astrakhan in the regiment of colonel Alferiy Pil. And I have no children. And about mankind there are such stories, in which names and years are written. And I know no relatives and other quarreling people written in the stories, that appear in the office of Zotov, the foreman and chief auditor of

the state in St. Petersburg // [p. 2] of service of His Imperial Majesty. And if in this story anything be false, may His Imperial Majesty make an edict according to the military order for that lie, and sign over both personal and real property to His Imperial Majesty.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific library, item 2852.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 69

**An extract from the letter of the Cabinet of Ministers to V. Tatishchev,
the director of the Ural mountain factories**

14 December 1734

[...] Kazan merchants informed you that there were not enough small coins, and copper five-kopeck coins were a burden for them, because for purchase of animals and other things they have to ride several versts, and the Tatars refused to take ruble coins but ask for small silver coins instead, and this fact was reported in the local chancery, so that they make inquiry on this subject [...]

Extract from: *The History of Tataria in Records and Documents* / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. pp. 240–241.

No. 70

**The report of academician Pallas on the trade in Kazan published
in 'The General History of Travels',**

1733.

In the highest part of the city there is an arcade for trade which was built of stone and which consisted of a number of various shops and where you could find all types of local and foreign goods. The latter are sold here almost at the same price, as in St. Petersburg. The Tatars in this arcade have their separate shops where they sell the Persian goods which consist almost only of silk fabric. Not far from these shops there is a market where they sell apples, nuts, stoneware and others; a little further there is another market where they buy sledges, carts, etc. At the other end of the city, almost desolate, there are taverns. The hay market is near Tatar sloboda.

Extract from: *The History of Tataria in Records and Documents* / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 240.

No. 71

**The opinion of the privy counselor Astrakhan governor, V. Tatishchev,
concerning the yurt Tatars**

11 November 1745.

The opinion of the privy counselor and the governor of Astrakhan Tatishchev on the yasak Astrakhan Tatars, on their prior and present condition, though the order of their offices testifies to what is now known of them, in other ages, owing to rebellions and plagues, nearly all the old

files were lost or were not sorted or written in the archives, therefore such histories and verbal narrations are scarcely available.

1. After the conquest of Astrakhan, Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich ordered the employment of those murzas and black Tatars who had remained and departed from the Khan in service in Astrakhan and yasak. And they were called yurt or house Tatars. And those who stayed in the steppes under the reign of the obeyed princes were called nomadic. But after the arrival of the Kalmyks to the Volga, the greater part of the nomadic people went over to, or were forced to join, the Kalmyks and were under the reign of their taishis and the Khan, then the majority of them moved to Crimea and to Kuban, and some to the Kaisaks and the Bashkirs who are absent nowadays and therefore I will not speak about them.

2. Among the yurt Tatars there were more than a hundred murzas, they were granted all uchugs and lands which they had had before, and moreover they were given a salary according to their deserts. But it was unknown how much land and subjects they had had at that time, nothing was said in the histories and records, only some of them, such as: the Sheydyakovs, the Urusovs, the Bakhteyarovs and others, with their attendants received baptism. It is also written that there were about ten thousand service murzas and Tatars in the regiment of Prince Serebryany when the Turks and the Crimean Khan came to Astrakhan. And after that their number is not mentioned anywhere. But they have subjects called yameks, but the herd heads claim that these yameks were former yasak people, and ask to add them to the yasak people which is impossible to approve. And the first lands in the Piscovaja kniga of the year 7159 were registered according to their words and they inherited the property of those who had left to Kuban, no information about it was in the chancery and besides the voivodes granted them with the state and alienated properties which they were liable to, and some also took over the state property high-handedly. Therefore it is necessary to receive detailed and confirmed information about the yameks from murzas and the village heads whether they are longtime subjects of those murzas or whether they were taken from the yasak or nomadic people.

And if someone was from the nomads, then according to the Kalmyk Khans' charters of offerings they have to pay yasak. And the yasak people undoubtedly have to return to the yasak. Their owned and given lands that exist nowadays are to be retained for them, but those which were not measured should be measured and indicated on drafts.

3. The yasak or black people who paid tributes to Khans and worked for them, after the conquest of Astrakhan they are set the same payment or yasak, as it was written in the history of Makariyev and later in orders to governors and voivodes. And as their number was considerable, namely during the reign of Tsar Boris, the yasak was exacted from twenty five thousand bows. In 1715, when the Crimeans came, they were about twelve thousand, then they were about two thousand. And now their number is hardly circa one thousand and they are in quite a poor state (others ran up to Kuban and to Crimea for various reasons), it was ordered not to take yasak from them, and to send for the tributes only to Tsaritsino and Kizlyar. However they were registered in the former general census only to know their number.

4. These yasak people had been divided since ancient times into herds or villages and there were quite a lot of them at that time. In each herd they determined a head of the herd, or an elder, who had the power to judge them, to make arrangements and to equip the carts and others for services, and from olden times they were given a salary according to their deserts, and occasionally it was increased. But as the majority of them had gone to Crimea and to Kuban, many heads lost their villages or had only two or three people, but as before they were given their salaries, though it was unjustly. And though those who faithfully remained did not begrudge paying, many of them died, and their relatives or even strangers were put in charge without any authority. Some heads held in trust the escheated villages which were given to them with the salary of the dead clan head. And thus there were some without villages who got salaries, and others who got a double salary without the right to it.

5. After the conquest of Astrakhan these yasak people were granted all those lands which they had owned before the conquest, but they, like the murzas' lands, were not registered. The first estate inventory was carried out in 1715, then in 1722, but all these lands were registered to the herds according to their words, some according to the words of the former heads, and even that were registered only near Astrakhan. And others, especially those which are farther than Astrakhan, are not registered till now and it is impossible to know about their owners and when they took possession of them. And when these heads saw that there were many lands left after the escape of other heads, they captured all the lands they wanted, and sold their own lands to Russians and Armenians, Bukharians and others, confirmed them by a pledge or gave them out for rent for many years. And instead of them they asked for lands of streltsy and other state lands which were given to them from former voivodes and governors without asking how many lands they had had, but they were given lands according to the number of people. And it so happened that there was not enough hay for the dragoons and other state requirements. But this was not so hard, the worst of it was that it was the cause of great harm and from now on it will happen again, that the herd heads sell those lands and lend them without permission of their people and get profit from them. And the village people suffered losses from the tributes, and have no profit from these lands, and being in debt, the greater number of them escaped from the country. And continue escaping till now. And if they don't bring them up short, it may happen that, to great harm for the country, others will also run away.

Though it demands an explanation, my ill health does not allow me to do it. However in the extract about the actions of those murzas and heads many things are described. To learn them you should see how many people ran away after the general census, especially since 1715. And if someone is not found during the census and according to the chancery, then they can take records from murzas and herd heads and centurions according to which in 1715 more people left than remained. And this escape happened as a result of nothing else but big debts. Release from handing over carts and large increases seemed enough.

6. Since ancient times the judgment was carried out by the Khan, then princes and murzas judged, and finally they organised the Tatar office, the special judge was chosen and he was told to handle legal matters verbally, together with murzas and herd heads in conformity with their laws. After my arrival, I found out that the elected murza Urusov was very weak and drunk and furthermore he had debts, while others seldom came and many of them knew the Russian language badly, and did not know laws, neither Tatar nor Russian, and they caused only difficulties, and petitioners had troubles and losses. Because of this I assigned the herd head Murzay Bolatayev to Urusov, being sure that he was a kind and clever person, but it did not bring an end to those claims and difficulties. And in particular this murza Urusov owed some people debts, but they could not put the law on him in the Tatar office, and in the guberniya chancery they did not want to regulate unimportant cases, because of it I shall render an opinion on all these circumstances.

1. If there are yameks called so by the murzas who had come from herds or from nomads, attach them all to the yasak people.

2. The yasak Tatars who number now no more than one thousand people, can be divided into four or five herds so that there will be no less than two hundred people in each herd. And in each herd for management there must be one head or a foreman, two centurions, four lieutenants, twelve sergeants. And all of them should be worthy and those foremen, centurions and lieutenants should not be changed without an edict. For this purpose guberniyas must issue edicts. And if anybody does not meet the requirements, then the guberniyas, after due consideration, shall dismiss them, and instead of the foreman shall nominate an honoured man from among the centurions, and choose centurions from among the lieutenants, so that they will be the most worthy.

3. The grant that nowadays is found in the salary should be divided among those foremen, centurions and lieutenants, in the following proportions: to the foreman—ten, to the centurion—five, to the lieutenant—two and a half, so that they will be kind and keep the herds from disorder and protect them from offenses. And moreover to order them that if ten people leave that herd, then that lieutenant and the centurion must be dismissed and if more than twenty people leave, then everyone should be dismissed: the foreman, the centurions and the lieutenants of that herd, to choose others and to learn the reason. And if it is revealed that someone has made a mistake and offended somebody, those will be punished as they deserve.

4. It is necessary to return the lands which were once sold to someone or were given on a longtime rent and which could not be redeemed, give them to Her Imperial Majesty and give them as gavel work according to the Regulations and the edict. And it is necessary to present it clearly to the Directing Senate and expect the edict.

If there is no town development, then the lands which are now in their possession and that are empty should be measured, described and put on the drafts up to the sea, which should be considered as a *Piscovaja kniga*. And when it is done, it is necessary to distribute from fifty to hundred *desyatinas* to each herd equally. And to distribute the lands in the way that the lands above Astrakhan and near it were equally shared, and then to supplement them with lower lands, which are good for cultivation, pasturing and nomadic life. And though the amount of lands is great and everyone must be satisfied, but still there will be a considerable amount of them left. It is necessary to demand the edict on the engaging of the engineer officers.

All these lands in the herds should be distributed by tens and to be in general use, or to be given on rent. This decision the herds should make on their own. But to give on rent to the foreman together with centurions, lieutenants and sergeants for two or three years. And this money, collected annually, should be in common use, and not a *kopeck* is one allowed to take to oneself.

Two persons from *murzas*, two literate persons from the herds heads should be chosen for the Office, and every year they should be changed one by one so that everyone be in court for two years and may learn processes of the court and laws. And now by the new year it is necessary to order them to choose the applicants among them so that it will be possible to see whether they choose worthy persons.

And this should be subjected to public scrutiny. V. Tatischev. 11 November 1745.

Source: State Archive of Astrakhan oblast, fund 394, inv. 1, file 1051, pp. 25–28.

No. 72

Academician I. Lepekhin about the agricultural development near the River Cheremshan,

1768.

In autumn, as well as in spring, during harvesting they graze cattle on harvested fields. This levels the grass and to some extent manures the fields. They call this sort of fertilising a communal work. Besides, every spring they burn off the remaining straw (because they reap the grain high), and this burning off aids in fertilising... burning off not only clears the fields of weeds, but also prevents from degrading crops after fertilising which may be caused by the decay of the remaining herbs... They also burn off their meadows... so that the hard stalks of grass do not hinder mowing. New fields are cultivated with a *saban* (wooden plough)..., and other fields are cultivated with the help of horses.

All types of arable lands are divided according to the spacing into winter and spring lands and fallow lands as well as the Russian peasants do... Despite the rich soil, which judging from

its appearance can bring forth good yields, not all yields are good. Besides the frosts which quite often happen in summer cause harm to tender crops...

Their [inhabitants on the Cheremshan] seeding of rye comes first. After rye comes oats. They seed little flax and hemp and only for their own needs because they ripen badly on their rich soil and sometimes spoil because of eventual frosts. They seed buckwheat or spruce grouse in different villages, but unsuccessfully, because the rich soil is not good for these crops.

Wheat is sowed less than rye and oats, and lack of wheat is made up by spelt. There are enough hayfields and pastures, so many meadows remain unmowed because it is not customary to peddle and sell hay. Peas are not sowed at all, and we saw them only in two places. Only the Tatars sow lentil and not really much and only for their own needs.

Stubble-field. The inhabitants of the Cheremshan harvest with a reaping hook like all the Russians. In some places they told us that they mowed corn with a scythe like hay so that to gather crops quicker, but the excessive loss they had, made them harvest as they had done it before because ripe heads were shattered when touched by a scythe, and nearly one third of grains was lost.

Reaped bread crops are stored in stacks¹³, the tops of which are covered with straw. The stacks are mostly placed on a shelving place so that on rainy days water could flow off and do not wet them. Some make small canals near the stacks and this way to drain water. The Tatars put their stacks on columns with plate flooring, and this way keep their crops from wet and vermin. The milled wheats are kept in granaries ... and if anyone has much wheat left, they do nothing else to preserve it but turn it in trunk boxes, or pour it from one box into another.

Milling. They mill wheat in three ways: either flail in sheaves, or, as the Tatars most often do, take the sheaves to pieces. A particular way to mill, as nowhere else, is that this work is done by horses. In the middle of a barn floor they establish a column on the top notch of which they put a moving wooden ring; then tie a rope to the ring, and rope two horses one by one on to the rope. Near the column one sazhen apart they put the untied sheaves so that horses are always walking on them. Then they drive horses around the column, they hoof the heads, and do the same work, as thrashels. But it is not difficult to understand how harmful was that way of milling because the peasant loses straw, suitable for the different purposes, and grains, being scattered, can be defective and damaged, which sometimes may cause crop failure. [...]

Cheremshan gardens. Except tilled crops all peasants in Cheremshan have gardens where they plant different vegetables such as: beet, carrots, cabbage, cucumbers, but they do not know about other greens, like parsnip, parsley and others. Among other garden products you can find all that the Russian peasants have in wintertime, like: sauerkraut, cucumbers and so forth.

Saban. In the village of Besovka for the first time we saw a piece of harvesting equipment which is called saban by the inhabitants. It has much in common with a plough, however not everything, as you can see in the following description. Actually it consists of two parts: the first is called pripryag, and the other is saban. The pripryag makes an axis with two ordinary wheels, and saban is made up of different parts: the first part is called a beam which is nothing but a long winding log. On the front end there is a wooden nail and a rope loop attached to it which is in its turn tied to the pripryag. The beam is put into legs which are made of two budge barrels. The horizontal part of legs is called ploughshare and is connected to a blade, and the forked part of the budge barrels is called legs. Legs are connected by a cross-bar. In the place where the beam lies on the ploughshare they peck a four cornered hole through which passes a four cornered stick, called a crutch; the lower end of the crutch in the ploughshare is fixed, and in the beam it is free. They put a chisel or an iron flat sharp triangular part on the end of the ploughshare. Two arshins apart from the tail-piece of the beam on the bend they peck one more four cornered hole into which an iron cutter is put, it is a long and thick beveled blade the sharp end of which

¹³ Odonye is a stack.

joins the pripyag, and its end must be on one straight line with the chisel, and must be fixed by wedges in the hole. On the right side they nail a board to the legs and the beam, the board is called a club, it turns aside the clots cut with a cutter and lifted by a chisel. Use of this tool requires at least four horses.

Published by: Sources on the History of Tatarstan (16–18th centuries) / Edited by S. Alishev. Kazan, 1994. pp. 47–50.

No. 73

Edict of Catherine II about the formation of Kazan namestnichestvo (guberniya) dated 28 September 1781.

We most graciously enjoin our Lieutenant General holding the position of Kazan and Penza Governor-General, Prince Meshchersky, to execute at the end of this year our order of 7 November 1775, published for administration of the guberniya and in Kazan namestnichestvo, consisting of thirteen uyezds namely: Kazan, Laishovo, Spass, Chistopol, Mamadysh, Arsk, Tsarevo-Kokshaysk, Cheboksary, Kozmodemyansk, Yadrinsk, Tsivilsk, Tetyushi and Sviyazhsk. Thereof the suburbs and other settlements which gave names to the enumerated uyezds are to be renamed as towns, and the delimitation of this namestnichestvo is submitted for approval of our governor-generals or those who hold this position, they must inform the Senate about their delimitation and about settlements and their population and how one must be separated from another and listed according to convenience.

In St. Petersburg. September, 1781. Catherine.

Published by: Sources on the History of Tatarstan (16–18th centuries) / Edited by S. Alishev. Kazan, 1994. P. 80.

No. 74

Information on the involvement of the Tatars from Seitov sloboda of Orenburg in trade with eastern countries provided in the 'Notes' of I. Neptyuev

Not earlier than 1745, not later than 1758.

[...] I took note of the involvement of the merchants from Russia in trade, and the Asians as well. Regarding the former, I sent in all masters, trusting that my word itself will be their witness, and I sent charters abroad to the latter, asking the Kirghiz, Khivians, Tashkentians, Kashgharians, Turkmen and Bukharians for trade, assuring them favours. I mentioned in these letters Mohammedans, the Tatars of Seitov sloboda; and as these people can be easily dazzled by profit, I rewarded these Tatars and promised to reward even more, after execution of their mission with success; they having received the first reward hoped to receive another one, they tried in all those areas most diligently that from 1745 there started a notable trade in Orenburg, so I came into a fortune of 30,000 rubles annually from the Treasury, instead of the money I had got in the beginning of the business. And I was able to keep the trade from the custom duties; but also, more than 5,000 rubles of silver imported into Russia by the trade which was specified in the application, and greater number was not specified in the application, and a lot of gold, and customs duties were up to 50,000 a year. Before me not even 3,000 a year came from the old trade.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. Pp. 241–242.

No. 75**Story of ensign M. Nagirin about his career**

March, 1720.

1720, March on—day. The ensign of Kozlov infantry regiment, Michail Nagirin, came to St. Petersburg Military Division and said. He is thirty eight years old. He served from the year 704, was enlisted in the army of His Majesty Tsar from minors, as a soldier of colonel Nelidov's regiment. And he was on guard in Voronezh for protection of the sea fleet. And in 705 he and the regiment were sent to Belgorod from Voronezh. And in 706, in Belgorod he was under the command of the general, Prince Ivan Koltsov-Mosalsky, for protection of Ukraine outside Kalantayev from the Crimean Horde. And in 708 he was in the guard of Preobrazhensk regiment under the command of Major, Prince Dolgorukov, in the Don campaign against the Bulavintsy (Bulavin's detachment). And they were in the battles near Esoulov and near Reshetov. And in 709 he was outside Poltava in the division of General Rentsel, under the command of foreman Sava Aigustov. And they were sitting in redoubts. From near Poltava he was sent with the Swedish captives to Seredi, that is now called Pavlovsk. In 710 from Pavlovsk he was sent under the command of Major-General Shilovsky for the protection of Ukraine beyond the Dnieper from the Crimean Horde. From behind the Dnieper we came to Pavlovsk, and in 711, by order of His High Count Excellency general and admiral Fyodor Apraksin, he was raised to the ensign. And from 712 to 718 was at the same regiment in retrenchment. And nowadays I serve as the above-described ensign at the same regiment. And in 720, soldiers and recruits of the fifth Pavlovsk garrison were sent to St. Petersburg for inspection. And everything I said is the simple truth, under penalty of losing my rank and name, without keeping anything back.

Source: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific Library, item 2839.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // Gasırlar avazı=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 76**Story of I. Nagirin for the president of the heraldic office S. Kolychev and companions**

february, 1722.

1722, February on—day. At the order of His Imperial Majesty, nobleman Ivan Nagirin told the simple truth according to his position, true to the military oath, without keeping untruth or insincerity to the president of heraldic office Stepan Andreyevich Kolychev with his companions in Moscow in the chancery of the city of Kazan. I am eighty seven years old. And I served in the city with noblemen under contract. And I was on service of His Imperial Majesty in Orzyamas, at the Time of Troubles against thief Stenka Razin, in the regiment of the boyar and voivode, Prince Yury Dolgorukov. And after that I was on service according to the Kazan command in Astrakhan, as the head of the Kazan streletsy. And I was there for three years. And from Astrakhan I was sent for state affairs to the Kalmyk uluses to Ayukay-taishi for two years. And after that I was sent from Kazan to Astrakhan by water with the same order. And according to that order I was exchanged. And I was on service in the Crimean campaign in the regiment of the boyar and voivode, Prince Vladimir Dolgorukov. And in another Crimean campaign I was in the regiment of the boyar and voivode Boris Sheremetev. And later in 196, I was on service at Kamyshenka in the regiment of Prince Andrey Shekhovskoy. And in 197, I was on service

in Syzran in the regiment of stolnik Stepan Sabakin. And in 198, I was in Kamyshenka in the regiment of the stolnik, Prince Pyotr Dashkov. And I was resigned at the order of Alexander Sergeev in Kazan. And at the order of the boyar Pyotr Apraksin, I was enrolled as a member of the office of records in Kazan. I was in the political office for more than five years. And at the discretion of vice-governor Nikita Kudryavtsev, I resigned from political affairs because of old age, frailty and illness. The illness was to do with the intestines: the guts go out the back passage and do not stay in. And it is specified in Kazan, in the guberniya chancery, when I served my turn. And my manor and votchinas with peasants in Kazan uyezd are given to my own nephew, Michail Nagirin. And my nephew was on service in the Swedish campaign in the regiment of His Imperial Majesty for about 20 years and more. And at present he serves as an ensign in Astrakhan in the regiment of colonel Alferiy Pil. And I have no children. And about mankind there are such stories, in which names and years are written. And I know no relatives and other quarreling people written in these stories who appear in the chancery of Zotov, the foreman and chief auditor of the state in St. Petersburg. And I do not know anyone from the service of His Imperial Majesty. And if in this story anything be false, may His Imperial Majesty make an edict according to the military order for that lie, and sign over both personal and real property to His Imperial Majesty.

Source: Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific library, item 2852.

Published by: D. Mustafina Archive of the Nagirin family // Gasırlar avazı=Echo of centuries. 2002. No. 3/4. pp. 40–64.

No. 77

The data on specially designated places for trade in Kazan provided by I. Falk in his notes 'Travels'

1773.

[...] There [in Kazan] are two markets. The shopping arcade is large and is built quite stoutly, and other shops are wooden, small, built in a row. Among them 56 shops are intended for guest merchants selling their goods here; 9 cloth shops, 28 for Siberian and Chinese goods, 36 for clothes, 16 for silverware, 17 ironmongers and so forth, and 776 shops in all. Besides there are 86 shops selling trifles at the small market.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 241.

No. 78

The petition of Mukhamet Ishkuzin, Ahmet Badayev, Kutlomamet Irmayev Balbekovs about acceptance in Kasimov lower territorial court of the petition with the attached letters patent and genealogies and with a request for issue of the precise copy of the above-mentioned documents

Not later than July, 1784.

Your Graciousness, Your Mightiness, Great Empress Catherine Alekseyevna, Autocrat of all Russia, Most Merciful Sovereign.

The Tatars of Kasimov uyezd of the village of Tarbayev, Mukhamet Ishkuzin, Ahmet Badayev, Kutlomamet Irmayev, Balbekovs children, make obeisance. We ask humbly.

1. According to the edict of Your Imperial Majesty, of [1]784 February 22 day, and pursuant to the edict of the Governing Senate, and the edict of the Ryazan viceregal government the Kasimov lower zemsky court is ordered to take from princes and murzas of the Tatar origin writs and abridged copies of evidence of title and other charters given to their ancestors for the faithful service confirming their nobility and proving that they came from that lineage for the restitution of properties belonging to them.

2. And as our ancestors, Kasimov Service Tatars served the ancestors of Your Imperial Majesty, they were granted manors. Our ancestor Bolbek Tenebyakov was granted eighty quarters of estates. And he was granted an estate in Kasimov uyezd in the village of Tarbayev, and he was given an ownership charter from Tsar and Grand Prince Michail Fyodorovich in 7127, where it was said that he, our ancestor, was the serving Tatar. And now his estate is in our possession by inheritance. And in testimony of our coming from the lineage of our ancestor Bolbek we have a genealogical tree attested by the elatomsk landlords—the artilleryman captain Ivan, the count ensign Aleksey, the second Lieutenant Ivan Borsukov, and the original entitlement to the real estate.

Also we ask to accept our petition, the Letters patent and the genealogical tree in the Kasimov lower zemsky court according to the edict of Your Imperial Majesty, and to send them according to the above-registered order with other documents for consideration, and to give us the exact attested copy of the writ for future reference.

We ask Your Most Gracious Empress, Your Imperial Majesty to make a decision on our petition.

July, 1784. Liable to the Kasimov lower zemsky court.

The petition was written by the coachman of Kasimovsky settlement, Ivan Zhivikov.

The original petition is signed point by point.

Source: The depository of manuscripts and textual criticism of Institute of Language, Literature and Art named after G. Ibragimov, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund of M. Ahmetzyanov, item 38.

Published by: D. Mustafina. '...Our forefather was a true Serving Tatar' (from the petition of the Baybekovs to acknowledge their nobility) // *Gasirlar avazi*=Echo of centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 89–102.

No. 79

Extract from the article 'About the Present State of Manufactories in Russia'

No earlier than 1812.

In Kazan there are two woollen-goods factories. One of them belongs to the retired ensign of the Guards Osokin and delivers quite large amount of good cloth to the Treasury. This factory which exists since the time of Emperor Peter the Great contains more than a hundred looms with 1200 and 1500 shafts which produce broadcloth. The peasants attributed to this factory comprise the whole sloboda, the so-called Cloth sloboda. Senator Arshenevsky saw that if there were machines for cloth finishing at the factory, then it would be able to finish a larger amount of machined cloth than raw cloth, and therefore he advised Osokin to improve the production of cloth by introducing of carding and spinning machines. And he also suggested the chief governor to persuade the noblemen of Kazan guberniya who make coarse cloth to increase its production, and Mr. Osokin was ready to buy and to finish it in greater volumes, both for delivery to the Treasury, and for sale. The other cloth factory in Kazan is organised by the Charitable organisation, it has 6 looms, and works quite well. The machine, invented by mechanic Gladkov and improved by Court Counselor Meshcherinov, the noble member of the above described

Organisation, produces quite a delicate yarn of Spanish Merino, from which the senator advised to weave camlet. They already conducted an experiment to weave camlet, which was quite successful. There are also tanneries and soap plants in Kazan. There are a lot of tanneries, and one of them is engaged in currying of tanned leather, shoe goods and treads; and others are engaged in manufacture of goatskin and morocco of different colours. The Senator offered the hosts of the first plants that they changed manufacturing of treads and introduced half-pumping or tawing instead of lime liquor, which was used by them at that time. This currying would be good for delivery to the Treasury, and for that he suggested sending experts from Moscow. The Kazan goatskin is preferred to all other products of that kind, and especially black skin, the glossy ones are sent to Kyakhta for trade with the Chinese; others are sent to Astrakhan, Orenburg and other cities. However Kazan is one of the most favourable places for currying because they bring rawhide to Kazan not only from the nearby cities, but also from other towns located on the Volga, from Orenburg guberniya and even from Siberia; at the same time there are all necessary materials for the manufacture in good supply, and therefore it is cheaper if compared with other places.

Extract from: 'Severnaya Pochta', 1812, No. 27.

No. 80

A report of the correspondent from the D. Zinovyev Kharkov philo-technical society about soap factories in Kazan

No earlier than 1812.

This town is famous for excellent factories, there are 11 stone and 21 wooden ones, they have 111 boilers, 195 beeches and 184 workers. Each one is paid from 80 to 140; 14,720 rubles all together. There are 30 craftsmen, each is paid from 200 to 400 rubles annually (on average); 9,000 rubles all together. The annual average of consumption of rendered and non-rendered fat is 97,360 poods, 7 rubles each, all together 678,880 rubles; 21,865 poods of calf fat and roe, 6 rubles each, 135,298 rubles all together. 1,600 sazhen of three-log wood, 9 rubles each; 14 400 all together, 100 cubic sazhen of quicklime, 60 rubles each, 6,000 rubles all together. 31,050 poods of excess salt, 90 kopecks each, 27,945 rubles all together, 100,000 poods of potash, 1 ruble each, 100,000 all together. From a set amount of ingredients a certain amount of soap is processed, that is: butter, egg kernel and perfumed soap up to 16,000 poods¹⁴, which at all times the manufacturers sold in Kazan for cash and later sent by land and water to many places, especially to the fairs of Makariev and Rostov, its price was 7 rubles 50 kopecks per pood. Thus, 1,200,000 rubles was received for soap during a year; but having deducted 1,077,243 rubles spent for the materials, they had 122,757 rubles of pure profit. It seems like the manufacturers are well rewarded for their efforts, they live in affluence and bring honour to their vocation.

Extract from: 'Kazanskiye izvestiya', 1812, No. 32, pp. 6–7.

¹⁴ It is hardly possible regarding the amount of prepared soap; some melted it because of superstitions, others were afraid of being subject to a tax. The Tatars exaggerate a lot because of their vanity. The reference was made by the note's author.

3. Religious Life and Spiritual Culture

No. 1

The Letters patent for immunity of Tsar Ivan IV to the Archimandrite of Sviyazhsk Monastery of the Mother of God, German

16 May 1555

I, by the Grace of God, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all the Russias, grant our devotee of the Dormition of the Immaculate Mother of God, Archimandrite German and his brothers, and those, who will be Archimandrites of the Dormition of the Immaculate after him, our viceregents of the new town of Sviyazhsk and voivode Archimandrite German and his brothers and their servants and business people and peasants are not to be judged for anything. Archimandrite German with his brothers will judge their people and peasants themselves or order others to do so. And if there will be a lawsuit between local people and peasants and townspeople or people of volost, then our viceregents of the new town of Sviyazhsk and voivodes will judge those people, and archimandrite German and his brothers or their clerk will be judged with them. And whether a townsman or a man from volost is guilty or not, he will be both in guilt or truth subject to the Sviyazhsk viceregent and voivodes, and a man of monastery in truth and guilt subject to archimandrite German and the brotherhood. And if somebody has anything with Archimandrite German and his brothers and their people and peasants, I, Tsar and Grand Prince, will judge them or the viceregent, who has the new town of Sviyazhsk in his jurisdiction.

This charter is given in Moscow, in the year 7063, on the 16th day of May.

On the reverse side:

By the Grace of God, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all the Russias.

Confirmations:

In the year 7093, on the 9th day of August, His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Ivanovich of all the Russias, having listened to this charter and to Archimandrite of Sviyazhsk's Monastery of the Mother of God Avramy and his brothers, or whoever is another archimandrite or builder would be, ordered to sign the deed to his reign and name of the Grand Prince. And ordered that the charter should not be violated by anybody or anything, and ordered them all to follow what was written in the charter.

Deacon Ondrey Shchelkalov.

In the year 7107, on the 20th day of March, His Majesty Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fyodorovich of all the Russias with his son Tsarevich Prince Fyodor Borisovich of all the Russias, listened to the charter of Archimandrite Sergey from Sviyazhsk Monastery of the Mother of God or whoever in that monastery would be Archimandrite and brothers, they granted and ordered to sign to the charter the Tsar's name, and the deed was not to be violated, and ordered them all to follow what was written in the deed. And it was signed by the Deacon Ofonasey Ivanov, son of Vlas.

Extract from: Published: Documents on the History of Kazan Region from the archives of Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic / the latter half of the 16–middle of the 17th centuries. Texts and comments / compiled by I. Yermolayeva and D. Mustafina. Kazan, 1990. No. 1, pp. 28–30.

No. 2

Instruction order to Archbishop Guriy concerning his actions in Sviyazhsk and Kazan and about the attitude to the newly christened, Tatars and secular authorities

No later than 26 May 1555.

May of 7063. Instruction to the Archbishop Guriy of Kazan and Sviyazhsk. If he comes, by God's will, to the town of Sviyazhsk, he should be greeted outside the town with crosses and then go to the Cathedral of the Nativity of the Mother of God and hold a public prayer, and bless the water, and go to the town with crosses, and walk along the town wall with the crosses, and make prayers and besprinkle with holy water; and speak of preserving the town over each gate and besprinkle with holy water; and serve mass in the Cathedral. And the next day go to Kazan and order to be met with the crosses as well and go to the Cathedral, and hold a public prayer, and walk along the town wall as in the town of Sviyazhsk, and serve mass; and reside at the house, which was the Fyodorovsky house of Adashev. And instruct the archimandrites, and hegumens, and protopopes, and priests, and deacons in Kazan and Sviyazhsk on discipline and following divine rules; and also edify the people to live according to the Christian law, Commandments of God, Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers. And appoint priests and deacons to the churches, and judge archimandrites and hegumens, and priests, and deacons and monks in all matters; and the namestniks of Kazan and Sviyazhsk shall not interfere; and judge the lay people in their spiritual issues by the Divine Canon, and the viceregents shall not interfere. And the Tatars, who will want to be christened on their own volition and not by force, are to be baptised, and the best of them are to be kept at episcopate and taught the Christian law and taken care of, and other be given to other monasteries for baptismal; and when the newly baptised finish their learning, the archbishop should often invite them to eat and drink kvass, and after the meal to send them to drink mead in the country house. And the Tatars, who will come for petitions, are to be fed and given kvass to drink, and given mead in the country house; speak with them gently and lead them to the Christian law, and talk to them with tenderness and not with harshness. If a Tatar will commit a guilty act and run from disgrace and will want to be baptised, the voivodes should by no means give him back, and baptise him and keep at their place and agree about it with the viceregents and voivodes: and decide to keep him in Kazan, on his old land and yasak, and if it will be impossible to keep him in Kazan, expecting treason, then after the baptism send him to the Sovereign and Grand Prince. And if the voivodes will order to execute a Tatar, who will be guilty, and other Tatars will come to petition to pardon him, and the Archbishop will send to ask for them: and by advice of the viceregent and the voivodes keep the people, who are convenient to keep in Kazan, in Kazan; and those, who are not convenient to keep in Kazan, are to be sent to the Sovereign and Grand Prince, and write petitions for pardon to the Sovereign and Grand Prince. And the Archbishop should hold council with the viceregent and the voivodes: who from the Tatars is in less disgrace, and whom they want to threaten with execution, of them they should tell the Archbishop, and ask the Archbishop for pardon, even there will be no petition for him; and the archbishop should make the Tatars get used to him using different customs, and lead them to baptism with love and not with fear. And if the Archbishop will hear about any violation of the Christian law caused by Kazan and Sviyazhsk voivodes, the children of boyars, other people or the viceregents themselves, the Archbishop should edify them with tenderness; and if they will not listen, then the Archbishop should talk to them with prohibition, and if they will not listen to his lectures and prohibitions, then the Archbishop should report about those violations to the Tsar and Grand Prince.

And instructions to Archbishop Guriy. Treat the viceregents of Kazan and Sviyazhsk fairly, like the Archbishop of Novgorod treats the namestniks of Novgorod and Pskov. And if the vice-regent of Kazan and the voivodes will dine at the Archbishop's, the Archbishop should place

the viceregents at the end of the table; and the voivodes should be seated at the other end, at the big table, two seats after him; and the archimandrites, and hegumens, and protopopes should be seated at a curved table; and after the meal the cup of the Tsar and Grand Prince should be given to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop's cup should be given to the viceregent, and the viceregent's cup—to the senior Archimandrite or the senior hegumen, and if there is no archimandrite or hegumen, the Archbishop should give the viceregent's cup to his boyar.

And instruction to the Archbishop. If the viceregent and the voivode will discuss the affairs of the Tsar and Grand Prince, the Archbishop should discuss the affairs with them and express his thoughts on the matter, except for cases of murder, and not talk to anybody about the opinions of the viceregent and the voivode. And the Archbishop should take great care against fire in his household, and the cooking and baking should be done on earth; and not keep mead and beer in the cellar in town, only kvass, and wine and mead, and beer, should be stored in the cellar in the country. And the viceregent and the voivodes should often be reminded to take great care against fire and taverns, take care that sons of boyars and other people not sit at nights near fire and drink and also not drink in the daytime, and in the town and on the gates there should be sentries on guard. And if the Archbishop will learn that it is dangerous in the town of the viceregent and the voivodes and people are abused, the Archbishop should tell them about it two and three times, to be on guard, that it is dangerous in the town or that people are abused, and if they do not listen, report the truth about what is happening to His Majesty the Tsar and Grand Prince.

Source: Acts of the Archeographic Expedition, vol.1, No. 241/II, pp. 259–261.

No. 3

Edict of Peter I about baptism

3 November 1713

The Great Sovereign orders the non-Christians of the Muslim religion in Kazan and Azov Governorates, who have manors and patrimonies and in those manors and patrimonies who have peasants and household and business people of the Christian Orthodox religion, to deliver them according to the edict of the Great Sovereign to be baptised all during six months; and after they have received the holy baptism, they will keep possessing the manors and patrimonies with the people and peasants. And if they are not baptised in six months, their manors and patrimonies with the people and peasants will be signed over to the Great Sovereign and will not be given to anybody without an edict. And a notification from the Governorates should be sent to the Chancery of the Senate about how many people from the non-Christians receive the holy baptism and how many will not, and what will be signed over from the manors and patrimonies.

Extract from: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents. Moscow; Leningrad, 1937. p. 166

No. 4

The petition of the Tatar Illevle Altanbaev about baptism, written according to the form, developed by the missionaries

June 1759

Your Grace, Your Mightiness, Great Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, Autocrat of all the Russias, Most Merciful Sovereign.

Tatar Ilevle Altanbaev, adherent to the Muslim law, a service man of Sobachiya village of Alatyr uyezd, humbly petitions, and what my petition is about, is in these items:

In my nature, I, the named, adhere to the aforementioned Muslim law; now after the preaching and suasion and teaching of the priest Ivan Frolov of Boltino village of Alatyr Uyezd, I have completely realised that Muhammad, honoured and acknowledged by others in that law as a prophet and the messenger of God, is not and never was God's messenger, but a shameful and false prophet and a precursor of the Antichrist; the same is his law, the Quran (or Alkoran), false, abominable and an abomination to God, and having received through the sermon this knowledge, I reject and curse the false prophet Muhammad and his Alkoran.

2. The Christian law, to which the sons of the Orthodox Eastern Graeco-Russian Catholic Church belong, I confirm as that true and pleasing to God, and according to my doubtless knowledge of the faith, the incarnated Jesus Christ is the true Son of God and true God, praised and worshiped as con-substantial with the Father and Holy Spirit, and not how Christ the Saviour is foully referred to by the abominable prophet in his ungodly teaching. Now I, the named, heartily and with true conscience, desire to convert to that salutary Christian faith and adhere to it until the end of my life, firmly and irrevocably.

And order by Your Majesty's highest edict to accept my petition in the spiritual consistory of the eminent Bishop of Nizhny Novgorod and Alatyr Feofan and according to my self-willed desire, described above, and my petition, to convert me, the humble, to Christianity and enlighten me by holy baptism. Your Grace, I ask Your Majesty to accede to my petition....June 1759.

Instead of the aforementioned non-Christian Tatar Ilevle Altanbaev, at his request, this petition was written by Semen Andreev, the clerk of spiritual consistory of Nizhny Novgorod.

The resolution of the Bishop of Nizhny Novgorod Feofan to the petition: Having accepted the one desiring to be baptised, pass him over to the priest of the Cathedral of the Archangel, Dimitry to instruct him in the faith and for preparing for the holy baptism; after the instruction, the priest is blessed to baptise him; after the baptism a report should be sent to the consistory.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. pp. 340–341.

No. 5

The report concerning the baptism of Ilevle Altanbaev.

13 July 1759.

The report of Dimitry Vasilyev, Priest of the Cathedral of the Archangel of Nizhny Novgorod.

The Tatar Ilevle Altanbaev in the illness that possessed him, in deadly fear, after a short instruction on Christian faith, special to those converting from the Muslim evil disgrace, was enlightened to the Holy Conciliar Apostle Church by the holy baptism on 1 July and had his communion; his was christened with the name Kosma; his godfather was the secretary of Nizhny Novgorod spiritual consistory Ivan Denisov, and after the baptism the newly christened Kosma went to his home in the above mentioned village for summer field works and other household needs.

Priest Dimitry Vasilyev.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. p. 341.

No. 6
The Decree of Catherine II about teaching the Tatar language
in the Kazan gymnasium dated 12 May 1769.

To establish in the Kazan gymnasium once and for all, the class of that [Tatar] language and appoint Sagit Halfin, the deputy and interpreter of the local Admiralty Office, as its teacher in the Old and New Tatar slobodas in Kazan, who will be appointed as an interpreter with a rank and salary of a governorate interpreter, and relieved from the tribute, so that he would have diligence for both assigned positions and his children could have favour for learning and be valid for service.

Extract from: Sources on the History of Tatarstan (16–18th centuries) / Edited by S. Alishev. Kazan, 1994. p. 99.

No. 7
Of corporal punishment of the newly baptised Fyodor Konstantinov
for not attending church

7 February 1766.

Submitted on 7 February 1766

Pro memoria

From the Kazan Spiritual Consistory to the Kazan Governorate Chancellery, submitted to spiritual consistory of Kazan desyatitsa from the village of Bogoyavlenskaya, the same Mor-kiy, on 29 January 1766, the priest Ignaty Fyodorov reports to the parish of his village that Kichuk Pamash, the newly baptised Fyodor Konstantinov Bekhmet, never goes to church and does not learn the Christian law and is being stubborn, and after multiple requests from the priest over two months does not take his newborn son for holy baptism and does not listen to the priest in anything; request to force this newly baptised to go to the holy church to public prayer and to learn the Christian law and also to force him to take his son for holy baptism, and to carry out consideration and resolution for this stubbornness; and according to the Edict of Her Imperial Majesty it is decided in the spiritual consistory: to force this newly baptised Fyodor Konstantinov and all the other newly baptised of Kazan Governorate to go to church for public prayer and to learn the Christian law and to take their newborn children to be enlightened by baptism; and the priest, appointed by the Governorate Chancellery, should write a pro memoria about it to the Governorate Chancellery that the mentioned newly baptised Fyodor Konstantinov for his stubbornness and for not taking his son to be baptised, in order to bring fear to others, to suffer corporal punishment /of which this is sent/at the church in front of lay people, and the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery would carry this out according to the Edict of Her Imperial Majesty.

Hieronymus Archimandrite of Sviyazhsk and Kazan

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 407, §. 1, file 446, p. 1.

No. 8

The report about familiarisation and making of excerpts from the book and separate sheets, confiscated from mullah Murat, compiled by the Akhund and mullahs with the Chief A. Khayalin of Seitov sloboda, and also the record about Murat's associates ('oath'), obviously, written by himself, translated into the Russian language by the registering clerk M. Voinov

No earlier than 10 June 1771.

The translation from Tatar of the letter, which says the following: to the noble and superior Orenburg Governor General Major and Cavalier Ivan Andreevich Rheinsdorn from the Akhund of Seitov sloboda Abdulnasyr Abdusalyamov with mullahs and Chief Abdula Khayalin, a humble report!

It is commanded by the order sent to us from Your Excellency on 9 May to thoroughly inspect the books, composed by mullah Murat, to see if there are any words offensive to our law and harmful to our people. In accordance with the order of Your Excellency, having taken from the aforementioned mullah Murat the books, written by his hand, and letters, written on scraps, as many as it was possible, examined them and found: that all the letters, written by him, by Murat, and the words, coming out of his mouth, are adverse to our law, for he names himself as the highest saint, and writes that he comes from the lineage of the prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima; names some of his associates simply saints, others supreme saints, and others minor saints. In his books he wrote that in his hands will be the ring of Muhammad, the rod of Moses, the turban of Abraham, and, having relocated to Egypt, he will build a mosque there, and beside the mosque he will dig out a well. And thus, having become the Sultan of the Universe, will have the place of his sultanate and his throne in Egypt.

Moreover, he wrote that the treasury is hidden for him in seven places and nobody can take it except for him. The Universe, ruled by four Sovereigns, that is Solomon, Alexander, Nimrod and Pharaoh, all will he have. And he will find the water of life. Along with this, he writes that Archangels Gabriel, Michael and Israfil, angels and Elijah the Prophet, being his allies, will help him. And that the book, composed by him, is the key to the four books, that is: The Old Testament, Gospels, Psalms and Al-Koran, for the things described in the Old Testament will be invented in his book. And his advent in the last centuries can be known from the Old Testament.

But some of the sayings of our Quran he wrote with a false interpretation in his book, and only those that contributed to his glorification. And there are no sayings in the Al-Koran about him, Murat, but of the people, who come from Israel and who had died before our Prophet was born, and so our Al-Koran does not say anything about the advent of this mullah Murat and no mention of this Murat is made. Consequently, all of his words about our Quran are false.

Murat wrote in the book that the Turkish Sultan will ask for this book of his via his ambassador. According to this, Murat said of himself that the Sultan will ask him to come as well. Moreover, he wrote that the Sultan, having taken the book and an oath, mounted the horse.

What he testified by words to us. Only in the books his name Murat did not write, about the mystery delivered to him by God. And wherever in the book the following is written: 'you', 'to you', 'yours', 'his', 'to him', Murat ascribed to himself. To our question why he wrote such words, Murat said that sometimes God's mysteries enter his mind and sometimes he sees them in his dreams, that was why he wrote them. And when the mystery from God does not reveal itself or he does not see it in his dream, then he does not know anything and does not write. But in our books it is not said that the mysteries of God could be revealed to such men as Murat, for such mysteries were revealed only to the prophets, who have already left this world. Moreover, he wrote that the town of Bulgar will be renamed Naubagar (that is new spring) and the throne of

the forefather Adam will show itself as a garden, and the throne made of pure silver will descend from Heaven, which will be his cradle.

On one scrap of paper he wrote, that the mentioned mediator of the saints was sent to the Turkish Sultan to inquire about the state Myagdiev. And on another scrap he writes that the same saint mediator is sent to the prophet's grave to fulfill the military commandment. But to these words, to our request, he, Murat, never answered, only asked to give him back the letters written on the scraps of paper. And we asked him if he had any other books, published by him, except for these.

To which he answered that there was one book, but he returned it to the house while being on the way.

According to our opinion, it seems that the reason for Murat to compose a book praising him, is to establish depravity, having subdued those insane like him.

Having examined all those book of his, we chose places where there are important texts, translated their contents, and sent them to Your Excellency. But meanwhile there are words, which are impossible to understand without asking Murat himself, therefore, we wrote them without a translation. And reported about all this to Your Excellency.

—day of May 1771. Akhund Adbulnasyr Abdusalyamov, mullah Abdulkarim Imankulov, mullah Kuly Chupashev, mullah Iskhak Abdulkarimov, mullah Mavlyut Kadyrmetov, mullah Abdreshit Subkhonkulov, Chief Abdul Khayalin.

Translated by actuary Michail Voinov.

Translation of an excerpt from the book and letters of mullah Murat.

It is written on the first page of the fourth folio, covered with leather:

You will go to Kyagbu, that is, the house of God, and will clearly see; staying nowhere, the children of Adam will show you the way. In that Kyagba there is a place for you, beyond description, dwelling in which you will have the intention to improve the faith, where I will settle you in the image of Prophet Abraham. And will tie the hearts of my special servants to you.

On the second page of the same fourth folio:

The disciple, whose thought you will have inside, he will be yours. And you will be apparent before him in the blink of an eye. In the place of Kyagba, some man out of jealousy cut the path of faith; but you will chase that man away, and having done that he will follow you without doubt; however, that man will be like dead from shame, and you will rejoice. Another man will remain, whose secret affairs will be exposed, and he will cry. That man is from among the educated ones, who will show you several ways. And that it is written in the books: he will dispute with you.

In the Old Testament, in the Gospels and in the Psalms: in those three books a sign will be found, and seeing from those books your qualities, all people will come to listen to you; and following these three books they clearly await you, saying that it is time for the advent but it does not come.

The man foretold has been waiting for you from the age of forty: but for your continuation without announcing himself, the man will be looking into the specified books and he will be pondering and he will say that he knows the Old Testament, and that of course this happiness will occur to him, for though the time for the advent has come, it has not happened yet. And so he is there in your image. With all this, the man will be subdued upon seeing you. And the he will find your qualities in the mentioned three books, and having found them, he will do extraordinary acts. And all the people will be astounded that he has the book in his hands, for when he finds the way by means of the three books, nobody will cross him. And you will be a loyal apostle of the Universe. Oh! My slave, fear no one; when happiness is disclosed to you, the enemies, having seen the inner, will break.

You have seen the place of Kyagba without doubt, that its top is covered with hay; and though it is covered with hay, you will lie on it. Understand this.

On the first page of the fifth folio:

It is time now for the person, mentioned in the three books, to come: take the news of this from that hay: in its time there will be no honour for gold and silver. The person of in a good state. From the part of the God's prophet this sign will appear: from the tree, which is called muntagi in Arabic, a bird will fly down and put its head on your hands. Will you recognise the bird, oh servant, sweet mouth. That will be the angel, Archistrategos Michael.

With one bird he received great favour from God, and considering it a blessing, undertook many deeds. In your time the light will be as it was in the time of the God's prophet, which nobody can describe, for in that time an angel will come down to earth.

And when the deed is done, then the angel will put his head on your hands. And then the four angels, closest to God, will be your companions. In the aforementioned three books your qualities are described. For this the four angels, closest to God, should come down to you. And you prepare to set out on a journey. The people mentioned in the three books will read about you indifferently, and will follow you without a pressing need.

On the first page of the eighth folio:

In your conversation, no doubt, two men have become perfect, who will get rid of the devil's charms under your protection. You are one tree, and your ally is mullah Sharyp. Your seed will be spread all over the world. Understand this. Oh! Holy man.

On the second page of the ninth folio:

Murat has confessed that he himself is the Supreme Saint¹⁵. Graceful of the world and light as the Moon will be found in the devastated town, and those towns not having converted to Orthodoxy will all fall.

On the second page of the eleventh folio:

Your judgment of the infidels will be just and will not be adverse to the path, because your judgment is a deed of the book of Great Testament. However, the ignorant will not come to know.

On the second page of the thirteenth folio:

In the time when this book reveals itself, one amazing event will occur. You will govern all the people. And this book declares that all of them will be subservient to you.

Your feet are those of God's prophet. Oh! A man with a rosy face. For that you will be light in light like the Sun and you will have all the happiness.

On the second page of the fourteenth folio:

First of all, those people, learned men who are not in the righteous faith, profess faith. And how those learned men, having left their old faith, will rejoice.

On the second page of the fifteenth folio:

People of all the world evidently and with no doubt will be under your judgment¹⁶.

Know this for sure. And whatever happens, you will go against evil with no fear, and the Serpent will do you no harm, for you will have God's behest and you will be victorious over all. As soon as the possessors of the throne see this book, they will give you the throne, and they all, obeying to your commands, will be your loyal servants. The throne of happiness and dominion in this book is undoubtedly written, which all the judges await, because it is the Sun to the light.

On the first side of the sixteenth folio:

This is the sign of the last century, of God in one hypostasis, and recognise the truth from this book, which even the ignorant will not deny. The man, described in the three books, has awaited day and night; in trepidation has entered into the bodies of they who are not in the true religion. Oh! Lord, you do not know that.

¹⁵ The phrase: 'Murat has confessed that he himself is the Supreme Saint' is written on the left margin with the same handwriting (from here onward interlinear remarks are given by D. Mustafina).

¹⁶ Later a remark is written on the line with Latin letters, which are given in ligature as NB (nota bene), two dots, and a slash. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'Many tales are found in this book.'

They all are engulfed in the flames of grief, which will be quenched, and, no doubt, their insides will constantly burn for their forced subjugation to you. This book, being in their hands, will proclaim that the victor will come from the lineage of the Prophet's son-in-law Galiy, in his time the paint will flake from their images and idols, and all will be bewildered. And you do not sigh about it. And in that day they will believe this writing: your clan will multiply like the sand in the sea. Consequently, you will perform your deed at your desire. And your people, who are like sand, will dwell throughout all the Universe. No matter how many sovereigns there will be, they all will belong to your clan. And all the Tsars of the Universe will be in your hands. And nobody, except God, knows of the number of their armies.

On the second page of the same folio:

The inner Universe will be set right by your rod. The infidel rulers will bow their heads and without contradiction will lay down their arms. And so the time has come and, however, they do not know the faith. And when they look in the books and learn the essence of the matter, then the flame will be ignited in their hearts. And the princes of the people, professing not the righteous faith, shall grieve. Oh, honest elder, know without doubt, that this rod is in your service. In the book God's eternal providence is each predestination, read it and do clearly understand.

On the first page of the eighteenth folio:

The man from the seed of the Prophet's son-in-law Galiy also has the rod in his hands, and when this rod writes and the secret is disclosed, then that man will be surprised in his state, to which the horse is rod, and the clothes is rod, and the rod will lead him to the throne, at which all will be amazed.

The secret men will be resigned to him, and Elijah the Prophet will be with him; people and spirits from importance will not do harm. That man will be like the Sun and the Moon. The descendant of Fatima, the daughter of God's Prophet, to whom dignity will come during his idle life. And nobody will recognise that man, and if somebody sees him, will not lay his eyes on him. Know this for certain. That man will appear in the devastated town and will go from house to house, where he will see wonderful dreams. He will have in his hands the virtues of the last age. There will be no trouble left in the world and this light will shine through. Passing this century, all of his children will be first commanders and each of them will be a Tsar. And there will be no jealousy and hatred left in the world. And at that time, immersed in light, the Prophet Jesus will come.

On the first page of the thirty-seventh folio:

The ring of God's Prophet disappeared from the hands of Uthman, for if it had not disappeared, he would not have truly died and would have carried out the judgment until the future resurrection¹⁷.

This ring will come into your hands as an important gift, and all the clans will follow your orders. The importance of that ring will be two and a quarter zolotniks of heavenly silver: any traveller will recognise it. This is a deed of the Archangel Gabriel: having taken the ring from the hands of the Prophet's son-in-law Uthman, he will put it on your hand and at that moment you shall rejoice.

In the last centuries a person will appear, who will have one leg of a prophet, and the other one will be like the leg of the Prophet's son-in-law Galiy. And his collar will be of light and soon he will be glorified. He will have a good byname. Oh! Understand this, man of a rosy face.

On the second page of the forty-ninth folio:

Among the ten saints named kutbiodna, that is the lesser saints, is the best. Each of them has his own knowledge, of which only the supreme saint knows. This supreme saint will undoubtedly be a great Tsar as the Prophet's son-in-law Galiy, from whom not even the slightest thing

¹⁷ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That the Prophet's ring will be on his, Mrat's hands—this is what he confessed.'

can be hidden. No one can describe the deeds performed by the supreme saint. He will not make speeches to disturb mundane thoughts. And he will be the supreme saint, apparent in the light like the Sun. He will be the mediator of the saints in his orders and the first commander of the armies¹⁸.

On the second page of sixty-ninth folio:

In the town Bulgar there is a mosque, which has to be restored. It is a permissible church for this town.

Make it your weapon. The buildings like Kyagba, that is, the houses of God, should be constructed in seven places. Each of them is of the Prophet Muhammad's light, in each place it will be with things. If somebody having funds will build these mosques, he will be rich. And who will undertake this affair, will be glorified in the world. The things described in this book will not remain unfulfilled. God will be worshiped as One, just proclaim it from this book. In some places the mosques should be erected: it will become known in detail and special servants will know of this and will truly see these places.

And having seen the image of all those mosques in a dream, will proclaim it. And I will notify you of the names to be given to them. Moreover, I will show the seven places to seven people. And those seven people are your disciples, who will be shown by this book. The treasure for building the mentioned mosques is no doubt buried in those places, and each will be revealed through a dream. Seven people will be your fellows, each of them from among the travelling men [Sufis]. Their words will be strong and there will be no envy. Powerful people will come, will learn the places of the mentioned treasure, and will take from that treasure according to their needs. And after they have taken what is necessary, they will leave the treasury open, for through a dream they will know of all things and will tell of this. These seven people, who will come to you beyond their will and become your disciples, will reveal their dreams. And in that seven treasures there are the things you need. And all the seven will say: take me as a blessing, oh! beneficent person. However, neither you nor your disciples will know this treasure: they will only see it in a dream and tell you about it.

On the first page of the seventy-first folio:

This night your eyes have seen the destruction of the town of Bulgar in a dream. Know this for sure: the time is coming to restore this town.

On the first page of the eighty-sixth folio:

Misal, son of the Prophet Joseph, had a minister, at some time this mystery will come alight, that is, in the last ages from the chambers of mistress Zyuleykha he will erect a mosque. These chambers are suitable for erecting a mosque, which should be done so that no stone from them remains. Look upon this carefully¹⁹.

On the second page of the same folio:

Know clearly, that you are the heir to the three things on the tomb of the Prophet Joseph. Upon receiving them, rejoice. And those three things are the turban of Prophet Abraham, the basket of Prophet Ismail and the rod of Prophet Moses. And the quality of the rod is such, that it opened Egypt, and is now there in Egypt. The one, who will not believe this writing, is a servant of evil, that is, cursed²⁰.

¹⁸ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'The Supreme Saint I am, Murat confessed himself.'

¹⁹ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'Opposite these paragraphs: that this mosque will be built by him, Murat, he confessed.'

²⁰ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That the turban, the basket, and the rod will be taken by Him, Mrat, as he confessed.'

The builder of that mosque will have innumerable disciples, and that mosque, built by him, will be similar to Kyagba. And everything this builder will need, everything will become known through a dream like clear water.

Do not consider the town of Egypt simple and do not slander. On one side of the mosque make one treasure and use for it the gold from the chambers of Zyuleykha, the wife of the Prophet Joseph. And thus make all the affairs of faith, oh! holy man.

My beloved Muhammad, praising me, said: oh! God, will you give me at least one word of the advent of that son of mine? To this I replied him: as soon as your son will come, then this world will become like Heaven, and he will know the secrets of the Universe.

When the heavenly things are placed in a vessel, no doubt, they will not decay, but will always be as new. The Prophet Ismail had one simple basket, but there were a hundred thousand works of art, and the man, who will have it, will be one of the faithful saints. In that basket of the Prophet Ismail there are hooves and claws; take them and put inside you, and then turn your face to your companions and they will rejoice. From the aforementioned hoof there will be one golden vessel, no doubt, and this world can not be the price for it. Moreover, from those hooves, one will be in your hands, where the name of that man is written. And the man with that name will be the mediator of the saints.

The third hoof will fall out of your insides by itself. And in that moment it will speak up, like a ram, and his voice will reach east and west, and it will be known to all people like a thunder. And upon hearing his voice, the trees and stones will speak up as well and thus will help. Hearing these voices, the lesser saint will appear there. But before connecting to you, the soul of the lesser saint will part with his body, and after his death the hoof will be hidden there. When, upon seeing this, you become immersed in grief, then, no doubt, an angel will come down to you from heaven and will take this lesser saint to the seventh heaven and highest place without burial²¹.

That lesser saint will be washed in a golden basin on the fourth heaven in a common heavenly abode. Then a soul will enter his image and all angels will follow him. This lesser saint will make say prayer to himself in that common heavenly abode. From where Jesus will be resurrected, this will be our blessed cover. Throw the named golden vessel in the air and watch above whose head it will turn, and give that hoof to the man, above whose head the mentioned golden vessel will turn. He will be your lesser saint.

Where your father, the Prophet Elijah, will be, there is the treasure for the advent of the supreme saint, which is being watched over seventy thousand times by the Prophet Elijah. This Prophet has affairs that are heavier than mountains, the importance of these affairs is always to keep the treasure. How many thieves and offenders encroach upon that treasure; but the offenders do not encroach upon that treasure; but Elijah will touch it with his hands and then that treasure will weep, for so many people died for it, that it is impossible to describe. And on the day when you take the treasure, the Prophet Elijah will be relieved from his guard, and you will do good deeds and the world will rejoice. There are three things in that treasure: the first one is the turban, the second—the person, the third—the rod. And the quality of the rod is that it drives the grief away from the inside and the enemy's army will have no power. Moreover, it has such quality. When you will have a moment of solitude, it will give you instruction. And will make great service to the people, which nobody can describe²².

On the first side of the hundred eighth folio:

²¹ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That a basket of hooves and claws will be taken by him, Murat, he confessed.'

²² Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That the intended turban, crown, and rod will be taken by him, Murat, he confessed.'

Oh! Disciples, know and understand the state of heaven. Each of you, say prayers for the city of Egypt, for this city is magnificent. And where would there be another city like that! In such a city, ascending to sovereignty will be as glorious as sitting on the Moon. The wife of the Pharaoh made it glorious in honour of the mother of Asiin²³.

On the second page of the same folio:

Your happiness and throne in comparison with the honour and happiness of Prophet Solomon are a hundred thousand times better. The throne of Solomon is hard to describe by words, however, your throne and crown are apparent and who will dare speak of it! Upon ascension to the throne everyone will serve. And though you will not be on that throne, however, from your bravery everyone will tremble, because the angels, who gathered, stand in that place and rejoice that this is the place of the ruler's throne.

On the first page of the hundred ninth folio:

Your thoughts lean towards Egypt, because your throne is there. And upon the ascension to it, all cities will dissolve, and to you it will be like sugar.

Ascension to your throne and relocating to Egypt is a matter of the angels, as well as of your father, Prophet Elijah. And though you have not ascended the throne yet, however, they have celebrated your place. And so do not disperse your thoughts, for this book of yours is a true key to the Old Testament, the Psalms and the Gospels. And they are in expectation of the faith of its God. And as soon as those, who are not in the righteous faith, see your key book, they will convert to the righteous religion. And when that day comes, then the ungodly souls will despair, and all disbelievers are in expectation of this book. And their chiefs have proclaimed that they will have this book²⁴.

On the first page of the hundred fifteenth folio:

When your children come, they will take the Universe, all things, described in this book, will come from your hands.

On the second page of the hundred seventeenth folio:

When the letter comes from the tomb of the Prophet, then this book of yours will appear. In that time this ancient light will be restored and there will be no fear, having received the letter of the Prophet, bend your knee to kneel. This book is the mystery disclosed to you by God.

On the first page of the hundred twenty first folio:

The name of Abdreshit is in memory, because he had a strong desire, and started down the pathway. And he came to you. He is a man, strong in his faith, he was touched by the mark of the devout people, he saw an amazing light sign in his dream, and this dream of his is trustworthy.

On the second page of the hundred thirty-first folio:

Your ten-year old son is perfect. He was depicted by the quill of power. So be well-disposed towards him. Among thirteen people two have a large liver, but the two he still needs, and they will be like pearls. They long for majesty, because they are left out of honour. The virtue of ten saints will be known there: those, who can violate my predestination, understand this word. Since my disciples are yet not perfect, their virtue stopped, and the cause to this are two men:

On the first page of the hundred thirty second folio:

No doubt, Elijah will perform the deed of a glorious elder; and his fellow Abdunasyr: will understand this perfectly. But do you know, my disciples, who is this Abdunasyr? He is the son of Abdrakhman. An excellent fellow will appear, like the Sun and the Moon. Though he is poor, but he will be a victor like Nadyrshakh. Musa will no doubt be in the place of Abubyakir: he will not spare his soul and will sacrifice it, because the letters came perfectly. The intended one has gone and another one has come in his place.

²³ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That Egypt will be his, Murat's, kingdom, he confessed.'

²⁴ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That this book will be the key to three books, he, Mrat, has confessed.'

Know this, Musa, for sure. Make no mistakes in the presence of Musa, sun-like and heaven-like. The beginning of this book is the key to his dream. Do not disregard this writing; for the sword shall not be far.

On the first page of the hundred forty sixth folio:

Among the disbelievers now there is one sorcerer, who has a desire for making disbelief. This sorcerer, having asked from God's vicegerent²⁵ the thing, will have the inclination to put his sorcery to practice. Meanwhile, the news that his disbelief has become known will come to the vicegerent. Then there will be a battle as in the old times. Near the well, named Byadir, where the judgment will be based upon your name. The aforementioned sorcerer, having taken an oath to the vicegerent, will wish a thing for his sorcery and will say who will have a secret relation with the army. This fierce sorcerer will show them his humbleness like the devil, and presenting himself in the righteous faith will show his guile. And though his significant state is proclaimed, what is there to be done, for he will cry as the Prophet's fellow named Abusufiyan-abaghi. Then there was an order from the vicegerent to all of them to mount the horses. How many years the named sorcerer tells lies that he would convert to the righteous faith, for this the vicegerent restrained from the battle.

The minister of the vicegerent, having learned this circumstance, has appointed another to his place, and that state was dispersed among the people. This minister has proclaimed the named state to the vicegerent through the letter, that the disbelievers have been found, and he himself will research in this way.

The ministers have reported in detail about the circumstance to the vicegerent. Therefore, the hope has been lost and no politeness has remained, for the does not know God, his creator.

Having caught the men, converting in front of the vicegerent, treated them with all severity, and having tied up the ungodly one, brought him to the vicegerent. Among his subjects there was one such disbeliever, a fellow of a not righteous faith, who was glad to receive presents from both sides.

The light of God, the vicegerent, then determined that in the town of Bulgar there were many of his relatives, therefore, that this had been an omen. And the vicegerent wept that his respectable relatives in the town of Bulgar were there among the ungodly and disbelievers like the captives, and for whom I impatiently want to render: and thus, having read one heavenly saying from the Quran, the vicegerent became beside himself: but nobody may know of this: that he, having taken the Quran and taken an oath, decided to continue his journey, having mounted a lucky horse. And in his success he acquired God's refuge²⁶.

Having read from the Quran another saying of God, the vicegerent got assured that the Universe would be set right: for between the register there are words like gemstones: such guiding words will be known from that register, which will be like a walking stick given to a blind man: and all subjects will proclaim their accompanying wishes to the vicegerent with a cry: where is our rose-coloured person.

Four monarchs ruled the Universe and pondered a lot, and at last left the world. The names of these four monarchs were known in those times: two of them disbelievers and two of them true believers. From those disbelievers, one did not know the Prophet, the pagan Nimrod, who wanted to stay in the world eternally and instead was deprived of this by a fly. The second, who aspired to divinity and did not know the straight path, was named Shiddyat, who in the end bowed down to the Devil instead of doing justice. And from the two true believers: one is the God's Prophet King Solomon, who did not wish for anything except the love of God.

²⁵ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'The Turkish sultan is named God's vicar.'

²⁶ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That this time the vicar intending to take a trip mounted on a horse—this what Mrat confessed.'

And as soon as Alexander had his turn in possessing the Universe, he, having seen the image of a rosy face, had no patience left and cried. This Alexander, longing for the happiness of the person with a rosy face, turned to grief and went through all the world searching for the water of life²⁷.

The vicegerent will say: oh! men, understand the present day; that day when the desire of the monarchs will be found, all of you, rejoice that you see happiness here. I am a poor man from the town of Bulgar, a man of a good name: the children born from me are satisfied. His possession as well as gained happiness and image are apparent. And for him there is a treasure in seven places and the path of a Prophet, no doubt, belongs to him: and he will find the water of life: in his hands there is a walking stick and Prophet Elijah will be his companion. The things found here—they all will be found with him²⁸.

Oh! Men, stand up and go to meet that person without contradiction and listen to what God said about him in the Al-Koran: God, eliminate any contradiction for he has announced the children of the Prophet.

The armies of the vicegerent get multiplied each day: the vicegerent delivers amazing speeches to his companions, at which they get bewildered.

The vicegerent said to his subjects: do you know who is that son, mentioned in the Al-Koran, he will be the son, who will have the longing of the four monarchs²⁹ named: all the subjects in the Universe will belong to him. For nobody can resist the person mentioned in the Al-Koran³⁰.

The vicegerent went to visit Kyagba and adopted the teaching. Do not doubt about the seven, for his actions are in accord with the Al-Koran.

The possessor of the last age is known in the Al-Koran in the chapter named Kagaph. And the vicegerent returned from the visit to the tomb of the Prophet on a lucky horse. At last he, the vicegerent, will lay the hands upon him and become humble: for he longs for one pleasant deed, that is, to stop all evil in the world and send ambassadors to Bulgar.

These ambassadors of the vicegerent will arrive in Bulgar and will demand this book. And when this world will become Paradise, then there will be many wonders. Consequently, the Universe will be in order at that time³¹.

And no one is able to describe what beneficence shall be. The one, who will publish this book, he will perform deeds as desired, but when people see him, they will not recognise him, for he does not have the sign of a ruler. If someone will adhere to him, he will be amazed at his deeds, for there is nothing in the world more important than that.

His judgment throughout the Universe will flow like a river. And whatever his reflection is about, it will be clear like the Sun.

On the second page of the two hundredth folio:

You deeds are as bright as a rose and your tale is known in Constantinople and pleasant as a soul.

On the second page of the two hundred sixth folio:

That time is blessed; for at that time a hero will appear. You are glorified by that hero, of which this book will proclaim.

²⁷ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That these four monks will be needed by Mrat, he confessed.'

²⁸ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'The treasure mentioned in seven places, life-giving water, and vicar's utterance, so that they went to meet him—it all belongs to him, Murat, as he confessed.'

²⁹ The word 'intended' is written in the left margin at the beginning of the line with the same handwriting.

³⁰ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That the Universe will bend to him, Murat, he confessed.'

³¹ Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That upon the arrival of ambassadors from the vicar, they will demand his, Mrat's, book, he confessed.'

On the first page of the two hundred tenth folio:

He ought to act honestly, for each act will be based on wisdom. And wherever he goes, he will open towns with the help of God; for the four angels, closest to God, and other innumerable angels are beside him: moreover, he will also have an innumerable attire made of satin and other things.

On the second page of the hundred thirty-second folio:

In seven places the supreme saint will appear and execute his affairs. And in all places his teaching will follow the secret wisdom of God.

Moreover, this supreme saint will be known in fourteen places and his teaching will go from the Caucasus Mountain to the mountain.

On the second page of the two hundred fortieth folio:

In the last days there will be one just monarch like Tsar Alexander. The supreme holy of holies, being a fellow, will possess the Universe. And all men in confidence, following his thoughts, will be his helpers. And nobody knows when this time shall come, except for God.

On the first page of the two hundred forty-eighth folio:

Each of his disciples will be sowing gemstones. Oh! My friend Muhammad, his connections have been completed, therefore, you make them happen, too. The supreme saint will ascend the degree of happiness and all angels will be amazed at that; for his army has no equals and nobody knows of its number except for God.

In the day, when his book will be written, nobody will be let in; the one, who will have the rod in his hands, he will come to the tomb of Prophet Muhammad.

From notebooks; second, on the second page of the eighth folio:

Oh! Generous God, enlighten my eyes, give me peace in the Universe and a fine place; for you are the Almighty, and if you will have mercy upon me, then the grief will leave me. Oh! God, spare me from captivity and let me rejoice: and if you will not deliver me, then my judgment will be proclaimed throughout the Universe.

On the first page of the fourth folio of the fourth notebook:

When enough time passes I will send one to the world. And that time will be amazingly pleasant and so there are many images to talk about it, and then from heaven's paradise a throne will descend. Oh! Prophet, you saw this throne in paradise, on which your children will sit and carry out the judgment. This throne will be your son's cradle and his rod will act.

On the first page of the fifth folio of the same fourth notebook:

There is much evil in the world, from which many people fell into poverty. The name of the city is Bulgar. Know, oh! perfect man, who from now on will be enlightened and named Naubagar (that is, new spring). At that time, the throne of your forefather and the Prophet Adam will appear in the form of a garden.

The garden on forty pillars named Iram, which was built by Tsar Shidyyat, aspiring to divinity, will seem to you like dust. In good times the garden will be named Naubagar.

Heaven's throne is made of pure silver. And this throne will be a cradle to you, where you will rejoice.

On the second page of the fourth folio of the fifth notebook:

The Archangels Gabriel, Michael and Israfil will hold your hands. And through them the angel Israil will send you congratulations.

On the first page of the third folio of the sixth notebook:

All of you world will enter the garden, you with an insert in the ring. With the wisdom, given to you by God, you will fulfill your desire. Troubles and uproar will cease. And the world will know that God's highest name is in your ring. Your fellows will be free and all fear will leave them, for which God should be praised. A what this soul is, you read in the book of God's eternal providence, that there is an insert in your ring, which will become known without delay and without hesitation people from east and west will come to you.

On the first scrap of paper it is written:

The mediator of the saints is sent to the vicegerent to inquire of the state of Myagdy, who will come in the last days.

On the second scrap:

The mediator of the saints was sent to the tomb by the Prophet for carrying out military affairs. And the angels are helping him in that, as this book proclaims. And the one, who will deny it, is a disbeliever. I have sent congratulations to the Prophet of God, and that I am here sick from grief, as it is written in the predestination from the Almighty God, forgiving the sins of the servants. Consequently, the command was followed and the affairs were done without hesitation. Moreover, the angels received God's command not to leave a single pagan soul, even babes. But if these angels will not fulfill the command and return with mercy, they will suffer the wrath and torment, as God proclaimed. And let everybody know that Murat-Bakiy is the sacred treasure of God, and those who do not know will die immediately.

On the third scrap:

Those people, who wanted to damage Kyagba, what state they are in now? Oh! God, give me your sign about them. And as a mediator of the high and lesser saints in your service, send them to watch over Kyagba, for they are your special servants.

Let these saints see my powerful deeds, and, having seen how I made them, they will proclaim of it to you. The angels came down to this place between the heavens and the earth, because, no doubt, there was a command for the cannon of power to make to be shot. And write this image in the letter to all three of them, which will be seen day and night like sweet words.

On the fourth scrap:

And inform the treasury, who does the place of Yakup belong to? And if Abdulkarim will be in this place, then you will find means. And for what reason the named Abdulkarim is not in the place of Yakup, which will be known.

Oh! God, reveal this to us? And also in which place Abdulkarim should be.

The man named Zyubayir Yagazy is a treasure of fruits and where there is anything similar to him: his surname and children are strange. Where is his fortune? He should find a business for himself, and announce the name for it from a secret treasury. Oh! God, all help comes from you, for the power is yours. You appointed Abdulkarim for this service, because he is your obliging slave. Among five people, is this the great Abdulkarim and will he beat one mountain over another? Oh! God, your world is good.

On the fifth scrap:

Oh! God, give us here one omen, Zyubeir Dzhazagi is sent from us, whose deed is good. And his wife professes the faith, and her name is Zagifa.

When the service of the angels and of Prophet Elijah and Archangel Gabriel will be before you. Oh! My God, take this as goodness, so that they went there and returned with a blessing. The four closest angels practice in that service, command them to perform it well.

Oh! Generous God, you are all-powerful to make your any wish come true: give all the people faith in you, so that no sorrow and grief are left.

Let him congratulate Rabiga, when he finds her, but if she is in that place, let her speak herself. May the vicegerent know of this news. May everyone come as a general meeting, for it is your command. Oh! God, shed light as the Sun and explain without interpretation what I saw in a dream, where the place for the throne is, which will come from heaven. But who is on it will be seen by the named mediator of the saints.

On the sixth scrap:

Where can be the service of the mediator of the saints named Zyubayir-yazaga? Oh! Generous God, mercifully let us know of this, at least through a dream. Oh! My servant, show that mediator of the saints the state of the Turks: whose image I will show you, and disclose the names and their service. When they will always be in assembly, then the circumstances, written in this book, will be presented to them.

Oh! My God, to what service will be appointed and to which place will be sent this saint at your desire?

On the seventh scrap:

In the name of God this letter is sent, in the beautiful mouth of the described person, you are the Moon of all the parts of the world and mother of all subjects. Oh! My monarch, your soul is saintly: a wonderful letter will be sent to Your Majesty from us, your Empire is a garden and in it there is fruit. With that fruit of yours we congratulate you.

May your life in the happy garden continue without any change. May it be known: through a mystery we know of an omen, that in your Empire there is one poor man, who has the slander of all people; God's mystery comes to that poor man day and night, and he takes the reed and writes, for he cannot tolerate how his insides, filled with the mystery, boils. This poor man swore his allegiance to Your Majesty on the Quran, to which he firmly adheres. The treasure knows you: you are the house of roses. Generous God took my patience and placed a secret in my thought. You no doubt know the book interpretations of Al-Koran: it is being written with my hands. And besides you, nobody knows the honour of this book. For that, your poor servant gives the very truth to you. The one, who is benign, will have the place of majesty. His sins will be erased and he will be a servant, pardoned by God.

Translated by actuary Michail Voinov.

In the name of the all-merciful and mercy forming God. Those, entering the sea of unity, will be known here.

We gave hands for the saint and rejoiced. The Prophet Elijah will always teach them. Those, who draw the hearts, will help them, no doubt. Ayt became a companion with consent. Later the mullah Sharyp gave his hand.

Besides them, it can now be announced about the others. Following them Mullamet swore an oath without hesitation. Those, who swore an oath in the month of shaval³² are, first of all, Abdulvagap Abdryazak, know this for sure, as well as Mustay Abdryashit of the sloboda. After that Abdulvakhit and Abdryashit were complete. Mullah Mendey, Gabbas and Myadzhid are complete as men. At last, Abdulkarim and Temir-Bulat.

Oh! Generous God, do not separate them, but confirm the truth of their repentance and take it as good. And give each of them a degree of good breeding. Oh! God, and whose power in truth could be for whom.

Oh! God the Protector, bless their thoughts against charms. Oh! Helper, strengthen each of them in service to the saints.

In the end, Abdulkhalyk swore an oath. God, strengthen him in this with a degree, show them clearly to the disbelievers and ungodly, so that they fall with shudder as soon as they see them. Oh! God, accept this prayer for the good. Reveal thy wisdom to everyone. Oh! God.

Translated by actuary Michail Voinov.

Source: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 248, § 113, file 281, pp. 1–36.

Published by: Gasırlar avazı= The Echo of Centuries. 2007. No. 2. pp. 82–94.

No. 9

Catherine II's Letter to Voltaire

1767.

I threatened to write you a letter from some Asian settlement; now I'm in Asia and keeping my promise to you. In this small town there are twenty various peoples who differ widely from

³² Later a remark with the Latin letters NB, two dots, and a slash are written. After a reproduction of these symbols, the following is written in the left margin: 'That is in January.'

one another. It is necessary, however, to provide them with attire that will suit all of them. Common ground can be found, but, as the saying goes, the devil is in the details—and what details! It is almost like creating, organising and preserving an entire world!

Published by: Correspondence between Catherine the Great and Mr. Voltaire. Moskva, 1803. Chast' 1. pp. 30–32.

No. 10

Cathrine II's Edict to the Senate appointing a mufti for all Muslims in Russia

September 23, 1788.

With All Our Mercy we order Mukhamet Jan Husein, the first akhund of Mohammedan law in Orenburg oblast, to become Mufti of all who subscribe to this law in Our Empire, with the exception of Taurida oblast, where we have appointed a specific mufti. His salary will be 1,500 rubles a year. The power of this Edict is given to General Lieutenant and Acting Governor General of Simbirsk and Ufa, Baron Igelström, so that, in regard to the Mohammedan clergy, a copy with orders and instructions might be here with presented to our governor generals and those acting in this capacity in namestnichestvos (viceroyalties) where people of the Mohammedan faith, in order that they follow Our instructions in the designation of their clergy, reside.

Source: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire–1, vol. 22, No. 16711, p. 1108.

Published by: Gasırlar avazı=Echo of centuries. 1998. No. 1–2. P. 107.

No. 11

Elections in Kazan Tatar Town Hall of three assessors to the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly for 1794–1796.

December 1793.

On December 1, 1793, in the town hall register of Kazan Tatar slobodas the following is written:

His Grace and Excellency, Major General, the Governor of Kazan namestnichestvo, and Chevalier Prince Semen Mikhaylovich Barataev's proposition, in which he proposes gathering together those elders of good breeding from both local Tartar slobodas. This was also to include two mullahs most reliable in their conduct and skilled in Mohammedan law; also those nine mullahs, named in the proposition and sent from the lower zemsky courts to conduct elections according to the law in the slobodas. From among the eleven mullahs were to be chosen the three most loyal and of good breeding, and most skilled in Mohammedan law to sit in the Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly established by Her Imperial Majesty in Ufa. The ORDER: to assemble in the Town Hall the best elders from among the lay people of the sloboda, along with two mullahs, and to elect from among them and the nine mullahs sent from the lower zemsky courts three to the Spiritual Assembly, and in all the rest to act according to His Grace's proposal; authentically signed by burgomaster Gubaydullah Rakhmetullin, ratman Bashir Aitov, sealed by ratmans Abdulla Rakhmetullin, Bikkeney Subkhankulov.

[...]

To His Grace and Excellency Major General of Kazan namestnichestvo
and Cavalier Prince Semen Mikhaylovich Barataev

Report

In implementation of Your Grace's order to those now meeting in the Muslim Spiritual Assembly of Mullahs in Ufa, in accordance with the highest order of Her Imperial Majesty, the community of first class Kazan serving Tatars in Old and New slobodas, in the town hall and in the presence of the head of the sloboda, from among those in the previously mentioned two slobodas and nine sent from the lower zemsky courts of Kazan guberniya. Three assessors are elected by the majority of votes from the total of 11 best mullahs for the following 794, 795 and 796 years: The voting list and a list of electors is hereby presented by Ermiy Bikbov of Starie Lashchi village in Tetyushi okrug, Bikchentey Yagaferov of the 2nd Kazanbash village in Arsk okrug, and by Shafey Mametkulov of the 3rd Mendeley village.

December 8, 1793.

Source: National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, fund 22, inv. 2, file 731, pp. 11–12 reverse.

No. 12

**The tale of the Tatars from Moklokov village, Spasskaya volost,
Vasil'skaya okruga to the zemsky police chief concerning
the circumstances surrounding the christening of villagers**

November 1802

November 1802...the day when zemsky police chief, second Lieutenant Stanislavsky, was visited by the eldest of the Tatar residents of Moklokov village, Spasskaya volost, Vasil'skaya okruga—Starosta Abdrakhman Sharipov and the following commoners: Nazar Romanov, Sharip Ryazanov, Bikkunya Masyapov, Manyurya Adelshin, Aryap Ablyazov, Khalit Bikkulov, Aryap Asmanov and Osip Murtazin. Upon his demand, they reported that the new Christian families, mentioned in the register converted to Christianity in the following ways: Pyotr Alekseev and Kirilla Nikitin—exactly upon their order. The father of Elena Alekseeva, whose husband Egor had died, was on trial in Kurmysh; he decided to get baptised in order to avoid capital punishment. The aforementioned Yegor had been baptised according to his father's wishes, when he had reached maturity. Isay Nikitin, as demonstrated, in such a way. Nikolay Vasilyev, Anton Vasilyev and Spiridon Yakovlev were baptised along with their fathers. But we do not remember why their fathers were baptised, as it was a long time ago. Ivan Petrov's and Nikifor Egorov's fathers were baptised, so they could avoid tribute payments and recruitment fees for three years while, since they were poor, still receiving benefits. The reason why widow Darya Ivanova's father-in-law was baptised is not known. Trofim Isaev's grandfather was baptised in order to obtain the previously mentioned three-year benefit. Ivan Andreev, the father-in-law of the widows Anna Osipova and Natalya Petrova, was the first to accept baptism in the aforementioned village. He did so upon his own volition, without pressure from anyone. Semyon Vasilyev's father was baptised in order to end a quarrel with his brother Ivan Andreev, who was mentioned above. The fathers of Aleksey and Anton Ivanov, Vasily, Aleksey, Yakim and Fyodor Egorov were baptised, but since it was a long time ago we don't remember why, as some their children are barely our peers. Concerning the husbands of the widows Marya Yermeeva and Praskovya Nikitina, Aleksey and Timofey Fyodorov, along with their brother Vasily Fyodorov: their father, since he was poor and wanted the previously mentioned, three-year benefits, was baptised along with the entire family, whose members had different last names. We don't remember why Aleksey Gavrilov, Kirill Alekseev's father and father-in-law to the widow Fedosya Fedotova, was baptised, as we are not of the same age as Kirill. The entire family of the

widow Matryona Makarova and her husband were baptised, but we don't know why. Semyon Ivanov's father was baptised for the exact reason as he claimed in his statement. New Christian Ivan Andreev, who, according to those in charge in Kurmysh, had every reason to do so, forced Vasily Gerasimov's father to be baptised. Due to poverty, the grandfathers of Matvey Konstantinov, and the widow Anna Kirillova and her husband, who was Konstantinov's uncle, as well as those of Vladimir Nikitin, Pyotr and Fyodor Yakovlev, and of widow Marya Konstantinova, became Christians in order to receive the three-year benefits mentioned previously. The widow Konstantinova's father-in-law, Pyotr, chose baptism in order to avoid capital punishment for his crime. Yakim Ibraev, the father of Stepan and Ivan Yakimov, was baptised when he decided to marry the widow of a Tatar soldier. Indeed, the real truth was demonstrated unreservedly in this tale.

In the authentic tale, instead of the village head and Tatars, the volost head Menzya Izmaylov, upon their request, had a hand in it.

Due to the relationship between the Kazan Chamber of State Property and the Kazan military governor.

Archimandrite Amvrosy, a missionary from Kazan's Raifa Monastery of the Blessed Virgin, in the journal that he kept in 1837, while reviewing the new Christian parishes and which he presented to His Lordship, wrote on June 29, 1837: while in the village of Mozharovo in Tetyushi uyezd, all of the parish missionaries were notified by the volost administration that all parishioners must gather at the church for prayer. On the 24th, he and the parish priest carried out a communion service, during which there were as many as 80 new Christian Tatars and Chuvashes in attendance. But the aforementioned Tatars would not make the omen of the cross or pray during the service, although they were strongly encouraged to do so: they were stubborn, claiming that they did not know how to pray.

...The Tatars replied that they were not adherents of Christianity, as they are not acquainted either with it or the Russian language. However, this ploy means that they do not want to be sons of the Church. Those 17 new Christian Tatars in the church were encouraged by the locals, the priests and Russian Christians, but their attempts were ineffective. The main troublemakers from Cheremshan village, Grigory Alekseev, Semyon Grigoryev, Ivan Romanov and Aleksey Ivanov, refused to kiss the holy cross and receive the blessing, and they tried to dissuade the others from doing it. Since they did not own crosses, our crosses were placed around their necks, but they tried to pull them off. The Christian faith was not amenable to the spirit of the new Christian Tatars in this parish: it is so resistant that current methods of dealing with them are quite weak and unsuccessful. Other measures are required, or they need to be resettled to old Russian villages, or sent to monasteries, where they might learn humility.

From a message from the Kazan guberniya government to the Kazan Chamber of State Property

In a journal he kept while reviewing new Christian parishes, and which he later presented to His Lordship, hegumen Varsonofy, a missionary from Sedmiozersk Monastery of the Blessed Virgin wrote: on June 10 he arrived in Matakhi and in the evening there was a night service; new Christian Tatars were in attendance during the liturgy on June 11; they do not understand the service as they seldom attend church and celebrate Holy Friday; there are 5361 Orthodox Russians and Chuvash parishioners, 4 who became sectarians seven years ago, and 198 new Christian Tatars. 86 of these Tartars did not take confession or celebrate the sacrament, as they simply did not want to. 112 immersed themselves in the Mohammedan faith. Those new Christians had done so only recently. The Tatars never take confession or celebrate communion, and never ask for prayer service. When icons are brought to their homes they run away. They can't make the omen of the cross. They do not know the Jesus Prayer or any others, do not keep icons at home and don't wear crosses. Although they do not verbally reject Orthodoxy, they continue to live as Mohammedans, and don't bring their children to church.

Councillor Moskotilnikov.

4. Social Movements

No. 1

An entry in the discharge book concerning the appointment of voivode Prince Semyon Ivanovich Mikulinsky and his 'companions' to the Meadow Land

No earlier than December, 1553.

The boyar and voivode Prince Semyon Ivanovich Mikulinsky and his companions sent, according to the Tsar's edict, the following list of people to the Meadow Land:

Prince Ivan Ivanovich Kashin Sukhoy and Grigory Ivanovich Nagova were in a large regiment.

Ivan Vasilyevich Junior Sheremetev and Prince Vasily Ivanovich Takmakov were in the front regiment.

Prince Fyodor Ivanovich Glazatoy Obolensky and Fyodor Us Pushkin were in the guard regiment.

Source: Razrjadnaja kniga 1475–1605, vol. 1, part 3, page 462; Razrjadnaja kniga 1550–1636, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

No. 2

The chronicle record about the appearance before Tsar Ivan IV of centurion Altysh and the 'mountain people'. They had captured Mamich-Berdey, a 'meadow' centurion, who had persuaded the 'mountain' and 'Arsk people' to take his side; and about the granting of allowances and a decrease in taxes as a reward for a prisoner

March 21, 1556

On March 21st of the same month, centurion Altysh and the mountain people brought the traitor Mamich-Berdey, the Meadow centurion prince, to see the Tsar. They told the Tsar that Mamich-Berdey, with an army of two thousand, approached their fortress and attacked them; they talked to him and persuaded him, along with two hundred of his men, to join their forces. Those they killed, and, having captured Mamich-Berdey, they brought him to Tsar. The Tsar and lord of the mountain people made great allowances and decreased their taxes. But Mamich-Berdey recounted how he had captured the Nogai Tsar, but that Tsar didn't help him at all, so he killed him and all the Nogais. Then, joining forces with the Arsk people, he went to the mountain people to free them from their Tsar and Grand Prince. But the mountain people deceived him, killed his men, captured and brought him to their Tsar.

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, part 1, p. 26.

No. 3

An anonymous author's concluding tale about the campaigns against Kazan, the 'Cheremis war'; about the number of casualties resulting from the conflict between Moscow and Kazan, according to the people of Kazan and the 'Cheremis' people; about the glory acquired by Tsar Ivan IV.

No later than May, 1557.

About the campaign against Kazan by the Tsar and Grand Prince, about the number of the dead and about his return to Moscow. Chapter 100.

He himself went to Kazan twice with all the Russian forces and twice Tsar Shah Ali and great voivode went with him and his entire army. There were seven winter and summer campaigns during nine years: the fifth was carried out for the conquest of Kazan, and after the conquest there were two campaigns against the Cheremis, who were captured and executed for their treason. That year, six months later, there was another fight. The Kazan voivode sent the voivode from Sviyazhsk, Boris Saltykov, and a small army against some Cheremis uluses. They wanted to defeat, pacify and make those rebel people obey, and to conquer again this land. But this voivode was caught, his 20,000 warriors were beaten and he was brought to the Bashkir uluses and the remote Cheremis, 700 versts from Kazan, where he was tortured. They fought for 5 years for Kazan without retreating, as they wanted the town for themselves. And it would not be honourable for the Russians to leave without accomplishing their goal. But only with great forces and weapons could they conquer it and punish the Cheremis for their outlawry: they killed their masters, uhlans, princes and murzas with sharp swords. The rest of the Kazan and Cheremis people estimated that 757,270 people perished, including warriors killed during the conquest of Kazan, both inside and outside of the town; those captured; those who died from famine and frost; and those whose death was recorded. They did not include those whose death was not recorded. Few people were left in Kazan, only the common people—the thin, worn out and poor peasants. The Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich entered his famous town of Moscow on November 1, Saints Kozma and Demyan's Day. Having conquered the cruel and cunning people of Kazan and the pagan Cheremis, who were even worse, he wiped away the bloody sweat from his face and took a seat on the throne of his great Russian Tsardom, more glorious than his forefathers and fixed in the eternal memory of Russians for ages.

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, columns 185–186.

No. 4

A chronicle concerning the Sviyazhsk voivode's report upon the defeat of the Crimeans by the 'mountain people' headed by Prince Kochak, and about the release of prisoners; a message from ataman Ivan Klushin about the Crimeans, who attacked fishing grounds along the Volga near Uvek and their defeat

in July, 1558.

Concerning a message from the Sviyaga voivode. That same July voivodes from Sviyazhsk wrote: the Crimeans (300 of them) came to attack the mountain people. Together with Prince Kochak and his men, the mountain people defeated them and freed all of the prisoners. That very month Ivan Klushin wrote from the Volga, 'Crimeans appeared at fishing grounds along the Volga near Uvek. Ivan, along with Vyatchyanya attacked and utterly defeated them. There were approximately one hundred Crimeans, and only six got away.'

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 13, part 2, p. 305; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 20, part 2, p. 599.

No. 5

A. Kurbsky concerning a rebellion by the peoples of the Middle Volga Region in 1552–1558.

Not earlier than 1558—not later than 1573.

[...] Again there are fights against him (Ivan IV.—Editor's note.) the remaining Kazan princes, together with other pagans, fight a lot: they come from the great forests not only to attack Kazan, but also fall upon those from Murom and Nizhny Novgorod. It went on for six years after the conquest of Kazan; some newly-constructed towns on that land, as well as some on the Russian side, were besieged. And there was a battle, in which an important hetman, Boris Morozov, also known as Saltykov, took part: the Christian regiments were defeated by the pagans, and the hetman was captured and kept alive for two years, after which they killed him: they did not want to exchange him either for ransom or to abolish their taxes. During the sixth year, we took part in a lot of battles: so many Christian warriors constantly fighting against them died during this period that it is difficult to believe.

After the sixth year, the Tsar gathered together a huge army, over thirty thousand strong, and appointed three voivodes to lead them: Ioann Sheremetev, a very wise and thoughtful man, very skilled in fighting from childhood, the future Prince Simeon Mikulinsky and myself; there were a lot of bright military commanders with us, brave and noble men. We arrived in Kazan and, having left a small contingent of forces there, set off for the far frontiers where Kazan princes had united with infidel warriors and other pagans. There were over fifty thousand on their side when they set to battle against us, attacking the front regiments. They had the advantage, as we had twenty times fewer warriors, they were familiar with their land, and many warriors from the forests joined them. But we fought mercilessly and, with the Grace of God, we Christians defeated them. Moreover, God sent us good weather: in winter there was a lot of snow but it didn't dip below freezing much. Thanks to that, most of the enemy had disappeared: our regiments at the front chased them up the rivers Urzhum and Met, across great forests, and from there to the land of the Bashkirs and up the Kama River towards Siberia. Those who remained obeyed us. Indeed, much was written about the battles against the infidels, but, to summarise: over ten thousand warriors and their atamans perished; and their renowned villains Yanchur Izmailtyanin and Alek Cheremisin, as well as other princes, were killed. And, with the Grace of God, we returned to the Motherland glorious and rich. And from that time forward, those in Kazan submitted quietly to our Tsar...

Then, the Cheremis were going to capture the meadow Tsar of the Nogai Horde, who had been warring with the Christians. There were twenty thousand bloodthirsty Cheremis warriors. But later they understood that it would not be profitable for them to kill that tsar, so they got rid of him and his three hundred Tatars by beheading him and putting it on a tall tree saying: 'We would have accepted you and your court into our kingdom so that you might protect us; but you did not help us as much as you stole our cows and oxes, so now your head will reign on this pike.' Then, we got rid of the atamans who, for two years, had been warring with us, sometimes making peace and then starting up the fight again.

Source: A. Kurbsky. *Istoriya o velikom knyaze Moskovskom* (The History of the Grand Prince of Moscow). Saint Petersburg, 1913. Pages 58–60, 66–67.

No. 6

**A new chronicler on the behavior of dyak N. Shulgin
and aid from Kazan to Moscow**

1612.

The ambassador to Kazan, Ivan Birkin and his authorities over advice and aid from the Muscovite state. At that time Nikonor Shulgin was in Kazan and thought to himself, that he was glad Moscow was under Lithuania. He wanted to govern Kazan. But Ivan Birkin gave him bad advice. So they came to Nizhny Novgorod and announced their bad intentions. ..

Ivan Birkin arrived in Kazan accompanied by the military, as well as the Tatar Head Lukyan Myasnoy, who did not serve with Ivan in the council. While on the road, Ivan created a lot of havoc in many towns and uyezds. Wishing to become a boss in Yaroslavl, for instance, he great deal of strife in the town. As a result of all of this turmoil they almost started fighting among each other. The boyars, stolniks and all the military except Smolyan deserted him. On the order of Nikonor Shulgin, the residents of Kazan had come to Yaroslavl and then left, having assisted with nothing, only creating havoc in the land before their departure. Not many people of Kazan remained: their leader Lukyan Myasnoy and his twenty princes and murzas, 30 nobles, and Posnik Neelov, leader of the streletsy, a hundred of which remained. They remained south of Moscow until it was conquered, and then went back to Kazan, where they suffered miserably at the hands of Nikonor: Lukyan Myasnoy and Posnik Neelov were almost killed in prison...

In Moscow, people kissed the cross and sent the authorities and the nobility to all the towns in order that people their might also kiss the cross. And in all the towns they joyfully kissed the cross. They arrived in Arzamas. At that time the thief Nikonor Shulgin and his entire army from Kazan were in Arzamas when they started bringing people to kiss the cross. Nikonor, wishing to continue his thievery, did not kiss the cross, telling the messengers that 'I do not want to kiss the cross without the Kazan council'. But the army and those from Arzamas and low-lying regions of the Kazan state did not listen to him and started kissing the cross. Nikonor and his advisors hurried to Kazan, where they wished to create havoc. The people of Kazan, having heard of the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia, Michail Fyodorovich, and about Nikonor's thievery, met Nikonor in Sviyazhsk and rejected him saying, 'you don't need to come to Kazan'. He was captured in Sviyazhsk and brought to Moscow. From Moscow he was sent to Siberia where he passed away.

Source: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, pp. 117, 119–120, 130.

No. 7

**The list from the charter recognising Baish Murza Razgildeyev for his long service
and for the princely dignity of the fatherland was given by order of the voivodes,
boyar Prince Dmitry Trubetskoy and the stolnik Prince Dmitry Pozharsky**

in 1613

the Muscovite state boyar, voivode Prince Dmitry Timofeyevich Trubetskoy, and the stolnik, voivode Prince Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pozharsky with companions, and according to the advice of the entire territory passed the sentence: To Baish murza Razgildeyev from the town of Alatyry, for his long service and devotion, that he served in the year of 120 when the Nogays came to the places of Arzamas and Alatyry, and the voivode Prince Andrey Khilkov ordered him to gather the Alatyry murzas and the Mordvins and other service people and sent him against the Nogais, as the Nogais fought in the places of Arzamas and Alatyry uyezd. When Baish arrived

on the River Pyana to Chukola, there was a two-day battle against the Nogais. In the village of Chukola, they were besieged by the Nogais, and killed and wounded a lot of the Nogais during sorties. In the Ardatovsky forest, there was a battle against the Nogais, who lost around five hundred people, murza Kurmamet took the banner and drove them to the lakes, where a lot of the Nogais drowned. They fought off seven thousand Nogais in this battle, while Baish murza was forced down from his horse in this battle. As for his origin, from ancient times his grandfathers and great grandfathers were princes. For his long service to the fatherland, Baish murza Razgildeyev is given the title of Prince, which later cannot be taken away from his children or his family; if it is God's will, the Muscovite Tsar will give His Majesty's letters patent with the red seal for the title of Prince. The boyar and voivode Prince Dmitry Timofeyevich Trubetskoy and the stolnik and voivode Prince Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pozharsky ordered to affix the zemsky seal on the charter, January 24, 7121. At the end of this original charter, it is written thus: It is signed by senior dyak Afonasy Yevdokimov, son Zhdanov and affixed with a seal of black wax.

Published by: Historical and juridical materials of the region of the Prikaz of the Kazan Palace. Tom. I. Kazan, 1882. P. 53–54.

No. 8

The letter of Khasan Karachurin on behalf of Stepan Razin to the Kazan Tatars with an appeal to join the rebellion,

1670.

From the great army of Stepan Timofeyevich.

Let it be known to you, the Kazan Muslims and chief mullahs who maintain the mosque, muslim believers who have mercy over poor orphans and widows—to Ishkey munlia, Mamay munlia, Khanysh murza, Moscov murza, to all the mullahs and all slobodas as well as uyezds muslims a genuflection now and in the future from Stepan Timofeyevich.

After a bow, if you ask us, we are fine and we will wish you to be healthy as well. Our word is for God and the Prophet, for His Majesty and the army: you are to be with us. If you are not with us, you would it regret later. As God is a witness: there will be no harm to you, and we will support you.

You would know: I, Asan, son of Aybulat, serve Stepan Timofeyevich. You would believe us. I, Asan, assure you about it, and believe me and there will be no harm to you. I forgive you all. Pray to God for us and have our prayer.

A seal was affixed to this charter.

Published by: Sources on the History of Tatarstan (16–18th centuries) / Edited by S. Alishev. Kazan, 1994. P. 23–24.

No. 9

The tale of K. Tevkelev about his service and participation in suppressing the rebellion

January, 1678.

January, in the year 186 on...the day. By decree of His Majesty, the Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Alekseyevich of all Great, Minor, and White Russia, Sovereign to stolniks and voivodes Michail Lvovich Pleshcheyev, Vasily Lavrentyevich Pushochnikov, dyak Ivan Rodionov, Sviyazhsk foreign resident Boris Korelkin, Kostenkin Pavlov—Tevkelev's son said according to

the Gospel of Holy Christ: my grandfather and my father served in Sviyazhsk according to the newly-baptised list from Kazan; serving the Tsar, my father died in a Lithuanian town; and I, Konstantin served His Majesty in Sviyazhsk according to the newly-baptised list and in raiding service and I was on His Majesty's service in a battle near Sinbirsk, on Lekino field, and near Bely against the thieving Cossacks with Colonel Alexander Vasilyevich Shal...m, and was in the battle against the same thieving Cossacks headed by Semyon Maximovich Kozlov on the Tayab. For these and other services, according to His Majesty's charter in Kazan, I was granted a manor salary of three hundred quarters and ten rubles in the year 184 from the Sviyazhsk list of newly-baptised as well as from the foreign one. As for children, I have a son Fyodor who is seven and a son Vasily who is a year old. In Sviyazhsk uyezd, in the village of Utyashkovo, I have a manor with twenty-seven quarters of farm fields, two with hayfields, and six hundred and forty hay shocks in different places. And as for peasants on this land in the village of Utyashkovo, there are four peasant homesteads, one bachelor homestead and one caretaker. The cottage in the black forest belongs to the landlord. In Kazan uyezd, on the River Serda, there is a votchina, from which the tribute is annually taken at [...]. I was given the manor and votchina as dowry by the daughter-in-law, a widow of a man from the Sviyazhsk list of newly-baptised, Ivanov's wife, Karakasheva Zinovya Ortemyeva; I have no other manors, votchinas, no peasants in Sviyazhsk or other towns, no mills, fishing and beaver areas, no other lands and caretakers, and no suburban hayfields. On His Majesty's service I will be on a gelding, armed with: a sabre, carabine, and a couple of pistols.

Published by: The History of Tataria in Records and Documents / Edited by N. Rubinstein. Moscow, 1937. P. 382–383.

No. 10

The record about the announcement by M. Poliansky of the anonymous letter about the supposed revolt of the Kazan guberniya Tatars along with the additional statement of the Tsarina Süyümbike's prophetic cry, given to him by the newly-baptised F. Petrov, October 3, 1552.

February 9, 1748.

Michail Grigoryev, son of Polianskaya, along with the doctor Yegor Dmitroplev, his wife and the widow Irina Ivanova, daughter of Dmitropleva as well as a courtier from the Bashkirs, the newly-baptised, Fyodor Petrov arrived at the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery at 9 in the morning on February 9, 1748. Upon arrival, the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery announced to those gentlemen present a letter, unsealed in a packet on which it was written: 'To Lord Michail Grigoryevich, to secretary Poliansky from Moscow to Kazan'.

Secretary Poliansky said about the letter that on that day the Tatar Yermak Useynov from Korsy village of the Arsk road in Kazan uyezd was at his house for his needs. It so happened that the Kazan merchant Andrey Tikhanov, son of Pushnikov, was at the same house. After visiting Poliansky's house, Yermak departed in an unknown direction. After about an hour, the aforementioned newly-baptised Bashkir arrived at Poliansky's house with that letter in a parcel with a seal and gave it to him in the presence of Pushnikov.

He pointed out that he had snatched the letter out of the hands of the Tatar, who had visited Poliansky with the aforementioned Yermak. However, he did not know his name, whose son he was, and what uyezd and place he was from.

Having seen that the letter was addressed to Poliansky, and by this signature he decided to open the letter in the presence of the aforementioned Pushnikov.

After unsealing the parcel, he saw a libelous letter, written on a quarter of the sheet about the riot of the Kazan Tatars. Poliansky left the letter as it was not known by whom and to whom the letter had been written.

The original is signed this way: 'Secre [tary] Michailo Poliansky had a hand in this announcement'.

The reasoning behind the prophetic cry from the Kazan Tsarina on October 3, 7061 according to the conquest of Kazan

Kazan will be Tatar. I cannot explain it better in Russian. I myself was a Tatar, now baptised. It will be fine and smooth in Tatar, but in Russian it will be: Kazan will be taken in thirty and 3 more and 3 more and 3 more years; that is it will be 39 years, and the first time will be in the year 7100.

The second time and period will come in thirty-nine years in 7139. The third period and time will be in thirty-nine years in 7178.

The fourth time will be in 39 years, in the year 7127. I remember when they wanted to take Kazan then, the Tatars, from the ground up, destroyed the uyezd.

Now they want to make war from the top, to kill everybody in Kazan, even a little child, to share the plunder and start killing everybody around the uyezd. This should be expected in nineteen 39 years. The fourth time has passed, and the fifth now is coming up in the year 7256.

At the beginning of this year during the first moon of March, on the third day, during evening hours, caution should be taken. While it will happen on the night from Sunday into Pure Monday. It will come from Tatar sloboda. By killing Russians, they will avoid baptism and payment of the unbearable tributes. The Tatars now have an acute and firm design, that's why the Christians in Kazan this year should fear being exterminated in vain. I would announce it myself, but I am afraid of the Tatars. This letter must not be a secret to anyone and must be announced to all the chiefs.

The envelope, which the letter was put into, was addressed as follows: 'To Lord Michail Grigoryevich, to Secretary Poliansky'. From Moscow to Kazan'.

The envelope is sealed with red wax, but instead of the stamp, the eagle on the coin is applied.

Source: Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 20, inv. 1, file 342.1, pp. 54–55 reverse.

Published by: D. Mustafina The revolt of Tatar Muslims in 1748: a might-have-been fact or a myth? // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2009. No. 1.

No. 11

The record of the presentation by A. Mamatov of the anonymous letter about the revolt of the Kazan Tatars along with the added statement of Tsarina Süyümbike's prophetic cry of October 3, 1552, and about the bringing of retired Corporal L. Gnevyshev to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery,

February 9, 1748.

Lieutenant Colonel and police chief Alexander Alekseyev, son of Mamat, came to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery on February 9, 1748 at 9 in the morning. Upon arrival, the secretary of the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery gave to those present an unsealed packet with a letter, on which it was written: 'To Lord Alexander Alekseyevich, to Colonel Mamatov from Moscow to Kazan'.

He pointed out that, on the aforementioned day, the parcel sealed by the Kazan police squad was given to him by retired Corporal Luka Osipov, son of Knevyshev. He told the Lieutenant Colonel about the parcel that same day he was standing at the Kazan police and the Kazan gar-

rison school. About 10 schoolchildren, who they were exactly, he did not know, came up to him and threw the sealed parcel on the floor at him and the corporal. The corporal, having picked up the letter, on which it was written, that this parcel was to be given to the Lieutenant Colonel and the Kazan police chief; and so according to this address, the Lieutenant Colonel took the parcel from the soldier and unsealed it.

After unsealing the parcel, he saw a libelous letter, written on a quarter of the sheet about the riot of the Kazan Tatars. It is not known by whom, from whom and to whom the letter was written. The colonel announced in front of everyone that he left the parcel and the letter with the retired soldier Luka Osipov, son of Gnevyshev.

The original is signed this way: 'Artillery Lieutenant Colonel Mamatov'.

The reasoning behind the prophetic cry from the Kazan Tsarina on October 3, 1706 according to the conquest of Kazan.

I cannot translate better into Russian, there will be Tatar words: 'In three decades and 3 more years and 3 three more years and 3 more years Kazan will be Tatar'. These words mean: '39 years'.

The first time—in 1700, the second time—in 1719, the third time—in 1718, the fourth time—in 1717, the fifth time—in 1756. The time is 39 years. I remember, they destroyed Rus'. At the beginning of this year during the first moon of March, on the third day, during evening hours, caution should be taken. While it will happen on the night from Sunday into Pure Monday. It will again be a failure if that year of three decades and 3 days more and 3 days more and 3 days more, I expect the 39th year in 39 days.

Previously, Kazan was taken from the bottom up by the uyezd, now they will start from the top—Kazan within 3 hours, and no single Russian will remain. And with this killing, they will avoid baptism and unbearable payments. The Tatars in the sloboda and uyezd are willingly becoming involved in this acute and firm design. I would be for it if I could appear there with the Russians, but I am afraid of the Tatars.

Source: Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 20, inv. 1, file 342.1, pp. 56–57 reverse.

Published by: D. Mustafina The revolt of Tatar Muslims in 1748: a might-have-been fact or a myth? // *Gasırlar avazı*=Echo of centuries. 2009. No. 1.

No. 12

The decree of the Governing Senate, on behalf of Empress of the Military Collegium, on sending to Kazan's Tatar sloboda, secret agents to find out the possibilities of a revolt, confiscating weapons and military supplies from the population, about the necessity of making the author of the letter interested in coming to the Guberniya Chancellery and giving testimony regarding the revolt and its instigators,

February 21, 1748.

The decree of Her Imperial Majesty, Sovereign of All the Russia from the Governing Senate of the Military Collegium.

The Governing Senate, by the decree of Her Imperial Majesty, on the message from the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery about the anonymous letters and intent of the Kazan Tatars to rebellion and in relation to the copies of the letter and Collegium report announced that: the team of secret counselor Neplyuev with the Troitsk and Revel dragoon field regiments near Kazan and Major Geniberkh with three dragoon companies located in Saransk, in search of thieves and brigands to go with haste directly to Kazan and join the team, about Bardekevich, his absence from Kazan. The investigation should be handled in accordance with the

decrees, order to be sent to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery and to foreman Bardekevich by courier.

Precaution from those evil Tatar intentions to eradicate people must be ordered, and if the intent is indeed there, this evil must be dealt with in accordance with the decree sent from the Military Collegium with the utmost speed.

Meanwhile, those anonymous letters and their evil intentions must be firmly investigated with the utmost speed. The investigation at the Guberniya Chancellery must be carried out in the presence of the foreman Bardekevich. Faithful people must be secretly sent to Tatar slobodas in Kazan and to the surrounding Tatar villages to acquire information about their evil intent. And if this acquired information or the aforementioned investigation clearly reveals their intention, then all the instigators should be caught as soon as possible and all weapons, gun powder, and lead should be taken away from all the Tatars in the slobodas and in the surrounding villages.

In Kazan it should be made public that two anonymous letters were found and addressed: one to secretary Michail Poliansky, and another to police chief Alexander Mamatov. It is not known who wrote those letters. The one who wrote the letters should come to the Guberniya Chancellery without any fear and apprehension in order to be rewarded with five hundred rubles. According to this publication this money will be put in the lantern on the square.

And do not write about the core of those letters in that publication. When he appears, give him the money and make him hope that if he proves their bad intentions he will be rewarded with the mercy of Her Imperial Majesty. And he should show precisely, from whom and when he got to know about their Tatar bad intentions, and who were the first instigators.

And according to his testimony, try to catch these instigators. And follow firmly the above-written. And the results of the investigation should be reported to the Senate and to the Military Collegium by courier.

Send the decrees by courier to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery and to foreman Bardekevich. The Orenburg Guberniya Chancellery should also know about this decree.

February 21, 1748.

The original is signed this way: 'Chief-secretary Matvey Kozmin. Clerk Ivan Bazhenov'.

The Military Collegium received it on the same day.

Source: Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 20, inv. 1, file 342.1, pp. 28–29 v.

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No. 13

Report from the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery to the State Military Collegium

March 21, 1748.

Report from the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery to the State Military Collegium.

By the decree of Her Imperial Majesty it is ordered, specifically. Firstly, from the Governing Senate on the report of the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery, an investigation of the anonymous letter and the malicious Tatar intent shall be carried out by the state councillor and Kazan Governor Grekov together with foreman Bardekevich and companions as quickly as possible.

If malicious intent is apparent, the instigators must be caught as soon as possible, the letters must be taken and they must be severely interrogated and tortured. And the information from the interrogations shall be immediately delivered by courier to the Governing Senate.

Secondly, as a precaution and to stop the malicious Kazan Tatar intent, the State Military Collegium shall send a team of the privy councillor and Orenburg governor Nepluyev and field dragoon Troitsk and Revel regiments directly to Kazan. These regiments shall be on the team

of foreman Bardekevich. The other Moscow dragoon regiment in all other cases shall be on the team of the privy councillor until the decree.

If necessary, and when the privy councillor does not foresee any danger, the Moscow regiment and any other troops shall immediately give all possible help. The aforementioned investigation of the anonymous letters, empowered by the decrees of Her Imperial Majesty, is being carried out.

All information concerning the investigation has been delivered to the Governing Senate. The first extract from these reports was sent on March 16, and the second on March 21. When the first extract of the report was sent to the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery by Captain Zhdanov from the Zyurey road of the newly-baptised village of Kuzayeva, the newly-baptised Mordvins Larion Fyodorov and Vasily Dmitriyev were named, along with the Tatars Bekkula Bekeyev, Fadey Mineyev and Yunus Dekereyev from Yusupkina village, and Medey Memeyev from Dobramysh village.

During interrogations on February 17, the newly-baptised of these pointed out that the aforesaid Tatars told them we are being ruined because of you and are paying money to the newly-baptised. And Larion and Vasily told them to get baptised and you will not be ruled. Adding to these words, Bekkula said to pray to God or else the village would be ruined, and the Dobramysh and Serving Tatars would ruin the newly-baptised villages of Rozhdestvenskoye and Yemash. On same day, from the statements of the Tatars, Bekkula was locked in the Guberniya Chancellery. The newly-baptised denounced him. That is why he was brought to the torture chamber. During the interrogation without a trial against the above-described, he apologised.

He also added he could not remember how many weeks ago it was, but only mentioned Maslennitsa the Serving Tatar Fadey Mineyev sent him, Bekkula, to the above-described newly-baptised village of Kuzaykino to see whether the newly-baptised people were wary and whether they had rifles, and they wanted to ruin this village Kuzaykino, which is why the entire village was in agreement. Moreover, in this agreement there were Tatars of eighteen villages from the Zyurey and Nogai roads, and all were Tatars from Kazan uyezd.

And there was a meeting for this intent beyond the Sheshma River on the steppe, but he did not know the village, it was before Maslennitsa with two people from each village. There were two people from their village, including the above-mentioned Tatars, and they were there for about five days. However, he was not told who instigators were and who were in on the agreement from the Bashkirs or other steppe peoples. However, merely by that intention, they did not have courage to do any harm to anyone.

And by the words of the current state councillor and governor with the companions, the said Tatar Bekkula was searched. But the search showed the same as before. And it was proved. By the same statement, the above-mentioned Tatars Fadey and companions were interrogated and searched. During the interrogations and searches, at first they denied everything.

The said Fadey stated that the centurions and common people from different villages went to a peaceful meeting in Ibraykino village to the Tatar Yakupko, whose son he did not know, for counting; and a report about it was sent to the Governing Senate on March 16. After the information was sent, those Tatars were brought to the torture chamber for the second time but without searches for the above-described signs of the revolt, and they confessed.

And they said that a week before Maslennitsa, centurion Ismail Lyubayev with his nephew Zenkul from Yeryklov village came to Fadey's house. He was accompanied by two people from each of his hundred villages, but it was not known who they were. After arriving at Fadey's house with all these Tatars and gathering all the common people, he declared that they wanted to revolt. He went around all of his hundred villages and announced to all Tatars to prepare for the revolt and to come to Ibraykino village for agreement on the revolt three days before Maslennitsa. But they were working, and were not there.

Later, this centurion came for the second time on Maslennitsa and said that we were badly organised and ordered us to prepare with any possible weapon to go to Ibraykino village in a week to the house of the Tatar Yakupko, where there would be a meeting and an agreement to revolt. And from this Ibraykino village he wanted to go to war that winter with all that meeting against Rus' and ruin it, as they were taking tribute money, recruits and horses for the newly-baptised. And the centurion arrived for the third time and told them that they could not make any revolt, as a regiment had settled in the uyezd.

There were eighteen villages in this agreement, and all the Tatars of Kazan uyezd. Two people from each village went to the council in Ibraykino village. The Kazan and sloboda and Ufa uyezd Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz-Kaisaks and other steppe people were in agreement, and there was no correspondence with other regions, and they did not hear about it from the centurion.

Couriers were sent to capture the above-mentioned Tatars, the couriers, but they have still not returned.

On the designated day in March, the current state councillor and the governor of Kazan guberniya with the foreman Bardekevich and his companions, who were on this bank of the Kama River, were ordered, together with three hundred people from the Troitsk regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Froundorf, to leave the current quarters and cross the Kama River, and unite that regiment with Colonel Froundorf. All the regiments were to settle in the above-described eighteen villages, and Colonel Froundorf was to take all the rifles away from the village Tatars. And the other unit of the Revel regiment must be brought to the place of the Troitsk regiment unit on this bank of the Kama River, and occupy the quarters of the Troitsk regiment.

The privy councillor, cavalier and the governor of Orenburg guberniya Nepluyev received a pro-memoria: although there was no dire need for the Moscow regiment, he could move the regiment from the current quarters across the Volga to this river bank and occupy the quarters where the Revel regiment was located. As spring with river floods was approaching, and if at some time, especially in extreme circumstances, the soldiers of this regiment were required, it would be difficult to reach them because of the river floods and dangerous if any confusion occurred.

Because of this, the Kazan Guberniya Chancellery informed the State Military Collegium of the above-described.

Stepan Alekov.

Ivan Bardekevich.

Vasily Myazgunov.

Ivan Blakhov.

Vasily Shalnoy.

Pyotr Strelkov.

March 21, 1748.

Source: Russian State Military Historical Archive, fund 20, inv. 1, file 342.1, pp. 121–123 v.

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No. 14

The decree signed by Ye. Pugachev to the population of the Nogai and Siberian roads of Orenburg guberniya

October 6–7, 1773.

I, the Greatest of the Great and the Highest Governor of the Governors and the World...the Ruler and Sovereign of All Russia and the Universe, [appealing] to goodness. ... at all times and forever [approved] by God, his Majesty Emperor and Great Tsar, have personally checked and

spoken out on this signed decree to all creatures ruled by me and all the rest of you in order that you know and be aware and aware! Know me, seeing me alive and not seeing and recognising me as Lord.

That is why you, Muslims or Kalmyks, having seen [this decree] in this land or other places controlled by me or on the frontiers, all of you being ready for the meeting, come to meet my favoured nobleman. Please, do not be slow! You, who wish me well, give this message to all honest people. If you, Bashkir elders, are still on the Nogai road, all of you come prepared for the meeting! If in these months and days there are prisoners kept at the hands of the rich, let them be free! I also order: except this, if they commit crimes and violence, may they be beheaded by my order, may their blood be split, and [this] punishment will be an inheritance for their descendants!

And those of you who served my ancestors, and those of my ancestors whom the brave Tsar Peter Alekseyevich regarded with favour, I also regard you with favour! I granted you your lands and waters, bread and salt, and other things, as well as faith and conscience, wealth and treasure, in perpetuity! If you serve me with cordiality, I will be your father, by this order and decree I will be your patron, no [there are mistakes in these words], but I am full of mercy! On the name of God the bestower, speaking the divine agreement condition, this oath is sent.

Those who are hostile to me and do not believe in me are enemies and will not receive my mercy: they will be beheaded, their property will be taken away, this will be [such a] calamity for them!

After being written, this decree was checked in the year of Serpent, on the first day of Sha'ban, and finished on Monday evening.

Send this decree from town to town, from fortress to fortress, by making a copy, remember!

Thus the Greatest of the Great All Russian Emperors, I, Peter the Third, applied my own hand³³.

It [this decree] was sent by the Greatest of the Great Emperors and Tsar [Peter] Fyodorovich to the Bashkir elders and other nobles and common people on the Nogai road and others in Siberia. Remember the decree!

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 42–43.

No. 15

Proclamation of Ye. Pugachev, entrusted to regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev and Abdulkarim Kuzkeev with the declaration giving the people freedom and land.

December 3, 1773.

The keeper of forces, bright sovereign of the world, I, the great keeper, the autocratic ruler of all the best and ordinary people from different countries and districts, holding them with my hand and will at all times. This proclamation was given through the power approved by his Royal Majesty himself, the sovereign of All Russia and so on, and so on, and so on, of many and many countries and lands, the Great among the great, personal decree of the Emperor Pyotr Fyodorovich personally and from his mouth, for them to know, to believe, faithfully and honestly serve and perform military service.

Those who can see my honourable face and beautiful image for themselves or in thought and mind glorify me, knowing more closely, with sincere soul, with word, deed and warm heart,

³³ This sentence is written down twice with slight changes.

and with honour believes me, to these people, of course, I will grant you land, water, fisheries, meadows, cropland, forest, gunpowder, money, lead and bread, salt and so on.

Those who disobey and resist: boyar and general, and major, and captain, and now—cut off heads, make a verdict—take, build against them, cut off heads, if they have any possessions—bring them to the Tsar, hand out other gear to military servants. At one time they ate you, imprisoned my slaves, kill them now, if they do not obey. Whoever obeys is not an enemy, do not touch them. Whoever recognises me, who found the direct way to me, let them perform military service. I will hang and slaughter the enemies. Please do not stay in the dark.

Assuring you, Pyotr Fyodorovich signed as: I am Peter III.

This proclamation was given to regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev son and to regimental centurion Abdulkarim Kuzkeev son. That is why the seal of the Military Collegium is attached.

Send a copy of this decree yourself in different directions and to all regions. As agreed, pass [the copy] from village to village, from street to street, without any delay. Whoever is a boyar slave and peasant captured by villains, are released by me today, whoever was in jail is released.

This order and command is sent on the 29th day of Ramadan 1773.

Ivan Tvorogov,

Secretary Maxim Gorshkov,

Ivan Gerasimov, Head of the 'desk'

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 44–46.

No. 16

Decree of Ataman I. Zarubin-Chika to regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev on the formation of a detachment of the inhabitants of Bashkir, Mishar, Tatar, Mari and Russian settlements.

December 24, 1773

Order

From Count Ivan Nikiforov son and Colonel Yakov Antonov, sent with great grace by order of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, to someone who wants to serve His Majesty, the Great Emperor and Great Sovereign.

Thus, regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev arrived here to the Torsk Plant for service. That is why this Bakhtiyar Kankaev son was ordered to perform military service as a regimental sergeant.

And thereafter he took Abdulkarim Kuzkeev son to serve as a centurion and to be his companion, so that together they could serve the Great Emperor and Sovereign.

Also, by the decree of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, our Sovereign [who lives] from all various kinds of peoples—be they Bashkirs or Mishars, or Tatars, or Chemeris, or Russians, all of these listed peoples were ordered: one person from each two households should serve, marching together with the peoples obedient to His Majesty, the Emperor and Sovereign our Pyotr Fyodorovich, the disobedient shall obey, and if someone causes an offense and damage to His Majesty, the Great Emperor and Sovereign, then anticipating and knowing about these circumstances, resist his enemies, and if they resist, then fight with them.

And thereafter, by the decree of His Highness our Sovereign, it was ordered: in different places, record everything necessary and interesting for the Emperor, and various weapons, such

as: guns, gunpowder, cannonballs, budzhays, turks and the like, identifying and taking them without regard to resistance.

And it also was ordered to provide them [Bakhtiyar and Abdulkarim] with carts without delay under threat of mortal anger of His Majesty.

24th day of the month of Jaddi³⁴.

Thereunto: Count Ivan, son of Nikifor.

In the year of 1773.

[Address:]

To hand this order to regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay. Give the carts to Abdukay, son of Ismagil, riding with these orders from village to village, without delay and without run.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 54–56.

No. 17

The orders of Ataman I. Beloborodov to regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev on establishing strict guard duty and improving discipline in rebel detachments

On April 27, 1774,

[A]

This order was sent.

With your reports you, regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar Kankaev, told Chief Ataman Ivan Naumovich Beloborodov that you were concerned about enemies from Kungur, and by gathering peoples you are on guard duty, extremely vigilant and alert. And you, local petty officers, are ordered: all—Russian Cossacks and Tatars that are there, regardless of any reservations, send them here; tie those who resist, and catch those who flee, and grab them, kill and hang them.

You, Bakhtiyar, reported that those three horses were too thin. Let them fatten up [with you] until they are used, then they will be taken to the Treasury.

Then you reported that petty officer Ilchigul came drunk at night to your village, frightening people by beating some of them, there was a lot of anger; also, people who came under your command by their will were taken forcibly under his control. Do not let this Ilchigul commit these things from now on! And when people are on duty, let them to be under the command of the one they want from the petty officers and regimentals, and let no one commit violence!

Furthermore, you reported that there are boats there, boyar boats, which contain oakum and resin; hand them out among the teams after checking them. Having said that, signed in Russian

Ivan Beloborodov.

April 27th, 1774.

Ivan Beloborodov³⁵.

I, military scribe Ismail, son of Iman, set my hand to this.

[B]

This order was sent.

With your reports you, regimental sergeant Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay, reported to the Chief Ataman Iva [n] Naumovich Beloborodov that you are concerned about enemies from Kungur, and by collecting local peoples you are on guard duty, extremely vigilant and alert. And you, local petty officers, are ordered: Russian Cossacks that are there, irrespective of any admonishing, send here; tie up those who resist, and pursue those who flee, and seize and kill them.

³⁴ Dzhadi (Jaddi) is the month of Capricorn and coincides with December.

³⁵ The second inscription is written in Russian.

When the teams of local petty officers are on duty, let them to be under control of the regimental sergeant whom they want and let no one commit violence to the teams!

Furthermore, you reported that there are boats there, boyar boats, which contain oakum and resin; hand them out among the teams after checking them.

Signed in Russian:

Ivan Beloborodov.

April 27th, 1774.

I, military scribe Ismail, son of Iman, set my hand to this.

Ivan Beloborodov³⁶.

I, Ishmat, son of Mamatkul, have signed this decree, and as an assurance have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

I, Almukhammad, having written, set my hand to it³⁷.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 116–117.

No. 18

The letter of Salawat Yulayev to rebel Atamans of the Osin and Siberian roads about the battles with an enemy near the Ay River and the movement of Ye. Pugachev's main forces to Kungur

June 6, 1774

The report you sent—by graciously serving [His Majesty] petty officer Bulyak, son of Yakup and Ataman Alladin, son of Falyan³⁸, and petty officer Arslan, son of Rangul—I, Chief Colonel Salavat, son of Yulay, received.

Now through Abdulkarim, son of Aid, I inform you about the local circumstances. His Majesty, our Tsar Pyotr Fyodorovich, came to us to the Ay River with nine thousand troops. And we, after meeting the Hussar regiment known [to you], had two battles; we beat up many and many their people, and only very few of them escaped. Now you, having heard the order of the teams who were sent there, gather the hardened teams and without any hesitation take all actions the resist the invading enemies.

So ordering: Chief Colonel Salavat, son of Yulay.

On the 6th day of [the month of] Saratan 1774.

[We] did not have to go there [to you] from here—we headed to Kungur. You also, after arriving [there] with some teams, will meet us.

Give a cart and an attendant to Abdulkarim Aidovson riding with this order, without delay and without run.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 132.

³⁶ The second signature, as in the 'A' variant, is written in Russian.

³⁷ The last two sentences are written with another handwriting.

³⁸ Falyan's son, literally: the son of the name to be spoken; Alladin (Aladdin) Bektuganov is possibly meant here.

No. 19

**Report of Ataman Adil Bigashev to Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev
on the protection of Angasyak Plant**

June 9, 1774

Report

To you, dear and highly respected, most venerable and high-ranking comrade and our friend Colonel Bakhtiyar with all your comrades, we send our regards and greetings.

We have not received any [messages] from you. As for us, we marched with troops ourselves so that enemies would not gain the upper hand at Angasyak Plant. If there is any news, inform me immediately by post. And do not leave us without your prayer of blessing.

Thereunto

I, ataman mullah Adil, son of Bigash, set my hand to this.

On the 10th day of [the month of] Rabi-second 1774, on Sunday.

I, Mukhammad, son of Musa, having written it, set my hand to it.

[You], any population, give one cart to Ishmukhammad Nurushev son riding with this order, from village to village without run.

Thereunto

I, ataman mullah Adil, son of Bigash, set my hand to this.

If you resist, you will incur anger.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 135–136.

No. 20

**Decree signed by Ye. Pugachev's own hand to Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev
and combat sergeant Yarmukhammad Kadyrmatov with approval of their proposal
to establish an integrated multinational 'great army'.**

June 13, 1774.

Our, Great Sovereign, the Autocratic Emperor, the Master of All Russia, an ordinance of His Majesty to Mishar Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev, and combat sergeant Yarmukhammad, son of Kadyrmat.

Your report was delivered [to us] on the 13th day of [the month of] Saratan. You asked for imperative decree to unite Bashkir and Russian warriors. On the basis of [your report] by our personal decree, it is commanded to quickly and diligently gather troops among the Russian and Bashkir population, to create a great army [and thus], to eradicate the people hostile to our Majesty by resisting the enemies. You, Colonel, son of Kankay, and [to you], son of Kadyrmat, are commanded [to act] as mandated in this our decree and get things done without change to the [necessary] limit.

In assurance whereof, an official seal affixed with my own hand³⁹, this order [is given]!

On the 13th day of [the month of] Saratan 1774.

A signature was affixed to the Russian [original]:

Pyotr

³⁹ The seal is absent.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 141–142.

No. 21

Report of sergeant major of the Mari rebels Akhmar Ageev to Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev on the actions of punitive detachments near Birska

June 13, 1774.

Report

I, sergeant major of Cheremis Akhmar, son of Agey, inform you.

The enemies below Birska fortress, more than two thousand people, reunited with enemies from Kalinlik and reached Russians in the village of Usakov, as reported [to us] by Russian peasants. They say they intend to go on the Osinsk road. For this reason, our volost is being ruined. To you, the leader of the warriors, high-ranking Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay, with all the chiefs, let it be known that we are asking you for protection. The same enemies have established a picket on the mountain near Birska fortress.

In reporting this, I, sergeant major Akhmar Ageev have affixed my tamga [image of tamga]. On the 14th day of [the month of] Rabi-second 1774.

To murza, son of Urazbakt, with comrades, who was sent with this report from the village to village, give two carts without resistance and run.

The arrival of the enemies noted above [was reported by] Sadysh, son of Buray, returning from the army, from the team of sergeant major Kuzma, son of Mitry, [who] stopped on duty in Sukoyaz. There are many enemies here, whose whereabouts has been sent to you, the leaders of warriors.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 142–143.

No. 22

Report of sergeant major Aid Seitov, Fedoska Yanbaktin and others to Colonels Bakhtiyar Kankaev and Yarmukhammad Kadyrmatov about the defeat of punitive detachments near the village of Kachevo and their retreat to the Kama River

June 24, 1774.

By the decree given by His Majesty, the Great Emperor and Sovereign, our Pyotr Fyodorovich, to you, the leaders of troops Colonel Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay, and Colonel Yarmukhammad, son of Kadyrmat, we, Bashkir of Uransk volost Aid, son of Seit, and aide Fedoska, son of Yanbakt, and acting chief petty officer Bikin, son of Uraz, and sergeant major Bayka, son of Tuykiy, truly and humbly report on the following.

When the enemies from [the village of] Kachevo were heading towards Angasyak, we marched against them with the army and caught up with them near the Chemeris village of Churumak. These enemies numbered about six hundred [people]. And these enemies turned back and escaped to Russians in the village of Kachevo, and we chased them. And those enemies who escaped from the village of Kachevo were caught in Ildiyan, from where they retreated to Chulman⁴⁰, and they shelled us with turks and guns from the water to destroy us. However, we did not lose anyone from our army, but we destroyed some of these enemies and

⁴⁰ The Kama.

burned their houses for their hostility towards the Emperor and our Great Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich.

Informing you [thereof] with this our report,

I, Bashkir Aid, son of Seit, set my hand to this.

And I, Fedoska, son of Yanbakt, have affixed my tamga (seal) [image of tamga].

I, acting chief petty officer Bikin, son of Uraz, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

I, sergeant major Bayka, son of Tuykiy, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

I, Bashkir⁴¹... Mukhammad, son of Abdukay, set my hand to this.

And I, guard centurion Abbas, son of Muslim, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

On the 24th day of June 1774.

I, scribe Ishmurat, son of Minlikiy, set my hand to this.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 147–148.

No. 23

The letter of sergeant major Alibay Murzagulov to sergeant majors of the yasak Tatars from Nedyrov volost of the Kazan road Ibrash Urazbaktin and Maksud Murzakaev on receiving the news that Kazan was allegedly seized by Pugachev and the intention to go on Moscow

June 26, 1774

May you, masters sergeant majors Ibrash Urazbekov son and Maksud, son of Murzakay, have many years of good health and prosperity.

Hereafter, [I inform you] that I received the letter you sent and understood [what is it about]. We need not do anything yet, because His Majesty our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, after seizing Kazan, met his son, and, as it turns out, went towards Moscow. And the local regiments have all gone there too, without leaving [anyone] anywhere. Now the population has set to work, and the grain is ripe—let them do their work. Also write to master Colonel, who was at the location of the brigadier, mullah Kanzafar, on my behalf, that there is no need to do anything. For example, [write]: 'If thanks to Almighty God, His Majesty our Great Sovereign achieves his goal, the decrees will be sent to us at the same hour, in anticipation of which stay calm and let the people work. If Allah allows, what is meant to be will come true and what is prescribed will not be prevented. However, you yourself act as you wish. Understand, that it will be hard to arouse the people again. It would be better if we wait until it is calmer'. Please, write insistently to convince mullah Kanzafar to be patient. When rebels are needed, they will be hunted down and found—they will not go anywhere; if Allah wills, all will be found—no one will be saved. However, it is necessary to stand still for some time, to observe what happens next. No one forced us to fight. The regimental [people] we required remained at home without marching out. Would that not be advantageous for us?

Thereunto with greetings and prayers, I, sergeant major and leader Alibay, son of Murzagul, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

The undersigned scribe Abdulkarim, son of Rakhmankuly.

On the 26th day of June 1774

We will not cause strife among ourselves, please, let us wait.

⁴¹ One word is unclear.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 148–149.

No. 24

The order of Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev to Colonel Abduldzhali Uruskulov on immediately sending a command to Sukhoyaz and Satanikha villages for action against the punitive squads arriving from Ufa in the village of Duvanei.

June 1774⁴²

Order

We inform you, master Colonel Abduldzhali, son of Uruskul, that we were glad of your safe return after the delegation to our gracious lord Pyotr Fyodorovich. Glory to Allah, amen, we were pleased.

Now we report that we—both the Bashkir, and Mishar, and Chemeris, and Ars—all communities united together, destroyed enemy forces from the army in Birska town, and then from Birska town returned to Sukhoyaz village. After that, all the Bashkirs left, saying: 'we will guard our 'roads'. If these communities had been ordered to stay here in Satana village, they would have resisted the enemies who came out of the town of Ufa. The number of these enemies is up to thousand: about four hundred Circassians are located in Duvan, and another two hundred soldiers who came from Ufa, headed by the Colonel, one major, and an Islamic team of Bashkirs and Mishar Tatars, about four hundred people all together. This was reported by two identification prisoners, whom we captured from enemy soldiers.

Once we fought the enemy in Satana, killed three of their people and captured two, and we are continuing to resist these enemies. Send teams to us now, quickly, without delay, arrive on high alert on Sunday, at sunrise, before our enemies conquer us, please hurry! We will not be able to march against them, because of the small number of our team.

Thereunto

Colonel Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay.

Regimental sergeant Abdulla, son of Tuktar.

I, regimental sergeant of the Mishar Tatars, Khamid, son of Mukhammad, set my hand to this.

I, regimental sergeant Yarkay, son of Kadyrmat, set my hand to this.

I, centurion Ramazan, son of Urmanche, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga]⁴³.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 157–158.

No. 25

The letter of centurion Kanbak Ishmatov to Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev with gratitude for the release of the son, Bakay Kanbakov, from military service

June 1774⁴⁴

We send you, master Colonel Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay, a multitude of our prayers of gratitude. Offering prayers after Namaz, we wish you prosperity and good health for many years, let the good Lord increase your glory with each passing day!

⁴² It is dated from the time of the events near Birska in June 1774.

⁴³ The bottom of the document is torn, possibly one or two lines are forever lost.

⁴⁴

Hereafter it is reported that you brought back our son Bakay, may Allah to reward you for that—this service is unforgettable! As it turns out, for the short [service], you wished for one unbleached linen.

To deliver this unbleached linen to you, [Bakay] left it with Akhmad Urazmatov son from Mardasim village. However, I heard that he did not give it to you. Bakay left it in the presence of centurion Kansuar and other people. Now [Akhmar], without handing over this unbleached linen to you, took it for himself; as his companion witnessed, he sent it through Abutalib from our village to his wife. We have been so shamed by him! Of course, do not be angry with us. He himself denied it and did not give it to us. You, as the holder of justice, demand this linen from him and judge for yourself why he did not hand over a thing entrusted by another person.

Thereunto your humble praying centurion Kanbak, son of Ishmat.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 161–162.

No. 26

Report of regimental sergeants Makhdi Mediyarov, Aid Seitov and Bayka Tuykiev to the Military Collegium on the repressions of Major M. Melgunov's team against the population of Uran volost.

July 2, 1774

A truly humble report to the ruling dignitaries of the Military Collegium of His Imperial Majesty, our Great Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, from us, Bashkir sergeant major of Uran volost Makhdi Mediyarov and sergeant major Aid Seitov and Cheremis sergeant major Bayka Tuykiev.

We inform you that two people were sent with a report from the enemies on Angasyak side, from Bashir, son of Tapey, Almukhammad, son of Mamdal, and these two were sent by these enemies in pursuit of Major Michailo Vasilyevich Melgunov, and after capturing these two convicts, we sent them to you with good, very reliable guards.

Among those enemies who went towards Sarapul, Major Michailo Vasilyevich Melgunov took most of the cattle from us, without exception, and also killed a lot of our people. We did not have enough force to enter the fray with them over this, because these enemies had a lot of power and guns. We destroyed some of the enemy's people.

There are also enemies on the side of the Birsk and Ay with a lot of forces, and Kuly Baltachev son is also there, and there are enemies on the side of Angasyak; their number is unknown, but, as we hear, there are a lot of them.

Informing you by this report,

I, sergeant major Makhdi Mediyarov, set my hand to this.

And I, regimental sergeant Aid Seitov, set my hand to this.

And I, sergeant major Bayka Tuykiev, have affixed my tamga [image of tamga].

On the 2nd day of July 1774.

[Address:]

This report was sent for delivery to the Military Collegium of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 164–165.

No. 27

Report of Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev to the Military Collegium of Ye. Pugachev on the military actions of regimental sergeant Abdulla Mustaev's detachments against the punitive forces and the heroism of the rebel I. Stepanov

middle of July 1774⁴⁵

A humble report to the Military Collegium of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, from Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev.

Regimental sergeant Abdulla, son of Mustay, who was with us, was sent to the Nogai road to gather a team. During this trip, he gathered a team of about seven–eight hundred people. While he was checking the weapons, one lieutenant, a leader of thieves, attacked them with a group of robbers and waged a furious battle. As for the people who were with Abdulla, they fled because they lacked weapons. Ivan, son of Stepan, one of the Russian comrades of Abdulla, performed an act of heroism and killed this lieutenant with his thirty warriors. However, our te [am]...⁴⁶

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 167–168.

No. 28

Report of Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev to the Military Collegium of Ye. Pugachev on the situation between the Kama and Vyatka Rivers, and on replenishment of his detachments with volunteers and actions against the punitive forces

July 14, 1774

A humble report to the Military Collegium of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, from Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev.

In our current campaign, we discovered that different peoples of Kazan uyezd, with all their heart and faith, are glad to serve His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, and all—young and old—came to welcome us a verst out with all the food they had. And, crying in front of us, they begged us: 'May His Majesty, gracious Sovereign and our merciful father Pyotr Fyodorovich enjoy good health and prosperity many years for a long life!'

At the present time, we have more than six hundred warriors, and more come every day, claiming that they joined the campaign willingly. However, among them there are those who have no clothes, horses or weapons. Therefore, give us, humble people, an order—where should we get horses and weapons?

We are taking the rest of the property and cattle of those boyars whose possessions are not far from our route to give it to the Treasury. Also our roving people caught and brought five men from the army, which was located near the leader of the renegades Sultanmurat, son of Yanysh. They are still in our hands. It turns out, they went to rob. And as it was learned from these people, those robbers stayed for a night in Kursa village on the Arsk road.

We are also sending picket and guard teams in all directions to gather information about the enemies. And more: prior to this, we had already sent people from our Cossacks twice with reports to the Military Collegium. They have still not returned or appeared. We are also sending

⁴⁵ It is dated from the time of B. Kankaev's detachments acting on the Kama (July 1774).

⁴⁶ The writing is not finished (the text is possibly a part of the report's preparation).

fifty people to guard all the ferries crossing rivers,⁴⁷ because we had word of gangs of thieves. That is the reason for our delay.

The 14th day of July 1774.

By the decree of His Majesty and gracious Ruler, the Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, various peoples are ordered to give carts to the Cossacks who were sent from village to village with this report, without delay and run for as long as it takes.

In assurance whereof, I, Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev, set my hand to this.

I, military scribe Abubakir Tilyachev, set my hand to this.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 168–169.

No. 29

Report of Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev to the Military Collegium of Ye. Pugachev on military actions against the punitive squads on the Zyurey road.

July 19, 1774

A humble report to the Military Collegium of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, from Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev.

We, your humble servant, with an army of about two thousand people, are battling enemies on the Zyurey road daily. We have five cannons, but we do not have gunpowder and cannonballs. We are asking Your Majesty to send us gunpowder and cannonballs, in the required quantities, of course. We have fought with about seven hundred people enemies and, glory to Allah, in the shadow of our sovereign we defeated them and sent them to hell. And the leader of this battle was Abdulla, son of Mustay, who was in our army. And then we also saw the exceptional loyalty of Apakay, son of Ishmat, from the village of Savush, who honoured us by not charging the residents of the village anything...⁴⁸

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 170–171.

No. 30

Letter of Ataman Slyausin Kinzin to regimental sergeant Alibay Murzagulov on the betrayal of Yamansara Yabbarov, who has gone over to the punitive forces and his arrest by the rebels, and on taking action against the punitive forces on the Nogai road of Ufa uyezd.

July 19, 1774

We send our greetings and prayers to the exalted ataman Alibay, son of Murzagul. May you and those closest to you enjoy good health and prosperity for many years at all times!

Hereafter, be informed that Yamansara Yabbarov turned traitor and set out with his family towards Orenburg to Imankulovo village. We, a thousand people from Usergensk, Burzyansk, Tamyansk, Chinkim-Kypchaksk volosts, went after them, captured them and brought them back to us.

⁴⁷ In the original the plural 'idillär' implies the Kama and Vyatka Rivers.

⁴⁸ The ending is lost.

Three hundred hussars attacked us when we were leaving the fortress of the town of Sakmarsk. We destroyed and captured some of them. We saw no other strife except this one.

We received your blessed letter, which should be copied [and distributed]. We could not come to you because of these troubles, so please do not be angry. If it is troubled and precarious on your side, send someone with a letter here—we will help you by arriving quickly with one or two thousand people. If you are at peace, also write to us how things are there and notify us in writing of information received from the Sovereign. As for us, we are all alive and well, and support the Sovereign. As for us, we are all alive and well, and support the Sovereign. As for us, we are all alive and well, and people arrived safely from the direction of Dema.

I, ataman Slyausin Kinzin, set my hand to this.

On the 19th day of July 1774.

Intercessors, know: Turay, son of Ishay, Buzan, son of Iskhak, Taymas, son of Kutly, mullah Kubash Yakhya, son of Adil, Marakay, son of Suyargul, centurion Askhar, son of Aid.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 173.

No. 31

Letter of Colonel Slyausin Kinzin to Colonel Kanzafar Usayev regarding information on the arrest of Yamansara Yabbarov and the actions against punitive forces on the Novomoskovsk road of Ufa uyezd.

July 1774

He—Allah—is an infinite creator

To you, master Colonel, our honoured and exalted friend, mullah Kanzafar Usaev, Colonel mullah Slyausin reports. We received a word from yesaul Kutlukildi that they caught two Russians, when they went on the Novaya road⁴⁹, and questioned them. These Russians said: 'We went to Russkie Tauli to get food'. This Kutlukildi and Yaik Cossack Ataman⁵⁰ said to this Russian: 'Go back to Bugulchan and tell their team not to be there when we come, or we will burn them!' And today we heard that they are on the Novaya road with six thousand warriors, in Yuzeevo village.

Hereafter, the father-in-law of Masgud Baky, who arrived here, and also Musa and Akhmar said that this Masgud had stayed in Ashkazar. More about the army in Sarmagan village: he left a force of seventy people there, and others went towards Bugulma. We sent a man who was previously sent here, to the above-mentioned village of Yuzeevo.

Also, it turns out that Yamansary sent a report to Orenburg, saying that the Bashkirs intended to surround him. Four hundred Russians arrived according to that report. However, before the arrival of those Russians Kutlukildi's people caught this Yamansary. And when the Russians came, they caught up with them and killed five Russians, and the rest of them fled.

These events [occurred] in Imankulovo village.

Your humble praying yesaul Sulaiman.

[Address:]

This report is given into the hands of Colonel Kanzafar.

⁴⁹ The new Moscow road.

⁵⁰ The Cossacks' ataman A. Ovchinikov.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 174–175.

No. 32

Report of Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev to the Military Collegium of Ye. Pugachev on rebel actions in villages on the Zyurey road of Kazan uyezd, on the protection of a ferry across the Kama River and the movement of punitive detachments

July 21, 1774⁵¹

A humble report to the Military Collegium of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, from Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev.

In our campaign we and our troops and guns are on the Zyurey road of Kazan uyezd. And in order to learn about the actions of the enemies, who were present on the other roads with evil intentions, and also to learn about the roads to the ferries, we are sending one hundred fifty fully equipped people from our army.

We also have sent four reports to the Military Collegium reporting on all our actions: meanwhile, the people we sent have not returned or appeared, we do not know the reason for this.

And also through our people whom we sent to the ferry, the words of the leader of the enemies coming on boats from Sokolsk ferry became known, that they will built a fortress on a convenient bank of the Kama River again. As it turns out, they destroyed the boats that guarded the Mamadysh ferry. It also appears that they are recruiting one person from every three or four households to help them...

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 176.

No. 33

Letter of yesaul Gavrila Likhachev to atamans Alibay Murzagulov, Karanay Muratov and sergeant major Kachkyn Samarov and leaders of the Kalmyks and Kazakhs on the success of Ye. Pugachev and on the need for them to come to Kazan with all their troops

July 22, 1774

By the most August Decree of His Majesty, the Great Emperor and our Great Sovereign Pyotr Fyodorovich, to the leaders of the army gathered at the towns Ufa and Orenburg—to Chief Atamans Alibay, son of Murzagul, Karanay, son of Murat, Kachkyn, son of Samar, also to the nobles of the Kalmyks, Kirghiz Khans and the great leaders of different peoples, here is our message.

We heard on the 22nd day of July that you are diligently gathering an army from different sides. At the same time, we sent a report by post informing His Majesty our gracious lord that you are gathering armed troops, acting with truth and faith.

May you have joy: our gracious lord has destroyed all the towns and burned mills from the side of Kungur. Here also, after seizing Kazan and killing all the population, he burned the city and destroyed all the nearby cities in the same way.

⁵¹ Dated from the time of compilation of a similar report in the Russian language [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund. 6, doc. 416, file 1, p. 140].

Hereafter, we have this request for you: each of you should come here with armed troops without delay—towards Kazan. At the present time, we with our more than three thousand troops and seven guns are confronting the enemies near Kazan and protecting the ferries.

Chief yesaul Gavril Likhachev.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 177–178.

No. 34

**Report of Colonel Abdulla Mustaev to Chief Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev
on sending people recruited for service and the impossibility of their return.**

July 25, 1774

Report to His Excellency, Chief Colonel Bakhtiyar, son of Kankay.

I did not receive the report sent by Your Excellency. It turned out that you ordered me to come back soon with my army. I have sent ninety people so far. If Allah allows, I will send another one hundred and ten people. It is impossible for me to return quickly: the local population was agitated, and when we came and started to gather the army, they liked it; [so] in those places where we are, and about other places Allah knows. Inform me immediately about local news in a report. As many people God sends us, we will bring all of them with us.

And let it be known to Your Majesty: you ordered centurion Adgam to come to you with some of his team appropriately equipped. We, of course, checked his team. It turns out that many people went with our gracious Tsar; however, only a few of them came back wounded, some of them were captured, and others came back because of illness; and after being taken ill [Adgam] helps us!

And you also ordered mullah Khalid to gather an army, which, as it turned out, was impossible without us. He is striving together with us. We cannot act without both of them.

In the evening of the 27th [day] of the month of Jumada-first 1774.

As assurance whereof, I, Colonel Abdulla, son of Mustay, set my hand to this.

[Address:]

This report was immediately sent to the noble hands of master Colonel Bakhtiyar Kankaev.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khisamova. Kazan, 1988. P. 185–186.

No. 35

**Letter of Muradshakh Syrtlanov to Chief Colonel Kanzaraf Usaev
on the betrayal of some sergeant majors**

On July 31, 1744

He—Allah—is an infinite creator

To you, the honourable and respected high-ranking Brigadier, the Sovereign's favourite, our friend mullah Kanzafar, son of Usay, we send countless and endless greetings and prayers, may you and all your retinue and subordinates be healthy and prosperous for many years and countless months!

Hereafter it is reported that we received the letter you sent sent through mullah Rakhmankul, and I have sent it to the appropriate addresses, but I do not have any news from those persons.

I intended to go for a meeting with your Excellency, but we received a letter from mullah Rakhmankul and sergeant major Maksud that you had a letter from mullah Slyausin with order to come back and went there. For this reason I could not come to see you.

Now I am reporting to Your Excellency about local affairs. Today we have some enemies here among Mishar Tatars and Bashkirs, who have betrayed His Majesty our sovereign and you. But there are not many of those renegades. As for the main population of Mishar Tatars and Bashkirs, they are faithful to His Majesty. They are going on a campaign only out of fear of your sergeant majors. Below I report about those sergeant majors, who are faithful His Majesty, our sovereign, and not writing a report [to the betrayers] in the fortress: Ibragim, son of Miryas, who was unwittingly assigned to lead the [enemy] army, and from Mishar sergeant majors Abdusalyam, son of Mamdal, from Tatar sergeant majors Maksud, son of Murzak, and Ibrash, son of Urazbakt. Do not deprive these people of your grace and do not believe others except them, the sergeant majors, and do not go with small groups, like those others who violated their vows and disavowed their fidelity. And they themselves, by writing a letter, will invite you with an army, and will send a report to the fortress, informing them that 'the thieves are coming, give us reinforcements', but the leaders are not giving them reinforcements. Such are the accursed and dangerous people we have! Of course, watch out for them. I had a lot of torment, but Almighty Allah himself saved me. I will declare the names of these traitorous sergeant majors when we meet.

A man who was my relative arrived from the side of Ufa fortress, and I asked him how the leaders were living in Ufa fortress. He said that the people of Ufa fortress were living well and allegedly were not harming the population in the vicinity.

Write a letter to those whom you wish well, and do not leave us, your friend, without your grace. I sent this letter to you through my friend Bikmamet, son of Muslim; he is a very good, reliable and faithful person, whom you can send anywhere. Write about all things in reply to this note.

I have also heard that Colonel Tukhtamysh allegedly arrived at Krasnoyarsk fortress, burned the property stolen by General Prince Galitsyn, escaped and supposedly, they say, [he] was detained across the Vyatka River.

And I got hold of the letters of those malicious sergeant majors, which I have sent to you. If you have an army with you, do not dismiss it; try to familiarise those whom you consider your friends with this letter, but do not announce it to many, because we have spies among us.

Thereunto, always being in good wishes your friend and Colonel Muradshakh, son of Syrtlan. On the 3rd day of [the month of] Jumada-second, 1774.

[Address:]

Kindly hand over this blessed letter to Brigadier Kanzafar, son of Usay.

Extract from: The appeal and correspondence of the leaders of Pugachev's movement in the Volga Region and the Cis-Urals / Compiled by M. Usmanov, S. Alishev, I. Gilyazov, F. Khasimova. Kazan, 1988. P. 187–189.

(Footnotes)

1 There were 5 voivodes at the state level in Kazan, but 7 voivode estates are shown.

2 The 'Residents' were old and new from serving, trade, merchant and even peasant people.

3 Among them was a boyar.

4 There is a problem of underreporting, since more than 600 common soldiers relied on more lieutenants.

5 The Dryabs were service class men, who were sent from the western borders, in this case from the town of Polotsk and 'assigned for service as Gunners and Streletsy'.

6 These include 1 stage vicar.

7 There is a problem of underreporting, since not all residents of the archepiscopal household were counted. In the text among them appeared a butler (P. 9, 11, 12 and others), a sytnik (responsible for food) (P. 15, 16), a cook (P. 16, 23 and others), a miller, baker and children.

8 The population of the monastery was not included in the census at all.

9 Nobles and sons of boyars were still not separated in it. The numbers are underreported for the reason outlined above.

10 The number of households or homeowners is shown in the numerator; and the relatives who lived with them and other dependent people, in the denominator.

11 The number of households decreased compared to 1565–1568 or the number was underreported.

12 Here instructions were issued to monastic people, who 'serve with merchant people'.

13 Among the dependent people were more neighbours (299/151), hired workers (164/6), yardmen (90/79), pupils (68), purchased (63/32), bondsmen (49/12), servants (25/9), then came 'those living fixed years', enslaved and others.

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Fund 170—Scientific Archive Committee of Vyatka Guberniya

Fund 176—Vyatka Treasury Chamber

Fund 582—Chancery of the Vyatka Governor

Fund 583—Vyatka Guberniya Directory

State Archive of Orenburg Oblast

Fund 3—Chancery of Orenburg Guberniya

Fund 5—Orenburg Expedition of Frontier Cases

Fund 6—Chancery of the Orenburg Governor-General

Fund 96—Orenburg Scientific Archive Committee

State Archive of The Mari El Republic

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Fund 236—Tsaryovokokshaisk Lower Zemstvo Board

Fund 237—Tsaryovokokshaisk Voivode Chancery

State Archive of Ulyanovsk Oblast

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Fund 14—The Kazan Guberniya Prosecutor

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Fund 350—Kazan Guberniya Noble Assembly

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Abbreviations

- AAC: Academic Archival Commission
 AAE: Acts, Collected in the Russian Empire Libraries by Archeographic Expedition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Saint Petersburg, 1836. Vol. 1–4.
 AEB: Archaeology and Ethnography of Bashkiria
 AHA: Additions to the Historical Acts Collected and Issued by the Archaeographical Committee. Saint Petersburg, 1846–1875. Vol. 1–12.
 AHAE: Association of History, Archaeology and Ethnography
 ALAR, 2—Acts Related to the Legal Practice in Ancient Russia / Under ed. N. Kalachyova Sankt Peterburg, 1864. Tom 2.
 ALW: Acts Related to the Legal Welfare of Ancient Russia. Vol. 1–3. Saint Petersburg, 1857–1884.
 AMS: Acts of Muscovite State Published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Discharging order. Moscow Stol. 1660–1664. Saint Petersburg, 1890–1901. Vol. 1–3.
 AMSHA: Annals of the Imperial Moscow society of Russian history and antiquities.
 ARV: Ancient Russian Vivliofike
 ARVC: Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation
 AS: Academy of Science
 AS RT: Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan.
 ATI: Act of the Time of Interregnum (July 17, 1610–1613) / Under ed. S. Bogoyavlenskij, I. Ryabinin. Moscow, 1915.
 AVC: Acts of the Vilno Commission for handling the Ancient Deeds. Vilno, 1865–1915. Vol. 1–39.
 AWR: Acts relating to the history of Western Russia
 BR: Bashkortostan Republic
 CCL-1: Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire The first collection.
 CCRC: The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. 1841–2005. Vol. 1–42.
 CLRE: Compilation of Laws of Russian Empire
 CRHS: Collections of the Imperial Russian Historical Society Saint Petersburg, 1867–1916. Vol. 1–148
 CSARM: Central State Archive of the Republic of Moravia
 CSHARB: Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Bashkortostan
 CSRaO-1: Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department Series 1. Saint Petersburg, 1879–1912.
 CSRaO-2: Complete Set of Regulations and Orders of the Orthodox Faith Department Series 2. Saint Petersburg, 1879–1912.
 Dal—Dal V. Proverbials of Russian people. Moskva, 1957.
 DDCHS: Description of the Documents and Cases, stored in the Archive of the Holy Synod
 DMM: Documents and Materials on the History of the Moldavian ASSR. Saransk, 1940–1952. Vol. 1–4.
 DMRB SLL: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the N. Lobachevsky Science Library of the Volga (Kazan) Federal university
 EDBE: Encyclopedical Dictionary: Ed. by Brockhaus and Efron. Vol. 1–41a (books 1–82). Saint Petersburg, 1890–1904; App. Vol. 1–2. (books 1–4). 1905–07.
 ER: 'Ethnographic review', journal
 ERC: Essays of Russian Culture
 GVK: 'Gubernskie Vedomosti of Kazan', newspaper (Kazan)
 GVT: 'Gubernskie Vedomosti of Tobolsk', newspaper (Tobolsk)
 HA: Historical Acts, Collected and Published by Archeographic Expedition. Saint Petersburg, 1841–1842. Vol. 1–4.
 IH AS RT: Sh.Marjani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan
 ILLA: Institute for Language, Literature, and History
 IRH: Institute of Russian History
 IRLI: Institute of Russian Literature
 JMIA: Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs
 JMNE: Journal of the Ministry of National Education
 JMSP: Journal of the Ministry of State Property
 K(V)FU: Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University
 KFM: Kammer-Furier Ceremonial journal
 KP: 'Kazan News', newspaper (Kazan)
 KSA: Kazan Spiritual Academy
 KSC UAS: Kazan Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences
 KSPI: Kazan State Pedagogical Institute
 KSRO: State Archive of Kirov Oblast
 KSU: V. Ulyanov-Lenin Kazan State University.
 LA: Legal Acts or Collection of Ancient Records Management Forms. Saint Petersburg, 1838.
 LAS: Library of Academy of Sciences
 LMAR: Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus'
 MD: Manuscript Department
 MD IRLR: Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of RAS
 MD SPL: Manuscript Department of M. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library.
 MESRO: Mary El Republic State Record Office
 MFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MGAMFA: Moscow General Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MHB: Materials on the History of the Bashkir ASSR
 MIA: Ministry of Internal Affairs
 MR: Mordovia Republic
 MSHAI: Moscow State Historical-Archival Institute
 MSHAR: Moscow Society of History and Antiquities of Russia
 MSU: M. Lomonosov Moscow State University.
 NART: National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan
 NBS: Nogay Books and Scrolls
 NM RT: National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan
 NP: 'Northern Post', newspaper
 OMSA: Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly
 OSAC: Orenburg Scientific Archive Commission
 PAC: Proceedings of the Archaeological Congress (Roman numeral—the serial number of the Congress)
 PARRL: Proceedings of Ancient Russian Department of Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) AS USSR
 PaS: Proceedings and Sentences, held in the Governing Senate During the Reign of Peter the Great, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences / Under ed. N. Kalachyova Saint Petersburg, 1880–190.
 PEDRAS: Proceedings of the Eastern Department of the Russian Archaeological Society
 PIE: Proceedings of Institute of Ethnography AS USSR
 PK AU: Piscovaja Kniga of Tatar estate in Alatyr uyezd
 PK KU: Piscovaja Kniga of the Kazan uyezd
 POAAC: Proceedings of Orenburg Academic Archival Commission
 Proceedings PMSHAI: Proceedings of Moscow State Historical-Archival Institute
 PSAHE: Proceedings of the Society of Archeology, History, and Ethnography
 PTAAC: Proceedings of Tambov Academic Archival Commission
 QH—'Questions of History', journal
 RAS: Russian Academy of Sciences

- RAS IOS: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 RHL: Russian Historical Library, Published by Archaeographical Commission.
 RILLAE: Research Institute of Linguistics, Literature, Art and Ethnography
 RISHAR: Readings at the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia at Moscow University.
 RIU: Russian Islamic University
 RK: Razrjadnaja kniga (Razrjadnaja kniga)
 RSAA (CSAA): Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow)
 RSHA: Russian State Historical Archive
 RSL MD: Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library
 RSMHA: Russian State Military Historical Archive
 RT: Republic of Tatarstan
 SA: Senate Archive Saint Petersburg, 1888–1913. Vol. 1–15.
 SAAO: State Archive of Astrakhan Oblast
 Saint Petersburg BIRH: Saint Petersburg Branch of Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 SAOO—State Archive of Orenburg Oblast
 SCD: Synopsis of a thesis... for the Scientific Degree of the Candidate... of Sciences
 SE: 'Soviet Ethnography', journal
 SHAR: Society of History and Antiquities of Russia at Moscow University
 SHE: Soviet Historical Encyclopedia Vol. 1–16. Moscow, 1961–1976.
 SHM: State Historical Museum
 SMF MarRI: Scientific Manuscript Fund of the Mari Research Institute
 SRI: Scientific and Research Institute
 STD: Synopsis of a thesis... for the Scientific Degree of Doctor
 SU: Sobornoye Ulozheniye
 TBP: Tatar Book Publishing
 TE: Tatar encyclopaedia: In 6 Volumes / Editor-In-Chief M. Khasanov, Executive Editor G. Sabirzyanov. Kazan, 2002–2014.
 TGI SRO: Tyumen Government Institution 'State Record Office in Tobolsk'
 USA RC RAS: Ufa Scientific Archive of the Research Center of Russian Academy of Science
 USRO: Ulyanovsk State Record Office
 USSR AS: Academy of Sciences of the USSR
- d.h.s. — Doctor of Historical Sciences
 dd. — died
 des. — desyatina
 dip-t — diplomat
 doc. — document
 dyn. — dynasty
 ear. — early
 ed. — edition
 ed. — editor
 emp-r — emperor
 emp-ss— empress
 emp. — empire
 f.s. — female sex
 f. — folio
 fn. — footnote
 for ex. — for example
 Gen. — General
 Gov-r — Governor
 gov. — government
 Gr. Pr. — Grand Prince
 gub. — guberniya (governorate)
 HIIH — His (Her) Imperial Majesty
 Ind. — Indian
 intro. — introduction
 inv. — inventory
 it. — item
 k. — king
 Kaz. — Kazan
 Khiv. — Khiva
 Kurm. — Kurmysh
 l.r.a. — Leading Research Associate
 m.s. — male sex
 Maj. Gen. — Major General
 Metr. — Metropolitan
 mid. — middle
 Mosc. — Moscow
 no. — number
 Nog. — Nogai
 o. — others
 p.r.a. — Principal Research Associate
 p. — part
 Patr. — Patriarch
 pen.— peninsula
 Pers. — Persian
 poc. — pochinok (hamlet)
 Pol. — Polish
 pr. — prince
 publ. — publication
 reg. — region
 res. — reserves
 s. — see
 saz. — sazhen
 settlem. — settlement
 Sib. — Siberian
 sq. — square
 st. — saint
 tr. — translation
 trav-er — traveller
 ts-na — tsarina
 Tur. — Turkish
 u. — uyezd
 univ. — university
 Uzb. — Uzbek
 v-de — voivode
 v., vil. — village
 vol. — volost
 vol. — volume
 ts-ch — tsarevich

Other Abbreviations

- alt. — altyn
 Antioch. — Antioch
 Arch. — Archbishop
 Archim. — Archimandrite
 Archp. — Archpriest
 arsh. — arshine
 art. — article
 Astrakh. — Astrakhan
 Austr. — Austrian
 Bish. — Bishop
 bk. — book
 Bulgar. — Bulgarian
 c. — case
 c. — city
 c. — collection of works
 col. — column
 contemp. — contemporary
 cr. — compiler
 Crim. — Crimean

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THE HISTORY OF THE TATARS SINCE ANCIENT TIMES
In Seven Volumes

Volume 5
Tatars in Russia
(Second Half of the 16–18th Century)



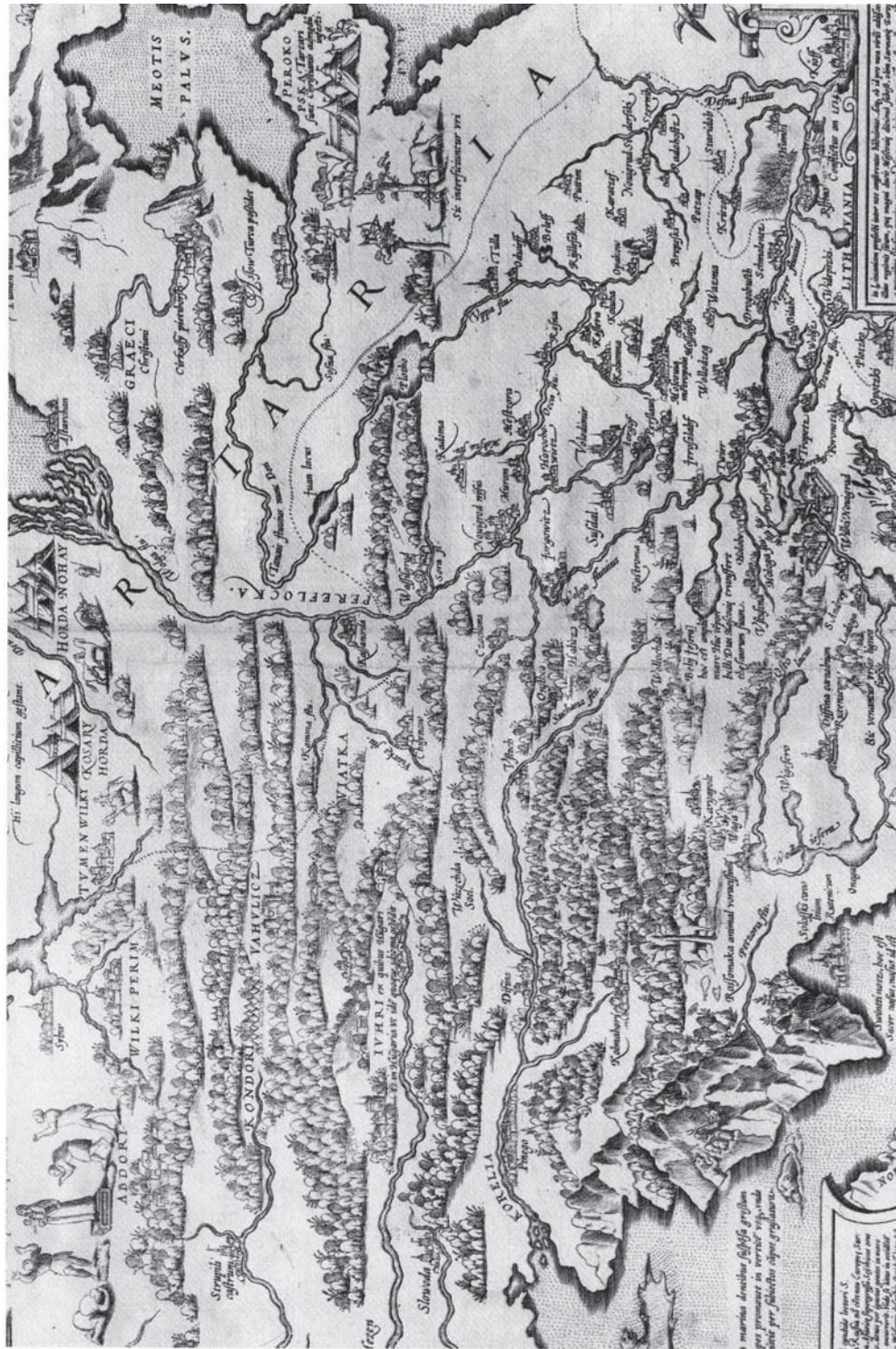
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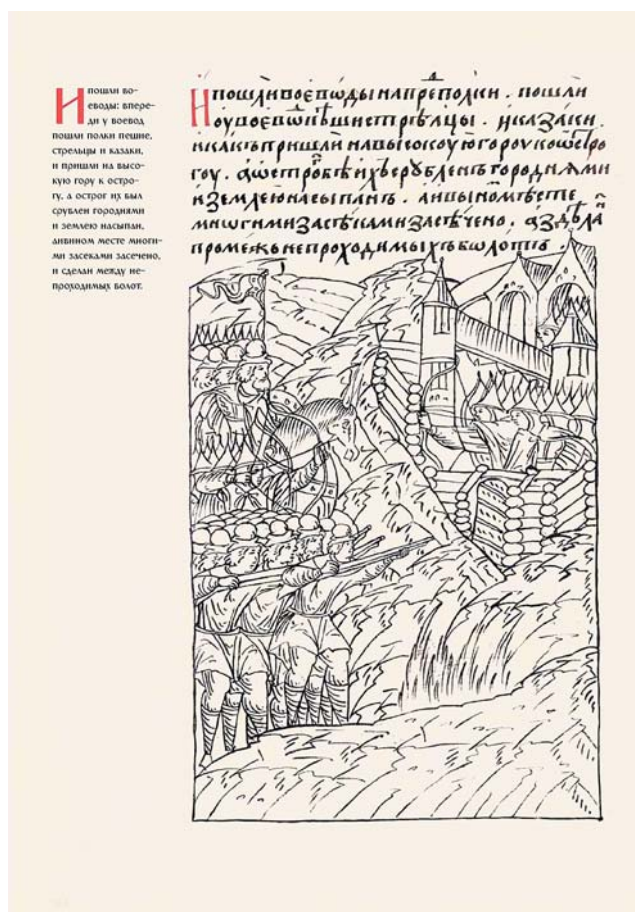
Fragment of a map of Muscovy by Antonius Wied. 1537.



The siege of Kazan. Miniatures.
Illuminated Chronicle. End of the 16th century.



The siege of Kazan. Miniatures.
Illuminated Chronicle. End of the 16th century.



Siege of a Tatar ostrog in the Arsk land.

Illuminated Chronicle.
End of the 16th century.

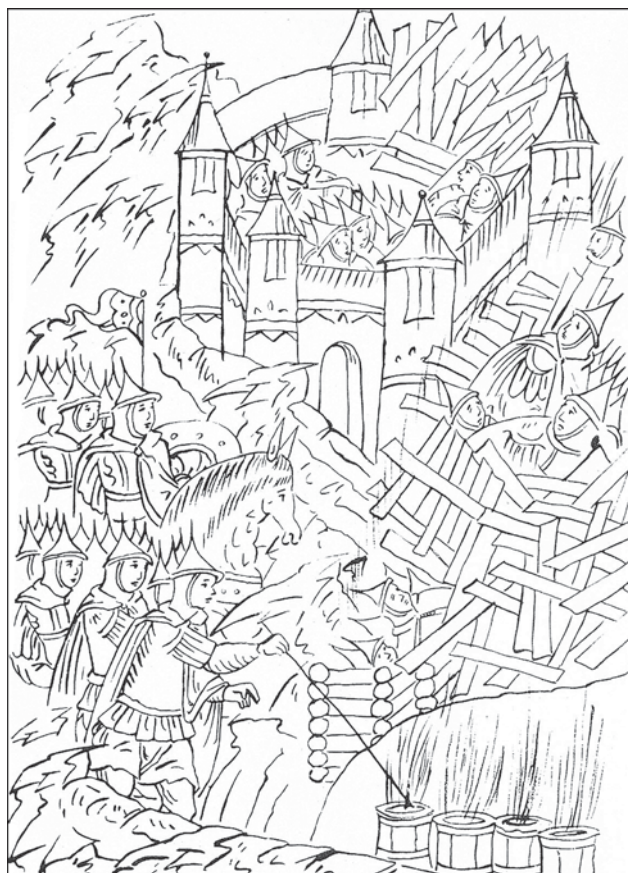
Cannon ball found in the territory of the Kazan Kremlin.

Limestone. 16th century
Photo by B. Izmaylov.





**Installation of a powder
blast under Kazan's walls.**
Illuminated Chronicle.
End of the 16th century.



Detonation of a wall.
Illuminated Chronicle.
End of the 16th century.



Conquest of Kazan.
Illuminated Chronicle.
End of the 16th century.



**Capture of Kazan Khan
Yädegär Möxämmäd.**
Miniature. Copy of the 'History
of Kazan'. Early 17th century.



Hammered hand cannon. Steel, forging. Latter half of the 17th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Ornated battle axe. Steel, forging. 15–16th centuries.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Bear spear.
 Steel, forging,
 gold cladding.
 16–17th century.
*National Museum
 of the Republic
 of Tatarstan.*



Sabre.
Steel, forging.
15–16th centuries.
*National Museum of the
Republic of Tatarstan.*



Chain armour. Steel, forging. 16–17th centuries.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Walls of the Kazan Kremlin. End of the 16th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Annunciation Cathedral in the Kazan Kremlin.
Latter half of the 16th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*

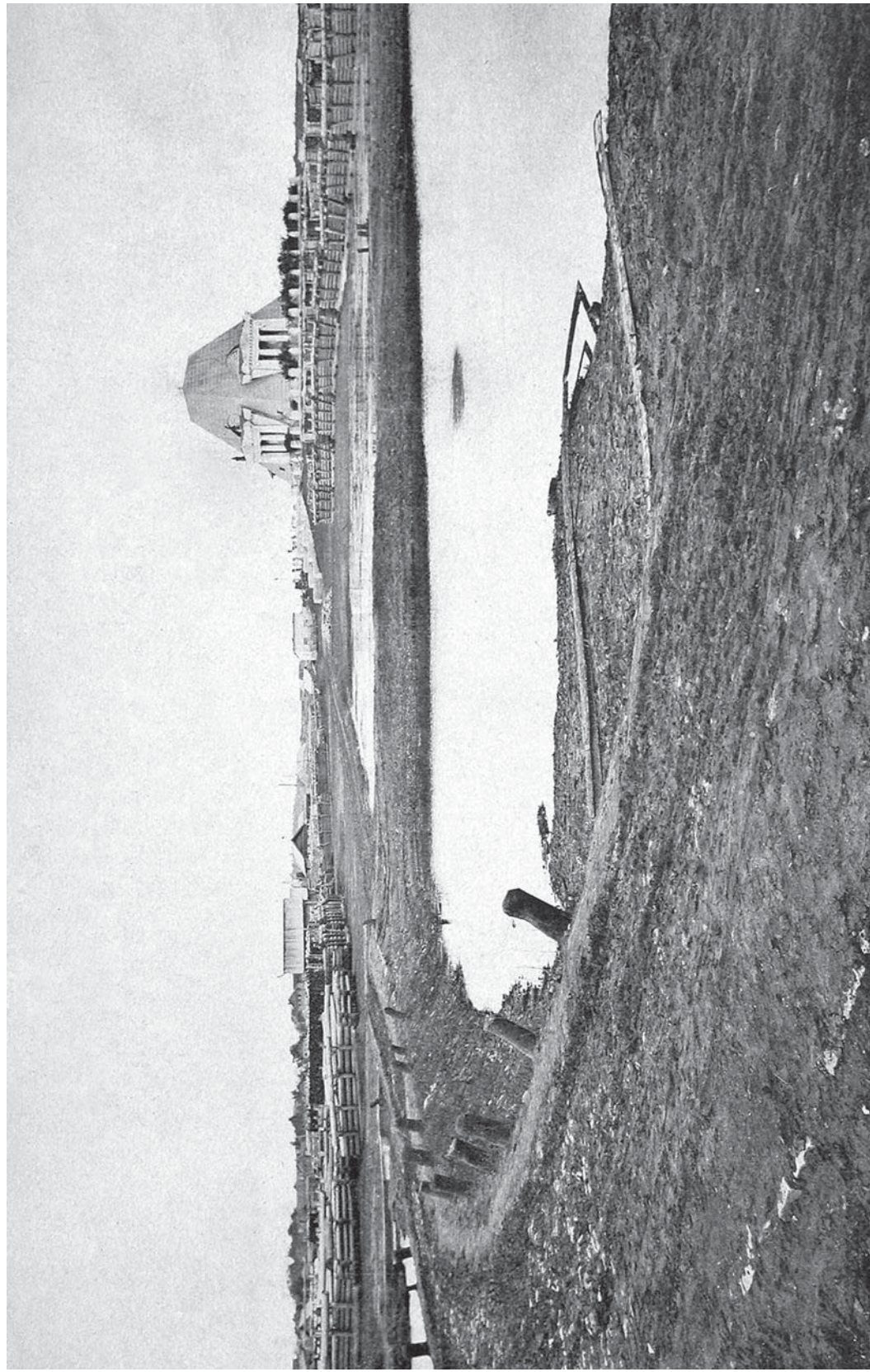


Podea for the icon of Our Lady of Kazan.

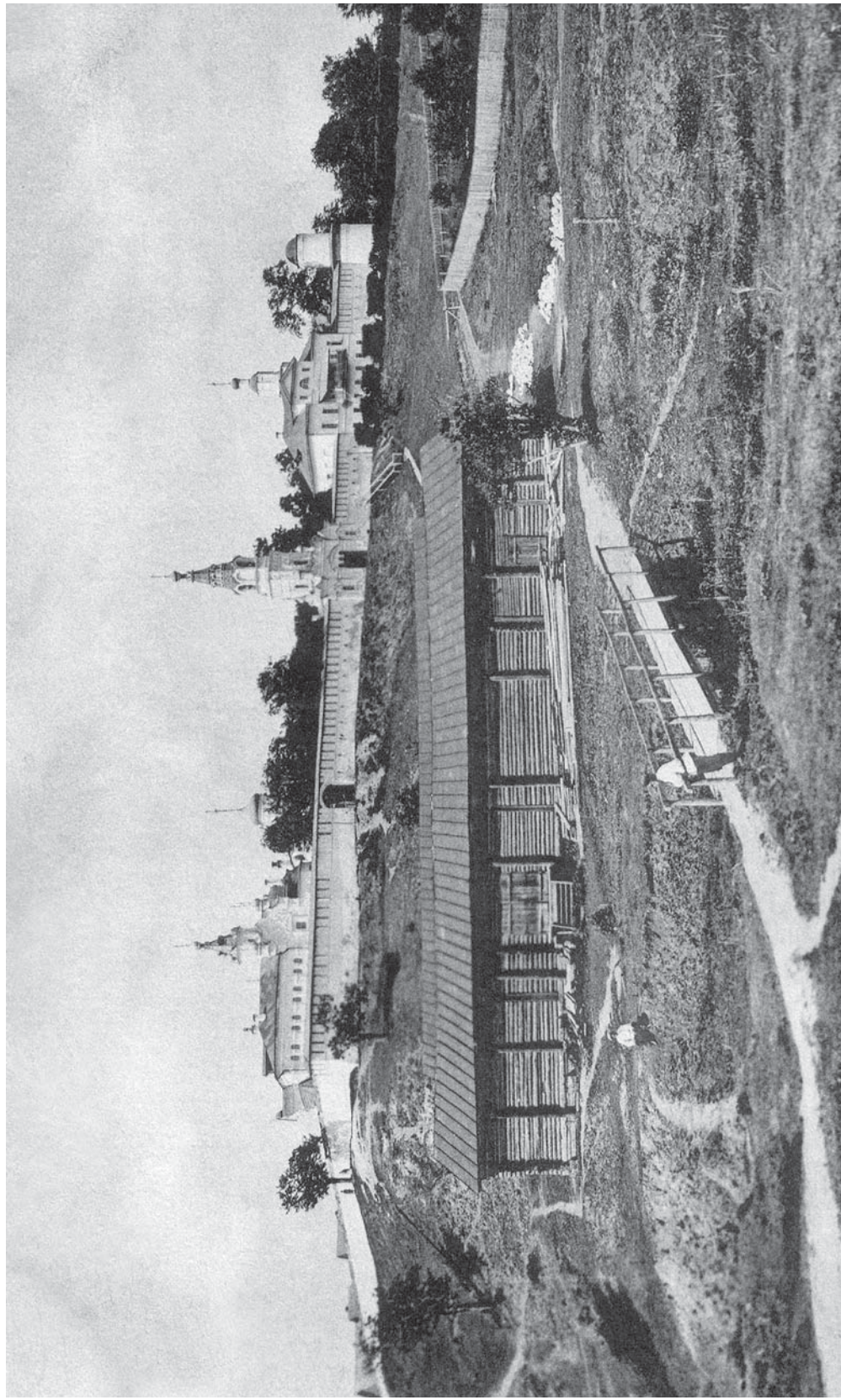
Damask, silk, taffety, gold-, silver-embroidered and silk threads.

Last third of the 16th century.

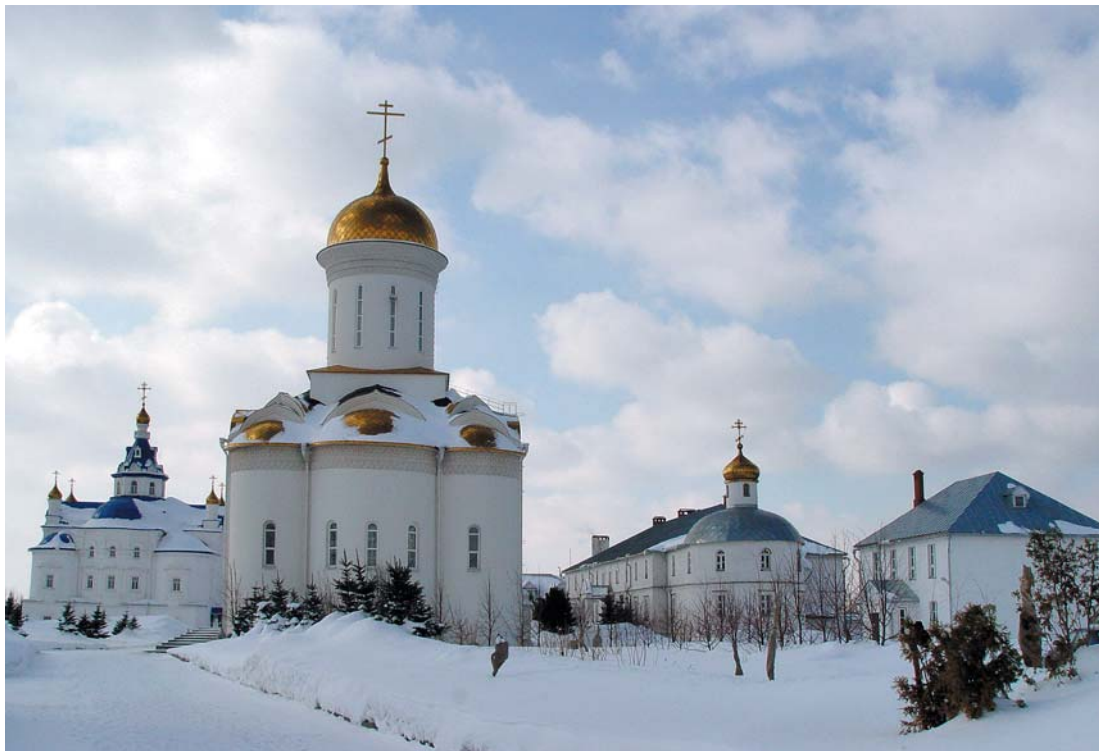
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Monument to warriors who died during the capture of Kazan. Kazan. Photo of the beginning of the 20th century.



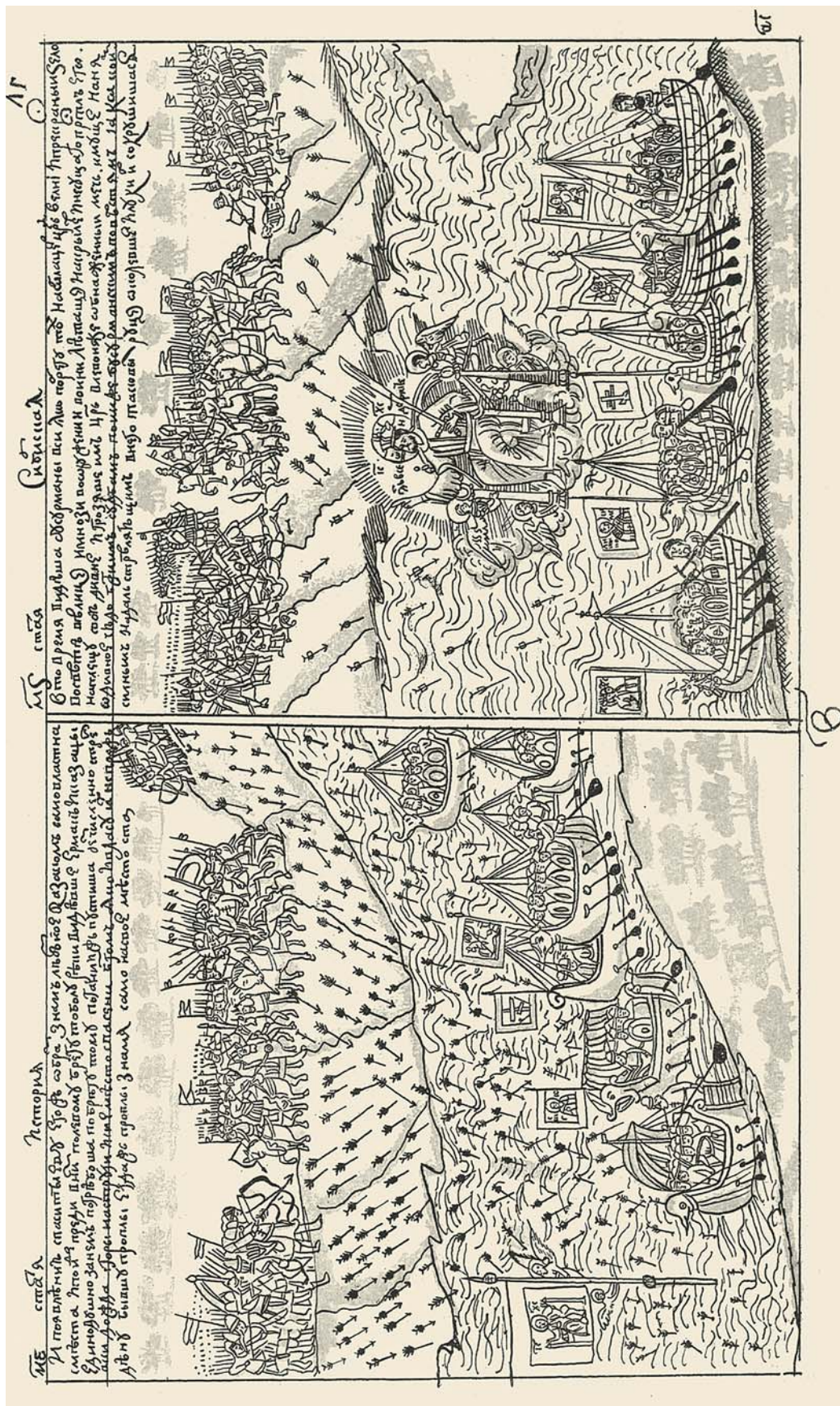
Sacred and Uspensky Zilantov Female Orthodox Monastery. Photo of the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Sacred and Uspensky Zilantov Female Orthodox Monastery. Present-day view. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



**Gate bell tower
and the Church of Vladimir,
Equal to the Apostles.
Zilantov Uspensky Monastery.**
Present-day view.
Photo by B. Izmaylov.



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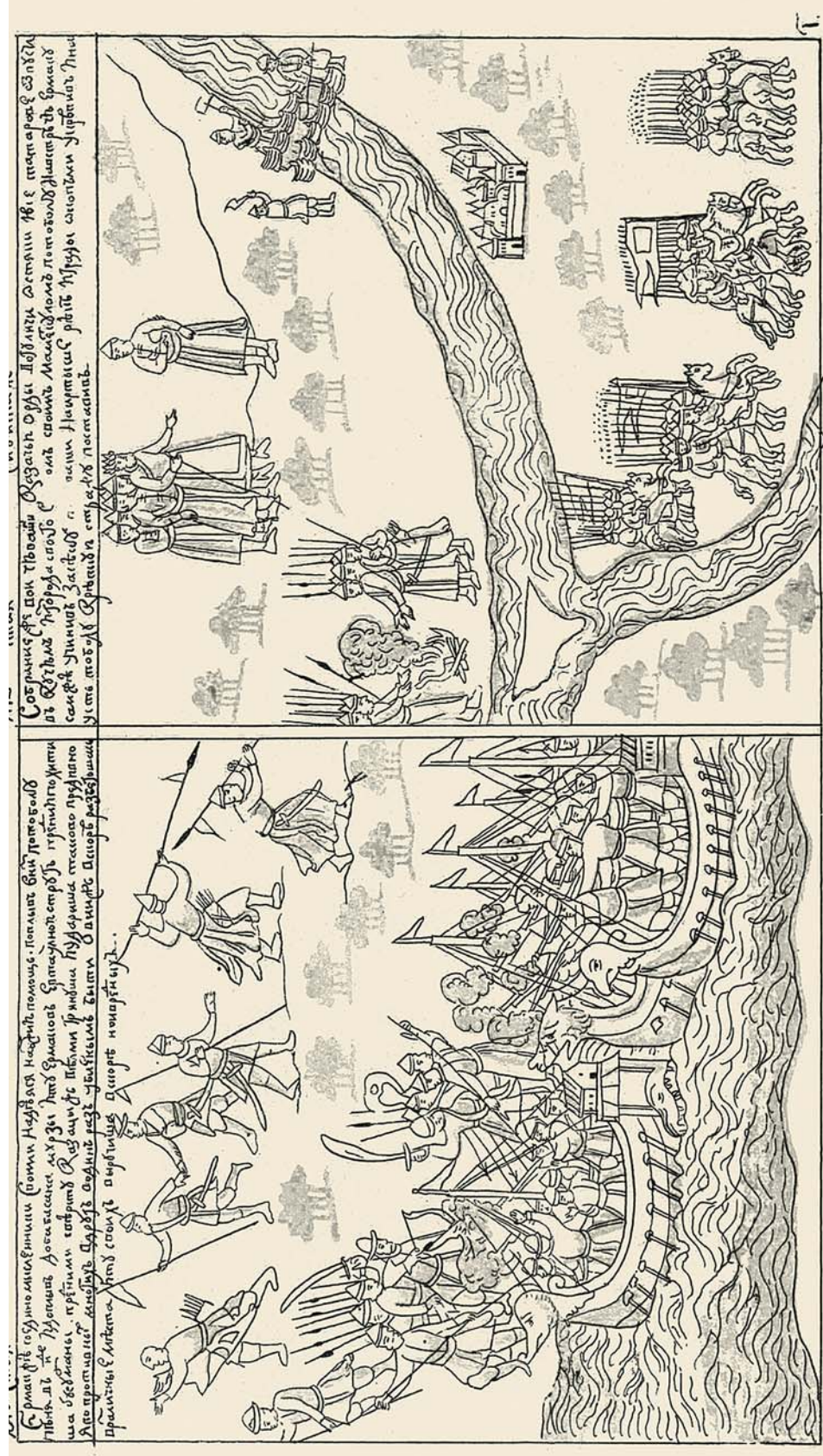
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Yermak's campaign. Miniatures. Remezov Chronicle. 17th century.



Isker ancient town near Tobolsk. Present-day view. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



View of the Irtys River from the side of Isker. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Monument to Yermak. Modern view. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Tobolsk Kremlin. Tobolsk. 16–17th centuries. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Tobolsk Kremlin.
Tobolsk. 16–17th centuries.
Photo by B. Izmaylov.



**Cathedral of St. Sophia
and Dormition and a bell tower
in the Tobolsk Kremlin.**
17th century.
Photo by B. Izmaylov.



‘Description of Russia, Muscovy and Tartaria’, map in A. Jenkinson’s edition. London. 1562. (Atlas Tartarica. The History of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples. The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia. Moscow, 2006. Pp. 378–379).



Герб Царства Казанского



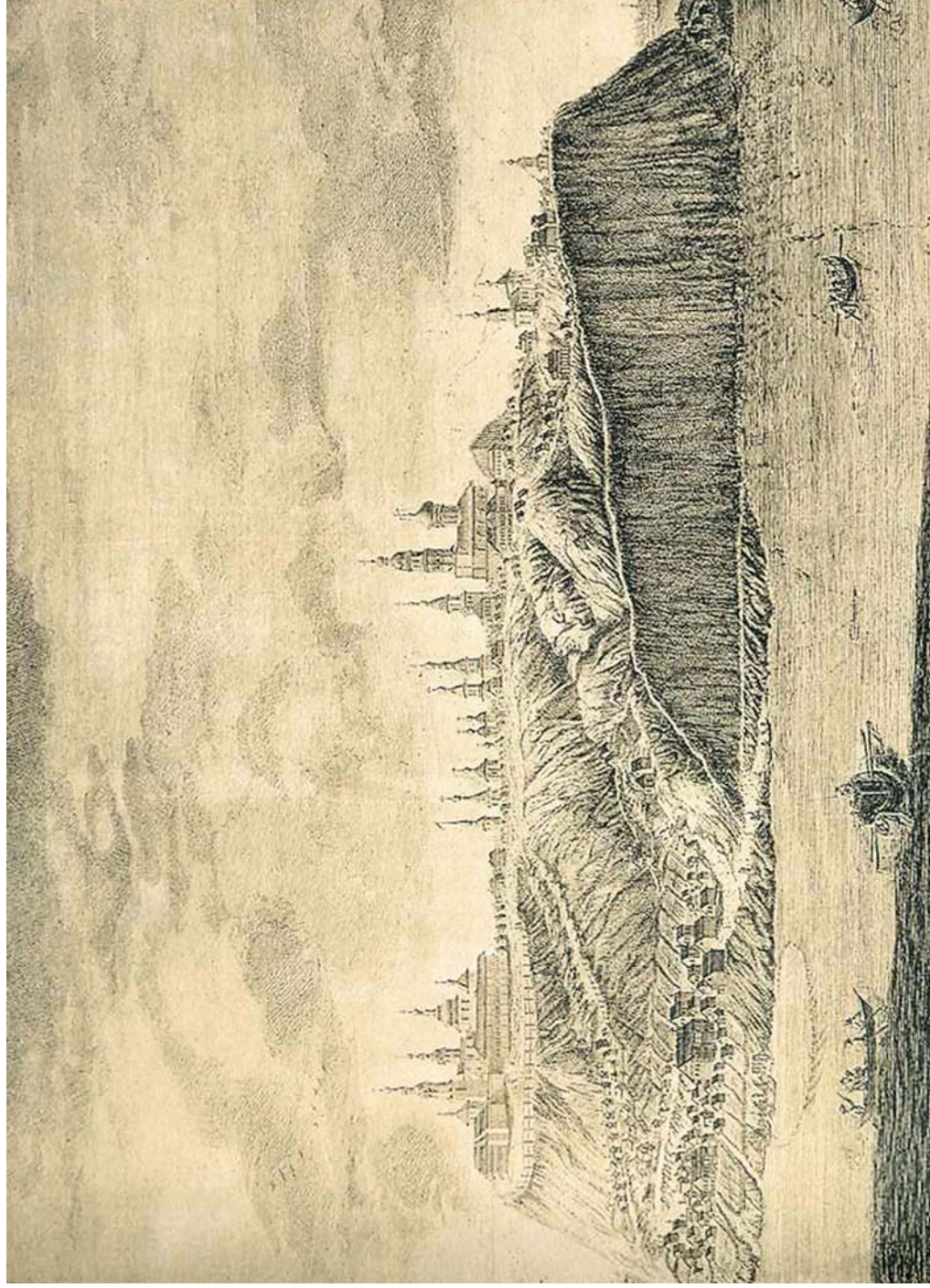
Russian horseman. Engraving. 16th century
(Sigmund Herberstein. Notes on Muscovite affairs. Saint Petersburg, 1908).



Russian horsemen. Engraving. 16th century
(Sigmund Herberstein. Notes on Muscovite affairs. Saint Petersburg, 1908).



View of Kazan in the mid-17th century. Engraving of O. Kokh. End of the 17th century.



Sviyazhsk, the second most important city of the Kazan Krai in the latter half of the 16–17th century.
Engraving by A. Rudakov, with pictures by M. Makhaev. Petersburg. 1769.



Moscouita habitu militari. Tartarus gentili more armatus

A Russian and Tatar men in the 17th century.
(Sigmund Herberstein. Notes on Muscovite affairs.
Saint Petersburg, 1908).



'Shamshir' sabre.
Iran, 1573. National Museum
of the Republic of Tatarstan



Prince Peter Urusov kills Second False Dmitry . Reconstruction by M. Gorelik
(K. Ablyazov. Historical destiny of the Tatars. In two volumes.
Vol.1: From tribe to nation. Saratov, 2012).



Vasily Shuysky.
Tsarsky titulyarnik. 17th century.



ЦАРЬ МИХАИЛЬ ФЕОДОРОВИЧЪ РОМАНОВЪ. (1825)

Le Tsar Michael Fiedorowitch Romanoff. (1825)

Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



**Portrait of the Patriarch of Moscow
and All-Rus' Germogen.**

Unknown painter.

Latter half of the 19th century.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



**Elect saints Gury and
Barsanuphius of Kazan,
German of Sviyazhsk.**

Icon, 19th century.

*National Museum of the
Republic of Tatarstan.*



Yefrem's New Testament. Moscow. 1606.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.





Two-page spread of Yefrem's New Testament.
Print worker O. Radishevsky, painter Parthenius. Moscow. 1606.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Annunciation Cathedral of the Kazan Kremlin.

Lithograph of A. Duran. London. 1840.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



ЦАРЬ АЛЕКСІЙ МИХАЙЛОВИЧЪ.

Ce. Tsar Alexis Michailowitch.

Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich Romanov.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.





Map of N. Sanson 'The State of Tsar and Grand Prince of White Russia and Muscovy'.

Latter half of the 17th century.
 (Atlas Tartarica. The History of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples. The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia. Moscow, 2006. Pp. 380–381).



Russian embassy headed by Z. Sugorsky to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Maximilian II in Regensburg. Engraving. 1576.



Kopeck. Russian state.
 Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich. 1613–1645. Silver.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Button of the 15–16th centuries.
 Silver, gild.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Gostiny dvor. Tobolsk. Early 18th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Gostiny dvor. Tobolsk. Early 18th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*

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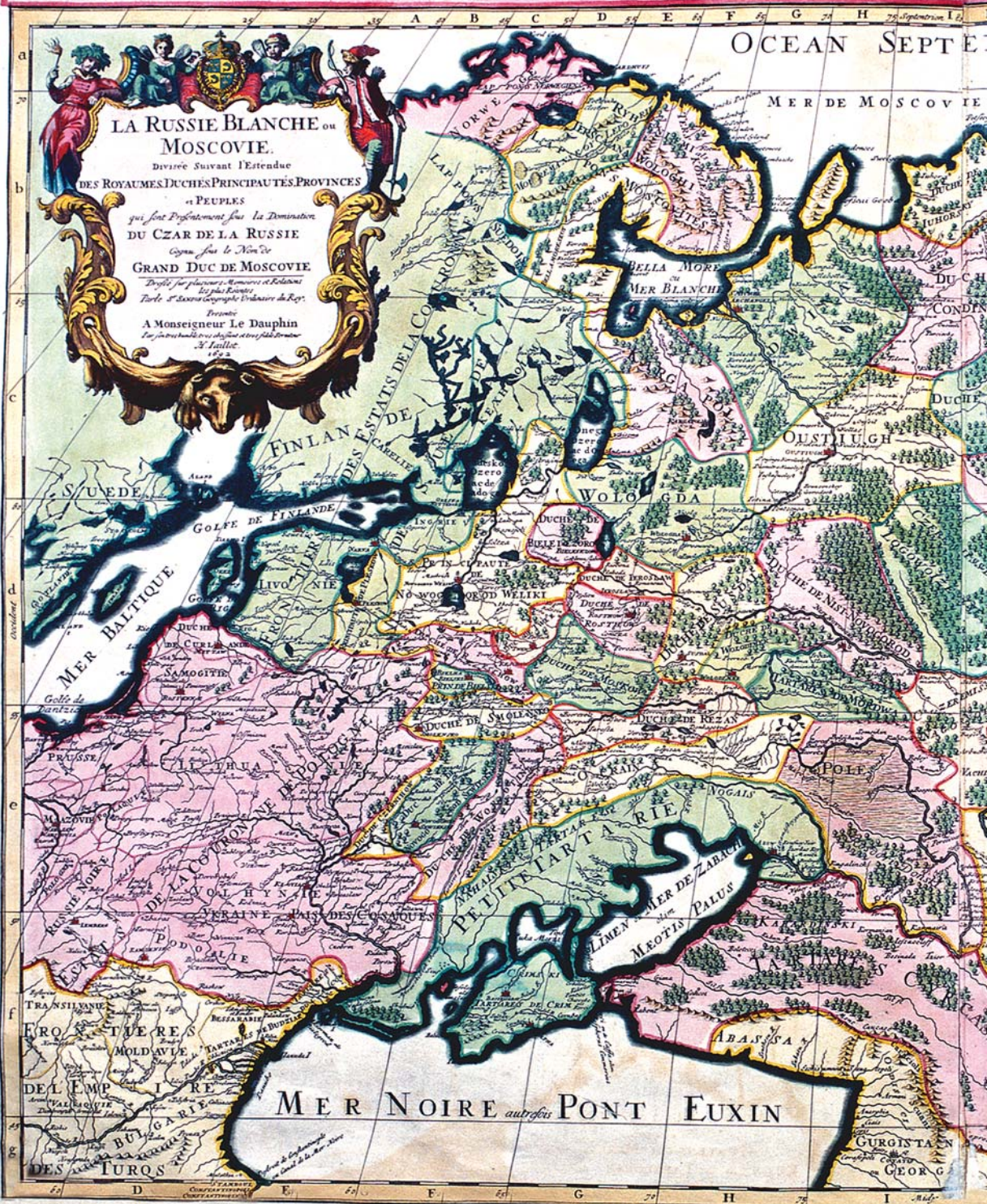
A. Jenkinson, S. Herberstein. Netherlands. 1562–1572. (Atlas Tartarica. The History of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples. The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia. Moscow, 2006. Pp. 384–385).





The Map of Tartaria. J. Hondius. Amsterdam. 1606
 (Atlas Tartarica. The History of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples.
 The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia.
 Moscow, 2006. Pp. 412–413).

LES ESTATS DU CZAAR DE LA RUSSIE
 LES DUCHÉS DE MOSKOW. WOLODIMER REZANSKY. WOROTIN. NOVOGOROD. SEWIERSKY. CZERNIHOW. SMOLENSKO. RESCHOW. TWERSKY. NOVOGOROD.
 LES PRINCIPAUTES DE PLESKOW. BIELSKY. KABARDINSKY. CYRCASKY. LES PROVINCES DE DWINA. GARGAPOL. OUTIUGH. PETZORA. LUOMORIA. OCAINA.





Turkish sabre 'kilij'.
Turkey. 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Char-aina. 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



P. Borel. Peter I's portrait.
Moscow. Latter half
of the 19th century. Lithograph.
*National Museum of the Republic
of Tatarstan.*



Saints Peter and Paul Cathedral.
Kazan. 1723–1726. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Saints Peter and Paul Cathedral. Kazan. 1723–1726. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Saints Peter and Paul Cathedral. Lithograph by E. Turnerelli. Kazan. 1839.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



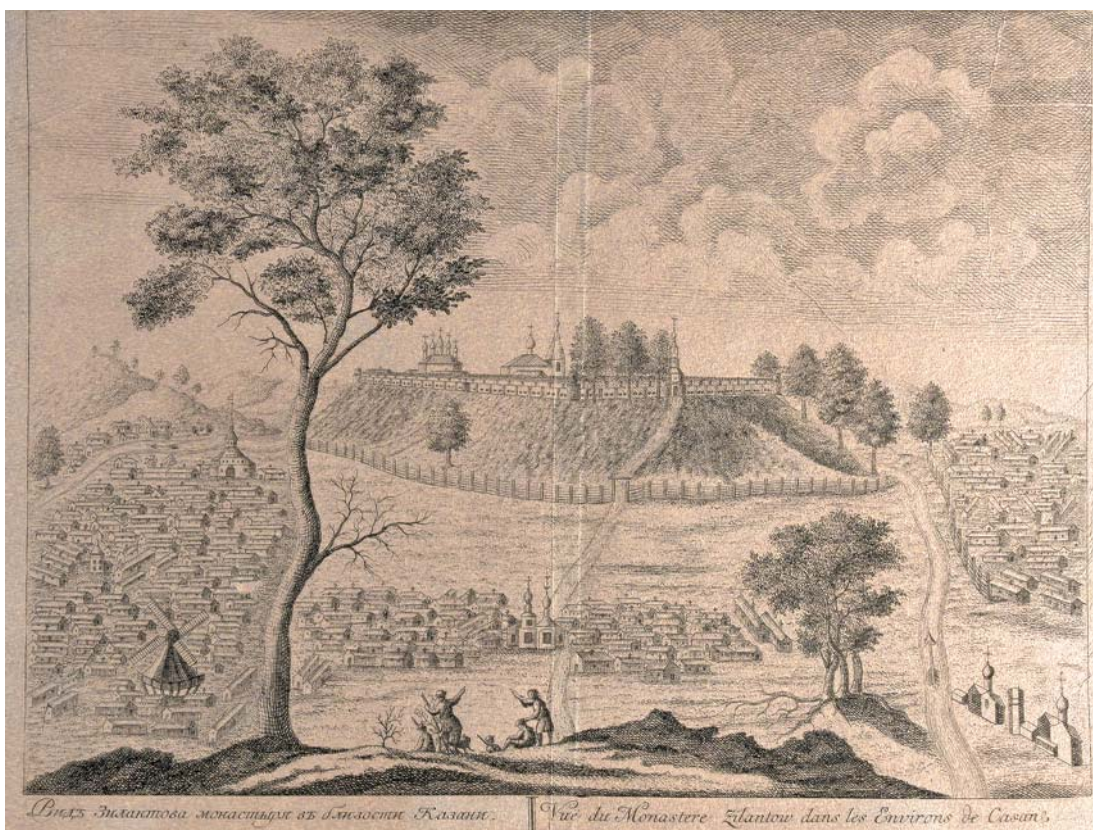
N. Kudryavtsev the chief commissioner of the Kazan Admiralty in the 1730s.

G. Galumov's copy of an unknown artist's portrait of the latter half of the 18th century.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Minor building of the Admiralty office.
Kazan. 18th century. Photo by B. Izmaylov.



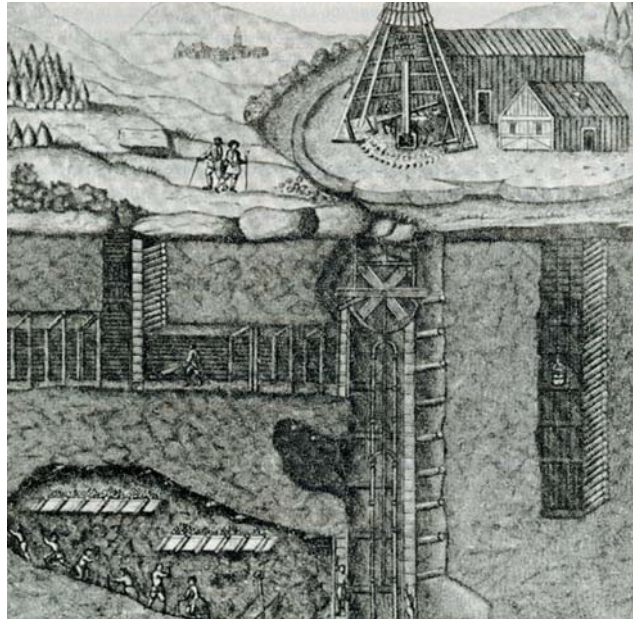
View of the Zilantov Monastery and surrounding area.

Engraving by P. Balabin from the picture by I. Lursenius, 1733. Peterburg. 1770.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



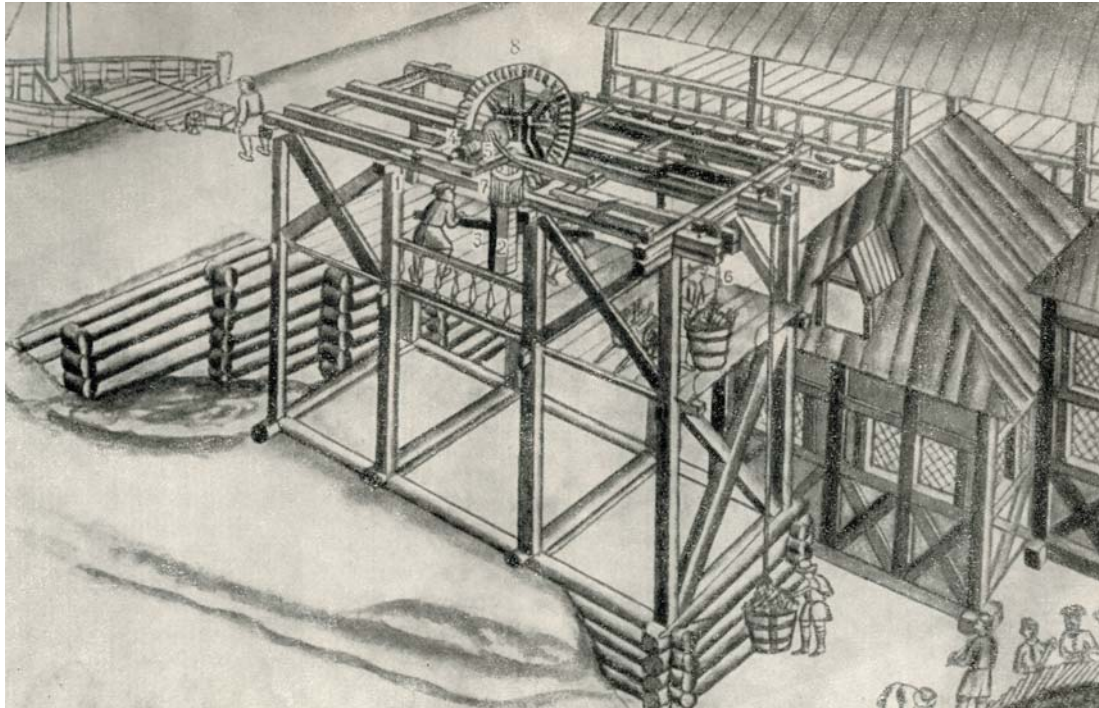
V. Tatishchev,
head of the Mining Chancellery.
From an engraving of the 18th century.
*National Museum of the Republic
of Tatarstan.*



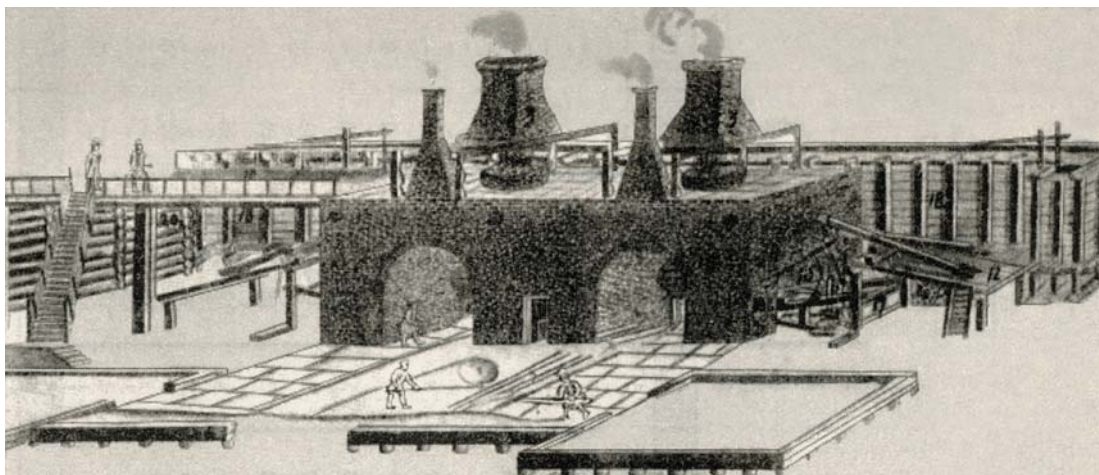
Mine for ore extraction.
From a picture of the 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Mining. From a picture of the 18th century. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Mine. From a picture of the 18th century. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



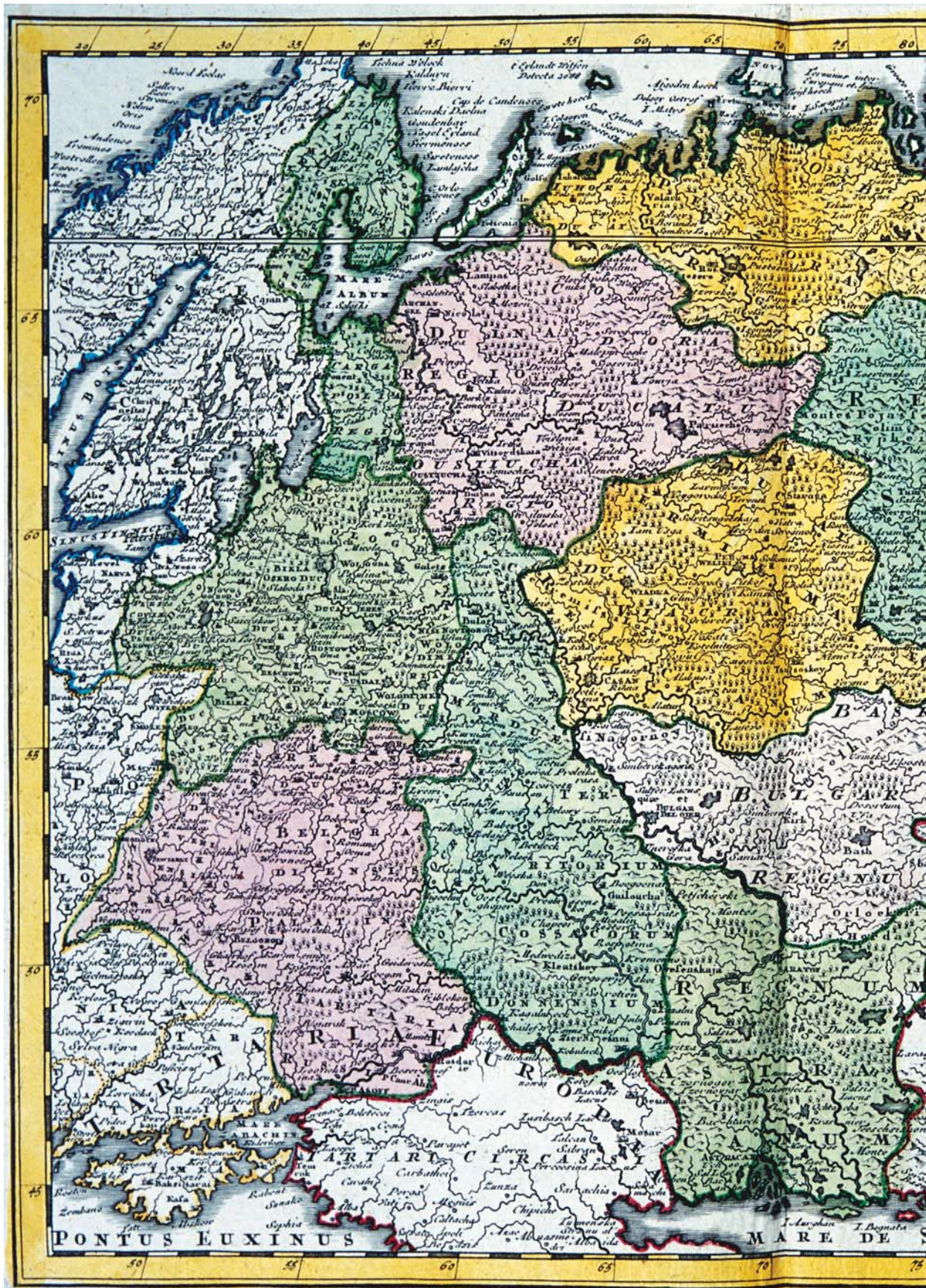
Blast furnaces. From a picture of the 18th century. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Kettle produced at the Irginsk plant of Ivan Osokin.

Ural. Mid-18th century. Latten alloy.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.





'The Moscow Empire
with vast stretching territories' map.
C. Weigel. Nuremberg. 1720.
(Atlas Tartarica. The History
of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples.
The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday
and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia.
Moscow, 2006. Pp. 440-441).



Turkish sabres 'kilij'.
 Turkey. 18th century.
*National Museum
 of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Double-barreled gun with flint locks.
 Craftsman Johann Hoffer. Carlsbad. First half of the 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



**N. Utkin. Portrait
of Empress Catherine II.**
From the pictorial original
of D. Levitsky. Russia. 1832.



Catherine II's coach.
Latter half of the 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Galley 'Tver'. Kazan. Photo by G. Lokke. 1890s. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



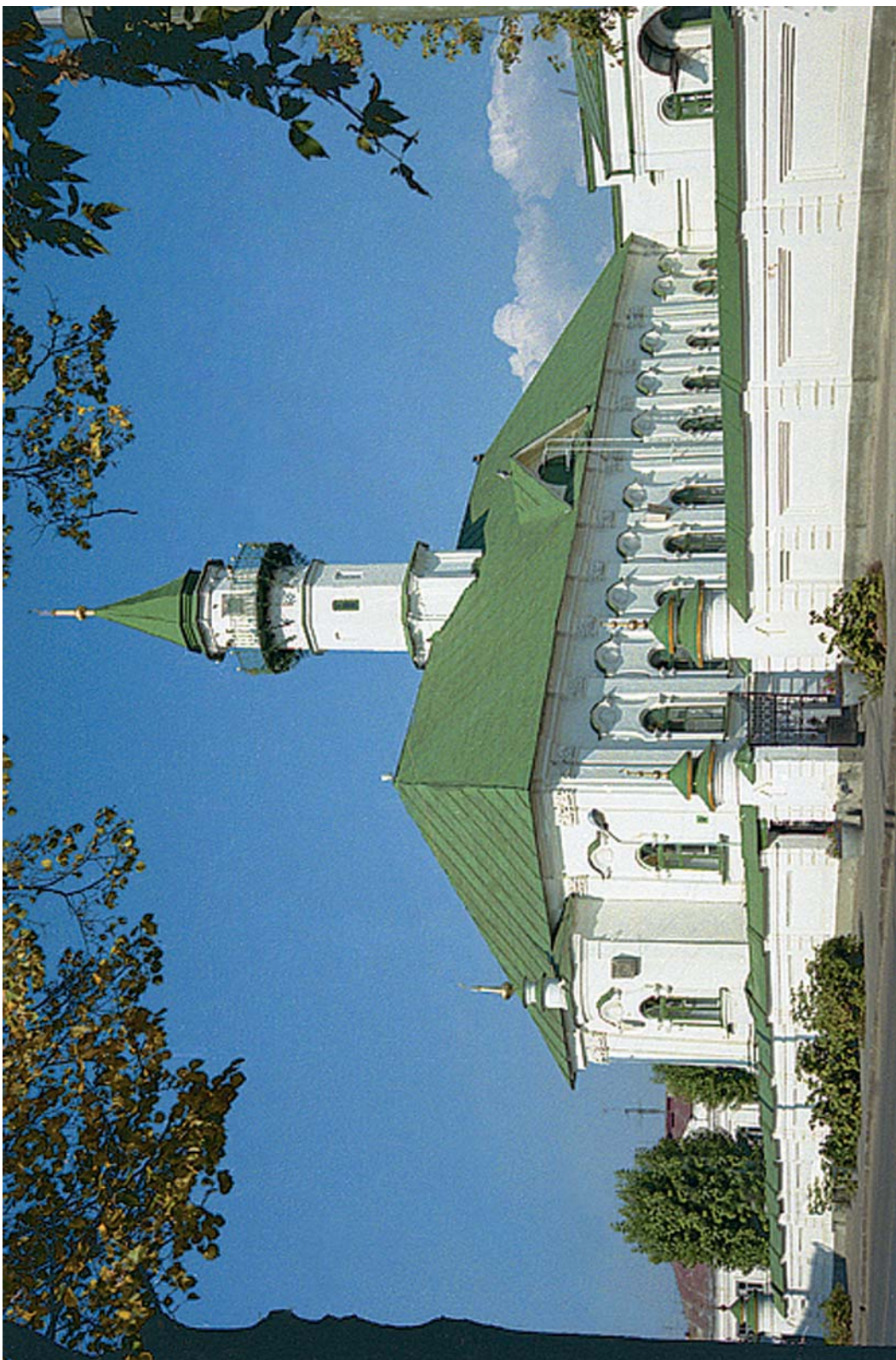
Tatars. Engraving by J. Le Prince. 1768.



Young Tatar girl.
Engraving by J. Le Prince. 1768.



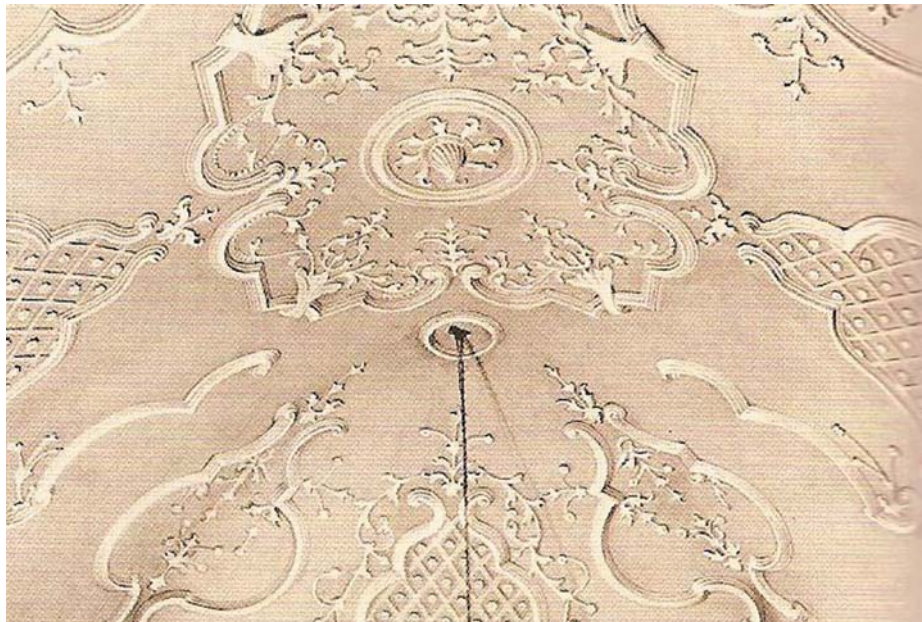
Kazan Tatars. Engraving by G. Geisler.
(P. Pallas. Journey through various provinces
of the Russian Empire).
Parts 1–3. Saint Petersburg, 1773–1778).



Marjani Mosque, Kazan.



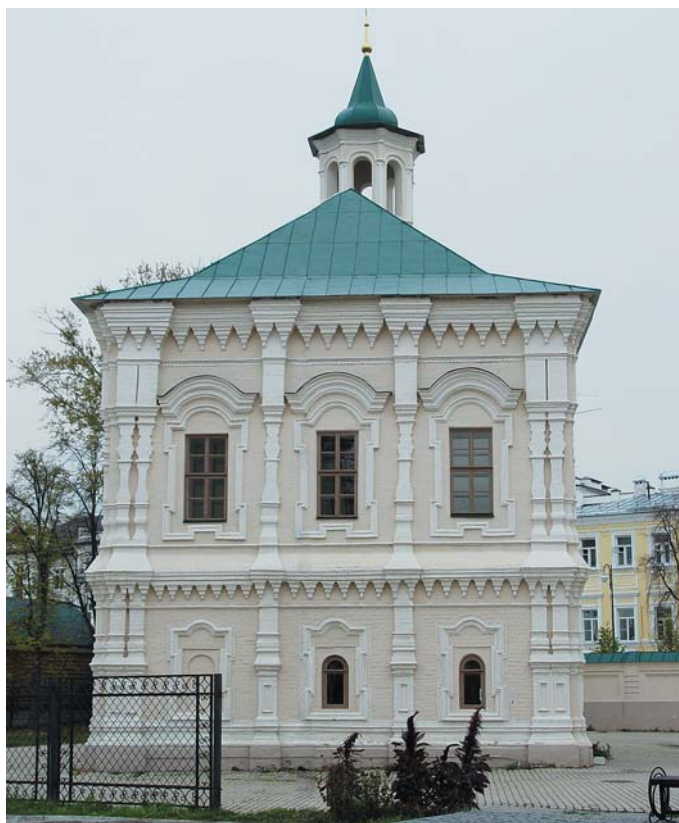
Marjani Mosque. Kazan. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Plaster stucco decoration of the ceiling of Marjani Mosque's prayer hall. Kazan. 18th century (F. Valeev. Ornament of the Kazan Tatars. Kazan, 1969).



Apanayev Mosque. Kazan.
End of the 19th–beginning
of the 20th century.



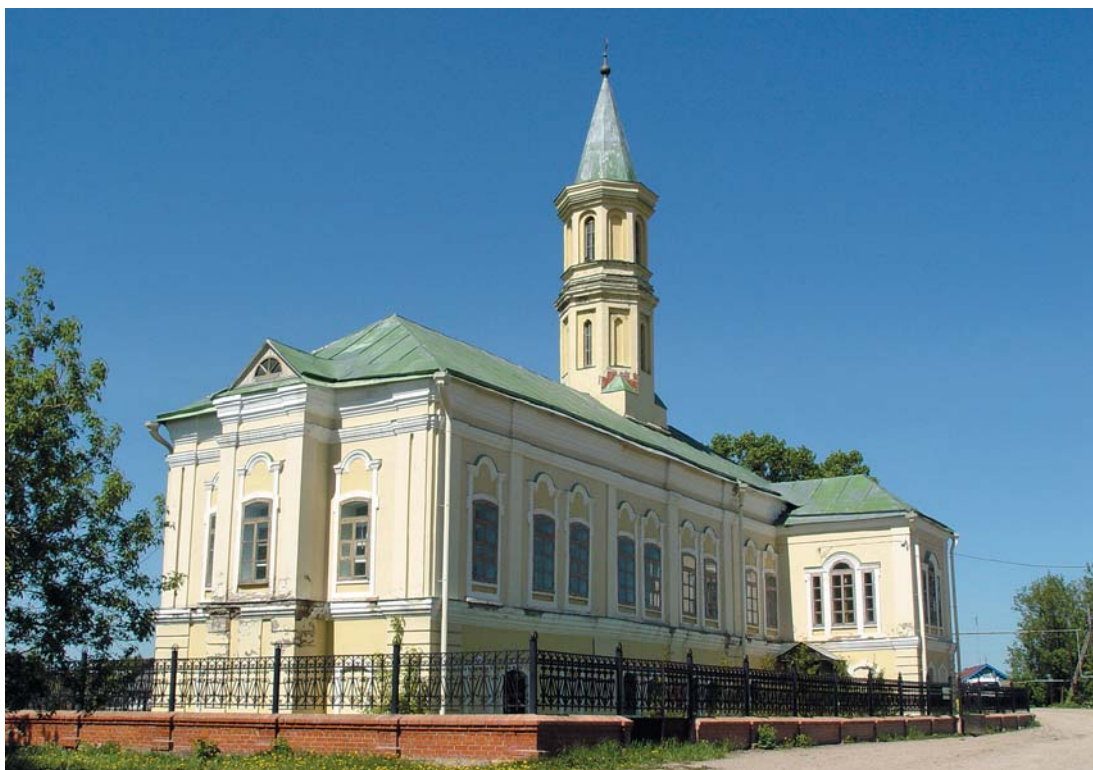
Apanayev Mosque.
Kazan. Modern view.
Photo by B. Izmaylov.



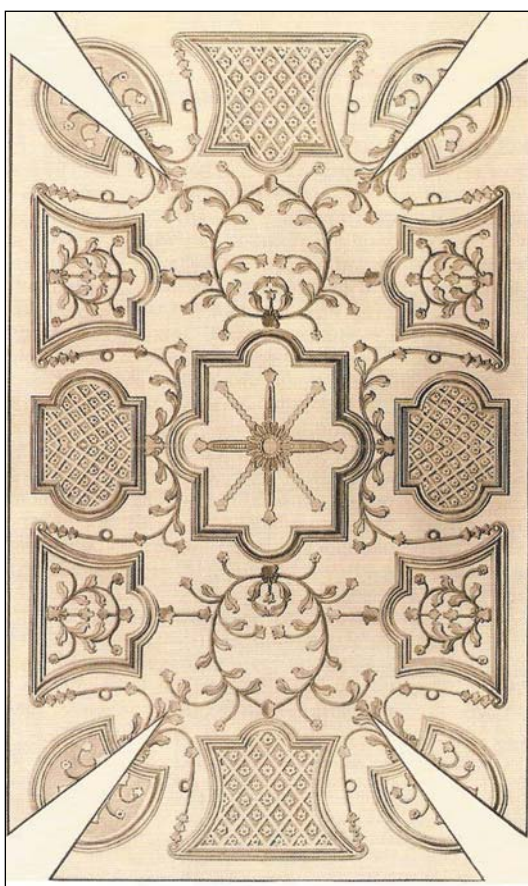
Tatar sloboda. Kazan. Modern view. Photo by B. Izmaylov.



Mosque in Kshkar village. Arsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.
Latter half of the 18th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



Mosque in Kshkar village. Arsk District of the Republic of Tatarstan.
Latter half of the 18th century. *Photo by B. Izmaylov.*



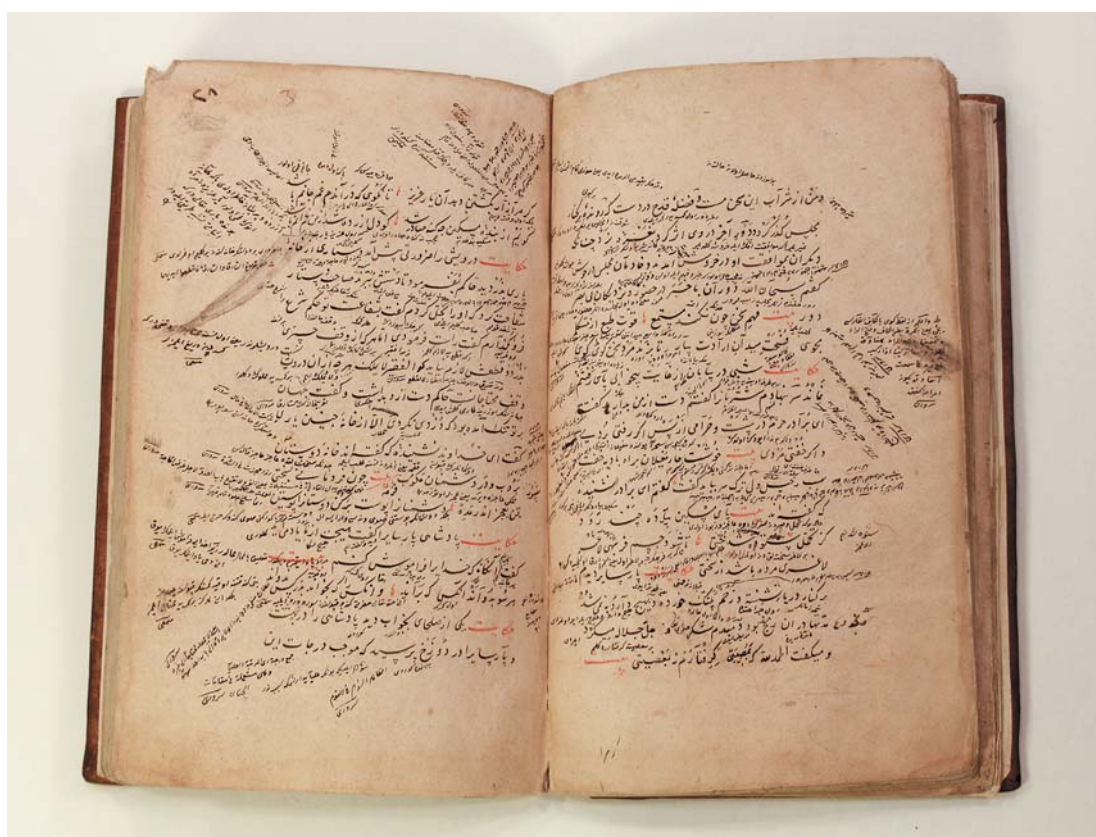
**Graphic reconstruction of the decorative
plaster stucco on the ceiling in the minor
minaret of the Kshkar village mosque**
by F. Valeev.



Akhmadi. Poem about Iskandar. Middle Volga Region. 18th century. Paper, ink; manuscript.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Murradim bin Ibrahim. Broadside of a hand-written book on Islamic law —
 'Fiqh'. Paper, ink. 18th century. *Archive of the Institute of Languages, Literature and Arts,*
Academy of Science of the Republic of Tatarstan.



M. Saadi Shirazi. Gulistan. 1554. 18th century interlinear translation into Turkish.
Paper, multi-coloured ink; manuscript, Persian.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Collection of manuscripts. Middle Volga Region.
End of the 18th–beginning of the 20th century. Paper, ink; manuscript.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.

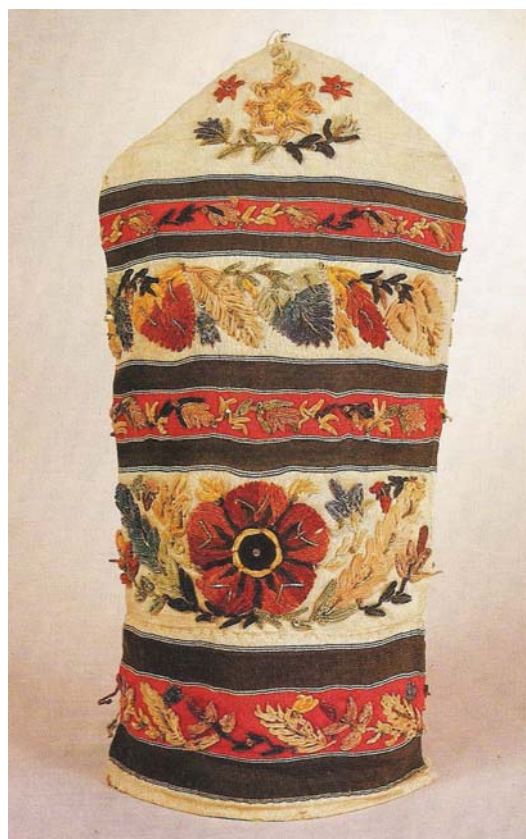


Quran. Middle Volga Region. End of the 18th century.
Paper, multi-coloured ink; manuscript. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Chest band 'khasite'. Filigree, glyptics, inlaid gems. End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Kalfak. Application with chenille.
End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Kalfak. Application with chenille.
End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Temporal/pectoral decoration.

Kazan guberniya. End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century.
Silver, gold-plating, bronze, rubies. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Miniature Quran case.
Filigree, incrustation. 15–16th centuries.
State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Gold-embroidered wedding towel 'Kazan selgese'.
End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century. *National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.*



Splint 'chulpa'. Filigree, granulation. End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century.
Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan.

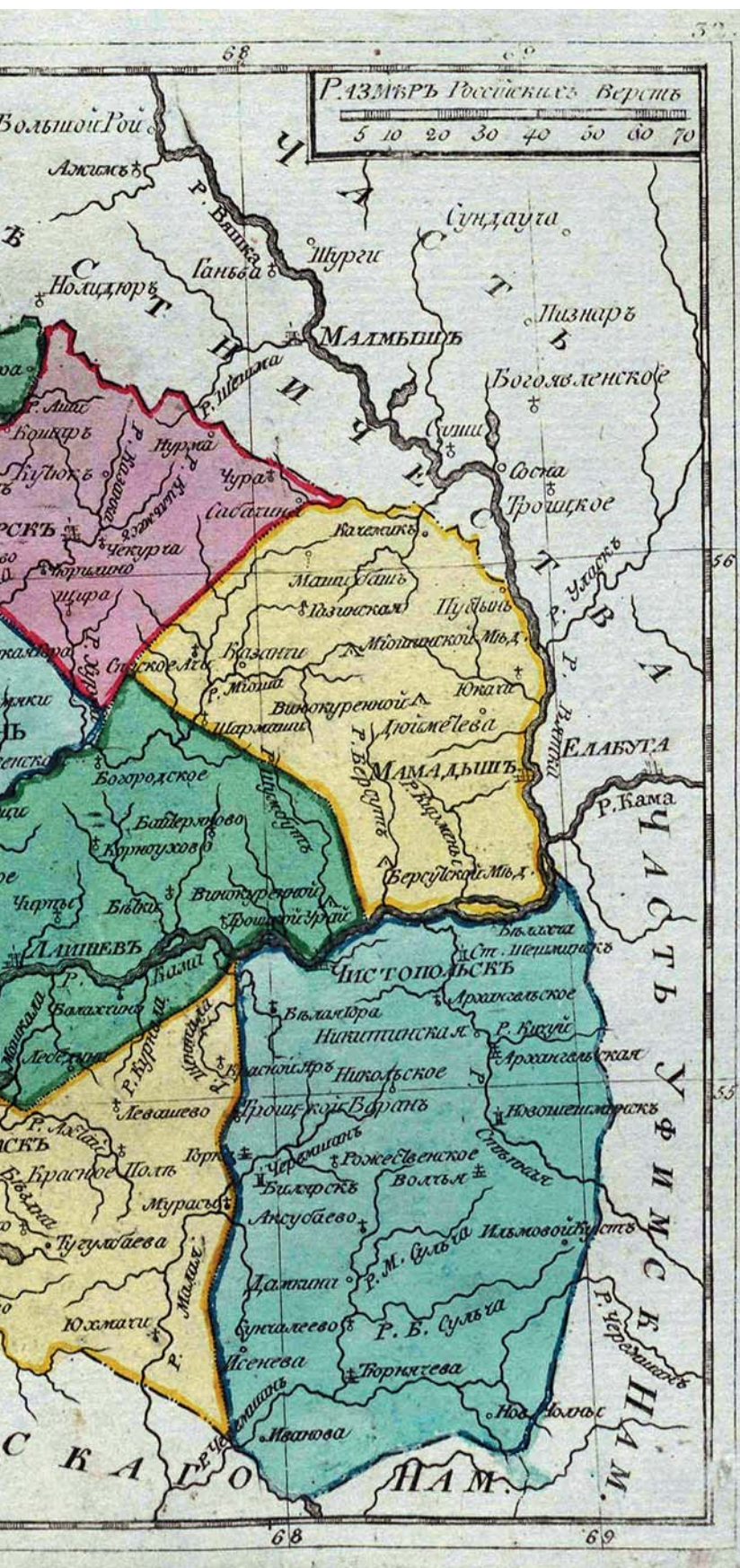


Badge. Lumpy filigree, inlaid gems.
End of the 18th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.



Earrings, alka. Filigree.
End of the 18th–beginning of the 19th century. *State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan.*





Map of the Kazan namestnichestvo in 13 uyezds.
 Atlas of the Russian Empire. 1796.
 (Atlas Tartarica. The History of the Tatars and Eurasian Peoples. The Republic of Tatarstan Yesterday and Today: Reference and encyclopaedia. Moscow, 2006).



Pendent inkpots. 17–18th centuries. Metal, chiselling.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan.