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Modern Approaches to the History of Altai in the 18th – Early 20th Centuries

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Abstract. This article is the result of the historiographical analysis concerning the history of the Altai development, Altai being a significant region of modern Siberia and Russia. The authors present the main directions of studying the Altai history of the 18th – early 20th centuries, as well as scientific and methodological approaches used by historians in the last two decades.

The examination includes such directions of studying Altai history, practiced in the last two decades, as frontier development, history of management, socio-economic development, agrarian colonization, history of entrepreneurship, social and gender studies, etc.

The general state of historical science associated with the growth of public interest in history, review of theoretical and methodological foundations of historical research determined the development of historical Siberian studies concerning Altai in this period. Consequently, the historical study of Altai in the modern (post-Soviet) research shows the importance of modern history-oriented regional studies.

Moreover, the development of the historical studies regarding such a large and major region as Altai in the last 20 years evinces the existence of a multidimensional regional-oriented scientific school in Russian historiography.

Keywords: History; Altai; Siberia; historiography.

Research area: history.

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Introduction

The modern stage of development of the Russian historical science is characterized by aspiration to complex comprehension of history of certain regions, especially eastern ones and their role in the development of the Russian, and then the Soviet state. Hence, ethno-political as well as economic and socio-cultural aspects of development are coming to the fore. On the one hand, this is due to the accumulation of tangible arrays of research literature and understandable desire of experts (historians) to reach a qualitatively new level of generalization. On the other hand, the creation of "general histories" of various regions opens up endless opportunities for comparison and inclusion (integration) of these cases into the matrix of the Russian historical process.

Of all Siberian outskirts Altai has, perhaps, the greatest heuristic potential for studying its historical development. This area at the junction of Siberia and Central Asia has always remained a border region since the 18th century. First, the Russian state fought for these lands against the Dzungarian khanate, then against the Qing Empire. The period of time between these two events was marked by the creation of the mountainous district which was out there up to revolutionary events of 1917-1918. In the course of the events the Altai province emerged to become an important element in the formation of the Soviet statehood in Siberia.

Theoretical framework

This article aims to highlight the actual theoretical approaches to the study of Altai history in the 18th – the first third of the 20th century developed by historians over the past two decades.

A set of goals and objectives for exploration of Altai was formed in the 17th century. The Russian expeditions to the region were sporadic and were aimed at gathering information about the possibility of vast colonization. It started already in the 18th century and went on to exert fundamental changes in the administrative, political and socio-economic image of the region.

Statement of the problem

A comprehensive study of individual regions within broad chronological boundaries has a well-established tradition in Russian historiography. The beginning was laid in the Soviet period and manifested itself in the preparation of comprehensive publications on the history of various relatively large regions. One of the first attempts to examine the history of Altai in detail was made as early as the late 1980s. The textbook *History of Altai* covering the development of the region from antiquity to 1917 was published later in the 1990s and made a breakthrough. All in all, today there are no general studies on the history of Altai of a broader perspective, which, on the one hand, would characterize most aspects of social reality, and on the other, would trace the evolution of the region in the chronological interval of the 18th – the first third of the 20th century.

Discussion

In this regard, the issue of conceptual understanding of the initial period of development processes in Altai remains debatable. In fact, the only version of penetration and consolidation of the Russian state in Altai as part of the all-Siberian process of military colonization has been dominant through the 1990s – early 21st centuries. This version sees the occupation as aggressive imperial military-political and economic expansion, accompanied by a series of military expeditions and the construction of fortified engineering facilities at strategically important points (Ogurtsov, 1990; Isupov, 2009; Puzanov, 2011). In the last decade there have been attempts to explain the early stages of the Altai development from the perspective of the frontier theory. The application of this theory shows the uncontrolled variability of the imperial field broadcast from the state centre under the influence of the need to fix regional socio-geographical and ethno-political features (Bobrov, 2011). In this context, synthesis and evolutionary conceptual interpretations are now emerging. Methods of frontier modernization allow for interpretation of the political and legal impulses emanating from the Russian state of the early imperial period as a sui generis "modernization" interacting with the frontier environment, which was developing in the interfluve of the Ob and Irtysh rivers (Bobrov, 2017). The idea of transformation of the frontier area, which was growing in Altai, into "the region of Kolyvano-Voskresensky Mining Department" confirms the existence of several "power cores" acting as centripetal zones in the developed area (Bobrov, 2013).

Quantifiable progress in understanding the context (background) of the development processes in Altai is associated with the development of the state border. The issues of determining the state borders of Russia in the south of Western Siberia acquired a greater significance in the first half – middle of the 18th century, the period of geopolitical competition for this area with the Dzungarian khanate. Researchers agree on the absence of the border between the territories, and the need to consider the matter within the vast territory of the Ob-Irtysh or even the Irtysh-Yenisei interfluve. V.B. Borodaev and A.V. Kontev see the state border simultaneously through the prism of the systemic reconstruction of the circumstances of the time the first Russian fortifications were built in Altai and through the context of the Russian state controlling over economically important areas of southern Siberia and Central Asia (Borodaev, Kontev, 2015).

D.S. Bobrov and T.N. Soboleva, applying elements of the limnological approach, identify several options for the perception of borders in administrative discourse when the borders between the regions are not clearly defined. The official diplomatic understanding of the issue was built around the justification of Russia's sovereign rights to the entire territory between the rivers Ob and Irtysh up to lakes Teletskoye and Zaisan. Cartographic image of the border was implemented through the creation of the original map projection of the border zone, marking a conditional visual-graphic line made according to the military strategic policy objectives in the region. The local management approach is connected with the perception of the border as the actual limit of administrative jurisdiction of local management structures in the region (fortresses of the Irtysh line and Bikatunskaya fortress). Finally, the understanding of development processes among the

scientific intelligentsia determined the emergence of special historical and geographical interpretations of the state borders. The low degree of conjugation of all these constructions with each other gave birth to the phenomenon of an "open" border used by the Russian administrative bodies to improve the strategic position of the state in the south of Western Siberia and Northern Central Asia (Bobrov, Soboleva, 2015; Bobrov, 2017).

A substantial body of literature on the historical development of Altai in the 18th century is still concentrated around issues of an administrative nature. In addition to the traditional desire of researchers to present a retrospective of the region's development in the first half of the century through the history of ostrogs (forts) and fortresses (Isupov, 2010; Bobrov, 2018), there appear some experiences of exhaustive reviews of the system of General civil management (Bobrov, 2017). Its key characteristic was hybridization – while maintaining the external features typical of other regions of Russia, Altai developed administrative institutions marked by a significant distinction. Two models of building regional and local administrative units coexisted at once. The Upper Ob region was characterized by a classic system chain "Governor - Province Governor - managers of forts and villages". The Upper Irtysh fortresses were characterized by a more simplified but at the same time more militarized administrative system: "Governor - commanders of garrison offices (staff officers)" (Bobrov, 2017). Further development of the problematics of civil administration is likely to be associated with the consideration of various aspects in the interaction of civil structures with departmental ones (mining and/or military). Some studies carried out in this perspective prove hidden and sometimes even obvious competition between local civil and private, and then departmental Cabinet authorities in Altai (Bobrov, 2017).

In the last two decades, the research on the history of mining production and occurrence of Kolyvano-Voskresensky and later the Altai mining district, located between the Ob and Irtysh rivers, has been focused not only on specific historical aspects, but also on theoretical points. The idea of existence of the producing

and territorial complex as a large administrative, economic and social system, localized in a certain area and having a common vector of development, in Altai during the 18th – early 20th centuries, and also its purpose and functions became a methodological core, which was able to integrate the studies on the regional history. A.A. Perezhogin rationalised the formation of a special "military-mining system" at the Cabinet enterprises of Western Siberia, accompanied by the dominance of officers and engineers in the upper and middle echelons of the district management in the staff officer ranks (Perezhogin, 2005). The source basis of this conclusion was the personnel analysis of departmental officials (with an emphasis on mountain officers) (Vedernikov, 2005), which eventually grew into an independent direction of scientific research (Babarykin, Perezhogin, 2017).

The reconstruction of regional and local departmental institutions of management, which began at the end of the 20th century (Soboleva, Razgon, 1997) was actively continued by historians in the next decade. The development of the administrative vertical structure was exacerbated by the confrontation of collegial and personal principles followed by a gradual replacement of the former by the latter. The threads of management of production and people in the district were distributed among the chief commander/head of factories, the Office of Kolyvano-Voskresensky mining authorities, the mining police, and the military court (Perezhogin, 2005; Konteva, 2005).

V.V. Vedernikov's research works showed the role of the Cabinet non-ferrous metallurgical production as the most important factor in the development of administrative, political, social and economic spheres of Altai in the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries. It facilitated the principal transformation of the social organization existing in the region: the emergence of class groups of mining engineers, workmen and "urochniki" (the Altai peasants who owned land paid for with their work done there), with the final formation of the assigned peasantry. Rapid development of production technologies generated social dynamics, urbanization of mining centres in

Altai (Barnaul, Zmeinogorsk, Pavlovsk, etc.). Technological and managerial changes at Altai factories in the first half of the 19th century are currently interpreted as a reaction of the central government to the negative dynamics of the global economic situation. However, the lease period of the mining district by the Ministry of Finance is the time of the office's total loss of ability to supervise and direct the scientific-technical progress of production industry, the final victory of the safeguarding tendencies, which meant the failure of preindustrialization in Altai.

The study of the period from 1861 to 1917 is characterized by new approaches. The key questions in this chronological stage are the pace and features of the development of capitalist relations in the territory of the Cabinet lands of Western Siberia, the specifics of the socio-economic development of the region after 1861, the level of capitalist relations in agriculture, industry and other areas before 1917.

In Soviet historiography, a number of authors, for example, A.P. Borodavkin, A.T. Topchy and others especially emphasized the power of feudal remnants in Altai. For instance, in his doctoral dissertation, A.P. Borodavkin noted "the strength and abundance of serfdom remnants" in the region after the abolition of serfdom; in his opinion, in agricultural industry of the Altai mining district capitalism developed "along the Prussian path" (Borodavkin, 1972: 42-43).

While early multifaceted works on the history of Altai paid a considerable attention to the reform of 1861, with exclusion or partial consideration of subsequent reforms, later on, thanks to the works by T.N. Soboleva and her students (V.V. Vedernikov, A.A. Perezhogin, A.E. Kukharenko, M.O. Tiapkin, A.E. Karpenko, D.S. Bobrov et al.) much heed was paid to the issues of management and administrative-territorial structure, Cabinet economy in the mountainous district. T.N. Soboleva did not only analyze the reforms of 1883, 1896 and 1911, she showed the evolution of the mining district into the agricultural one and came to the conclusion that by the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century the Altai district had already been a predominantly land-forest

diversified economic complex (Soboleva, 1999: 257). Thanks to the works by T.N. Soboleva and her students, the view on the Cabinet economy in Altai in the second half of the 19th and especially in the early 20th centuries as a frozen and backward system has changed, since the processes of intensification and modernization were continuing at the time (Kukharenko, Soboleva, 2012: 97).

The works by A.A. Perezhogin investigate the militarized control system of Kolyvano-Voskresensky (Altai) mining district from 1747 to 1871, and describe the liquidation of this system in the post-reform period (Perezhogin, 2005). In co-authorship with B.V. Babarykin, A.A. Perezhogin prepared a valuable reference book "Handbook of personnel officials of Altai (1747-1917)" (Barykin, Perezhogin, 2017).

The works by V.V. Vedernikov (articles, monographs, doctoral dissertation) carry out a deep analysis of the Cabinet non – ferrous metallurgy of Siberia in the 18th – early 20th centuries. The author was able to do a thorough research on the technique and technology of enterprises, to link the history of non-ferrous metallurgy of Siberia with the world market and foreign policy at different historical stages, and to demonstrate the scale and negative impact of embezzlement on the fate of Cabinet enterprises in Altai (Vedernikov, 2012).

In the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries Altai became one of the essential agricultural regions of Siberia, the leader in the production of grain and butter. The history of agriculture and peasantry of the region is reflected in the national historiography. In modern historiography, the Stolypin Agrarian Reform has turned out to be a very popular trend. Moreover, the Altai region has become one of the main areas of the country and has been affected by the most massive wave of immigrants. A more in-depth study of the Stolypin Agrarian Reform in Altai has come to be an urgent task. V.N. Razgon, A.A. Khramkov and K.A. Pozharskaia, the scholars of the Altai State University, achieved remarkable results in the development of this subject, which are reflected in two monographs (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010, 2013). They are based on the representative sources, including materials of central and local archives, statistical materials, the 1916 and 1917 population censuses, as well as the databases of peasant farms of the Altai province of 1917 and resettlement sites of the Altai region formed during the Stolypin Agrarian Reform.

While Soviet historiography gave mainly a negative assessment of Stolypin and his Agrarian Reform, the modern works of Barnaul historians make a more objective assessment of the activities of this figure and his Reform. The authors see Stolypin resettlement as a milestone in the development of Siberia and especially the Altai region: "Mass colonization of the region by migrants from the European part of the country contributed to a wider involvement of the Siberian region in the all-Russian economic and socio-cultural processes" (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010: 228).

Whereas traditional works look on the growth of the reverse migration as a result of poor organization, delays in granting farmers land, etc., with the reverse resettlements of 1910 called a "crash" resettlement policy (History of Siberia, 1968: 305), B.N. Razgon, A.A. Khramkov and K.A. Pozharskaia approached the issue of growth of reverse migration more comprehensively. They explain it by a whole complex of reasons, including a reduction in the colonization capacity of the Altai region, crop failures of 1910-1911, industrial growth in the country, an increase in the scale of land management in the Central provinces of the country. In addition, the change of the government policy towards the intensification of the development of populated areas and improvement of the quality of the resettlement under the slogan "development is more important than settlement" contributed to the escalating reverse migration (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010: 315). The attention of researchers was drawn to the national diasporas of Altai – the German diaspora (Shaidurov, 2001) and the Polish one (Poles in Altai..., 2013). A new stage of Russian historiography began in the 1990s. The development of historical Siberian studies in this period was determined by the general state of historical science in Russia, associated with the growth of public interest in history, revision of the theoretical and methodological

foundations of historical research, changes in the conditions of funding science and the organization of scientific cooperation. Among other things, these changes were manifested in the expansion of research issues. It was during these years that the historical urban studies became one of the main directions developed by Barnaul historians.

The scientific school headed by V.A. Skubnevsky was engaged in research of a range of problems which can be conditionally grouped under the name of historical urban studies. The study of the history of Siberian cities is irrefutably the core field for Barnaul historians specializing in Siberian studies. In recent years, this very historical urbanism has been developing most intensively in the regional studies. In particular, there is a wide range of publications specifically devoted to the population of cities in the region in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. These works examine the dynamics of the population size, its national and strata composition, the structure of employment, and demographic processes in the cities. The study of the economy of Siberian cities has traditionally been a well-founded field.

A significant contribution to the study of demographic processes in the Siberian cities of the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries has been made by Yu.M. Goncharov. A merchant family was the object of research of his Candidate's thesis, while a Siberian urban family became the object of research of his Doctoral thesis. New approaches to work on these topics have been implemented for the creation and use of electronic databases on the population of Siberian cities. In his thesis and monograph (Goncharov, 1999), the author compiled a database of more than 2200 merchant families of Siberian cities, whereas his doctoral dissertation and monograph (Goncharov, 2002) represent a database of more than 6500 urban families. It is also necessary to note the works of young authors devoted to less studied topics about small towns in Western Siberia (Tiapkina, 2008) and the suburban areas of the cities of the Tomsk province in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries (Degtiarey, 2012).

The Publishing House of Altai State University also released two issues of collections

of scientific articles "The cities of Siberia..." (in 2001, 2004), which contained articles by researchers from Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Biysk and other research centers.

One of the traditional areas of Siberian urban studies is the study of city municipality. This area of study shaped up in the previous period is actively developing today, which is confirmed by multiple dissertations, monographs, textbooks (Len, 2000, Litiagina, 1999). The publication of collections of documents on the history of city municipality is of great importance (see "Barnaul City Duma...", 1999).

One of the essential directions of Siberian historical urban studies is the study of urban culture. In addition to traditional issues, such as the history of education (Zhuravleva, 2005, Gordienko, 2009, Babarykin, 2015), (Stepanskaia, 2006), the historians of Barnaul have recently elicited new topics related to the image of cities, their development and improvement.

Along with merchants, other formations and social groups of the urban population of pre-revolutionary Siberia are still under study; these include officials, military, Cossacks, clergy, intellectuals, salesmen (Goncharov, Chutchev, 2004; Skoblikov, 2017).

The result of the active development of Siberian historical urbanism in recent years is the emergence of summarising works based on a comprehensive study of the region's cities (Ivonin, 2000). The monograph "The cities of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries" (Skubnevsky, Goncharov, 2003) provides a detailed study of the social and legal status of citizens, the composition and population size of cities in the region, and demographic processes. A number of new conclusions about the changes in the economic importance of cities were obtained; there were analysed the development of urban industry and trade, the employment of citizens, as well as construction and improvement.

The publications of new archival materials, documents and other materials broadening up the information field of urban studies, thus contributing to the formation and development of new research approaches: historical-anthropological, modernization, prosopographic, gender, etc. For example, the works on "fe-

male" history, devoted to the social activities of women, women's education, the social status of women in Siberian society, as well as the works on men's history within the framework of the gender approach.

The general trend of latter-day is marked by a gradual shift from viewing the history of the daily life of urban dwellers as a minor issue, which was typical of Soviet historiography. There are also monographic works devoted to everyday life of citizens of this period. Within this framework, researchers study leisure and entertainment of citizens, festive culture, daily life of certain categories of the population, social life, value orientations and social norms (Goncharov, 2004).

Since the early 1990s the history of entrepreneurship has become a new trend in Russian historiography. Barnaul historians, primarily the historians of Altai State University and Altai State Pedagogical University have been engaged in the study of different aspects of this field, including the history of individual entrepreneurs and merchant families, enterprises, business activity in private sector industries, trade, transport, social and political activities of entrepreneurs, as well as charity, etc. The source base of research in this area has been significantly aggrandized. The authors involved registers of births, confessional paintings, clerical statements, funds of banks and city municipalities, reference books, including industrial censuses, lists of trading houses and joint-stock companies, materials of tax and factory inspection, sources of personal origin (Koshenova, 2005), photographic documents and advertising.

As far as the sources allow, biographies of not only the largest entrepreneurs (merchants of the 1st Guild, honorary citizens), but also of many merchants of the 2nd Guild and notable entrepreneurs from among the burghers and peasants were restored. These materials were included in reference publications – "Entrepreneurs of Altai" (Skubnevsky, Startsev, Goncharov, 1996). The growth of entrepreneurial activity in the social and political life was mainly associated with entrepreneurs partaking in the work of city municipality (Litiagina, 1997: 183-202).

The monograph "Merchants of Altai of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries" became a comprehensive study of the class of entrepreneurs of the Altai region, which shows the circumstances of entrepreneurial activity in the region, the number and the sources of formation of the entrepreneurial class, the merchant family, the main directions of entrepreneurship, socio-political activity, life and mentality (Skubnevsky, Startsev, Goncharov, 2001). The researchers also addressed the charity activities of local entrepreneurs (Startsev, 2003, Skubnevsky, 2018).

A number of authors studied certain industries and trade of Altai and Western Siberia on the whole, paying particular attention to the corresponding groups of entrepreneurs. For instance, E.V. Galskikh looked into textile market of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Galskikh, 2002), M.A. Barsukova went behind milling industry of the Urals and Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Barsukova, 1996), A.M. Mariupolsky did the research on distilling and wine trade in Western Siberia during the excise system (Mariupolsky, 2000), E.A. Nosova studied grain market of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Nosova, 2007), A.V. Startsev investigated Russian trade in Mongolia (second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries) (Startsey), T.K. Shcheglova – fairs of Western Siberia and Steppe regions of the second half of the 19th century and their role in Russian-Asian trade (Shcheglova, 2001), T.I. Andreeva (Batalova) – private railway construction in Altai and Asian Russia as a whole (Batalova, 2004). I.A. Eremin analyzed the economy of the Tomsk province during the World War I (Eremin, 2009). A.V. Startsev also addressed the issues of methodology and methods of entrepreneurship research in Russia (Startsev, 2016).

In the course of work on these topics, these authors participated in many conferences and their articles were published in thematic collections of articles, including three issues of "Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Siberia" (in 1995, 1997, 2001). The results of the work were also summed up in the general materials, including the textbook by A.V. Startsev and Yu. M. Goncharov "En-

trepreneurship in Siberia: Historical Experience (the 17th – early 20th centuries)" (Startsev, Goncharov, 2010).

Among the new approaches in the study of this area, let us recall that various authors (T.K. Shcheglova, E.V. Galskikh, M.A. Barsukova, A.M. Mariupolsky, E.A. Nosova) concluded that economic relationships between the markets of Western Siberia and the Urals were deeper in the post-reform period than it was described in earlier studies. T.K. Shcheglova showed that a chain of fairs of Western Siberia in the post-reform period was complex and an effective form of market organization, and trade fairs and city trade complemented each other (Shcheglova).

It should be recognized that the "history of workers" has not been studied so successfully lately, but this is a characteristic of Russian historiography as a whole. The studies on the history of workers of the region include the Candidate's thesis and monographs by L.N. Tikhobaeva (Tikhobaeva, 2006), M.A. Arshakian (Arshakian, 2010), V.N. Faronov (Faronov, 2012). At the same time, Professor V.P. Zinoviev, from Tomsk (Zinoviev, 2007, 2016) continues a comprehensive and fruitful study of the history of workers in Siberia, including the territory of Altai.

The Department of Documents, Archives and Historical Informatics of Altai State University headed by Doctor of History V.N. Vladimirov has become one of the leading research centres in the field of historical informatics not only in Siberia, but also in Russia.

The research activities of this department are connected with the study of mass sources and methods of their processing. Computer technologies and databases are widely used in the processing of mass sources (Vladimirov, 2013). Different collections of articles (Source. Method. Computer, 1996; Computer and Historical Demography, 2000; Historical Professions Studies, 2004; 2008, etc.), and monographs (Vladimirov, 2006, etc.) have been published.

Conclusion

The results of recent studies allow us to draw a series of conclusions. Despite certain specifics of Altai (Cabinet lands), the economic development of the region in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, in particular, embarked on a capitalist course. While in the post-reform period, Altai's lagging from other regions of Siberia and Central Russia was evident in a number of areas (private manufacturing industry, lending and credit), the economic development of the region increased significantly after the construction of the Siberian railway (in the 1890s).

Development of the history studies concerning such a large and important region as Altai in the last 20 years has shown the formation of a multidimensional regional-oriented scientific school in the national historiography.

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Современные подходы к истории Алтая XVIII – начала XX в.

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> Аннотация. Статья является результатом анализа историографического освоения истории такого значимого региона современной Сибири, как Алтай. В работе представлены основные направления изучения истории Алтая XVIII - начала ХХ в. как части Сибири и России, используемые в последние два десятилетия научно-методологические подходы. Рассмотрены такие направления изучения истории Алтая, практиковавшиеся в последние 20 лет, как: фронтирное освоение, история управления, социально-экономическое развитие, аграрная колонизация, история предпринимательства, социальные и гендерные исследования и др. Развитие исторического сибиреведения на Алтае в этот период определялось общими для состояния исторической науки условиями, связанными с ростом общественного интереса к истории, пересмотром теоретико-методологических основ исторического исследования. Историография исторического изучения Алтая в новейшей (постсоветской) историографии показывает значимость современных историко-ориентированных региональных исследований. Историографическое освоение истории такого крупного и значимого региона, как Алтай, в последние 20 лет показывает формирование многоаспектной регионально-ориентированной научной школы в отечественной историографии.

Ключевые слова: история, Сибирь, Алтай, историография.

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