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## Qazaq-Qalmaq Relations in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>

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**Тірек сөздер:** Қазақстан тарихы; Қазақ хандығы; қалмақтар; ойраттар; Тәуекел хан

**Ключевые слова:** история Казахстана; Казахское ханство; калмаки; ойраты; Тауекель-хан

The article deals with the Qazaq-Qalmaq relations in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is based on the data of medieval Muslim sources. The author concludes that the history of relations between these two big nomadic peoples of the late medieval Central Asia began in the 1520s, and during the next eighty years, until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the character of these relations was complicated. Mostly the relations were hostile, but sometimes several Qalmaq groups would make alliances with Qazaqs and opposed the outer powers together. Sometimes this or that part of Qalmaqs was not only a political ally of the Qazaqs but also was a subject of the rulers of the Qazaq state, particularly Tauekel Khan.

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## 16 ғасырдағы қазақ-қалмақ қатынастары

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Мақала XVI ғасырдағы қазақ-қалмақ қатынастарына арналған. Зерттеуге арналған материалдар Орта ғасырдағы шығыс мұсылман авторларының мәліметтері негіз болды. Жұмысты қорытындылай келе, автор соңғы ортағасырлық Орталық Азиядағы екі ірі көшпелі халықтардың қарым-қатынасының тарихы XVI ғасырдың 20-жылдарынан басталады деген тұжырымға келеді. Осы 80 жыл ішінде, XVI ғасырдың аяғына дейін бұл қатынастардың сипаты күрделі болды. Кейбір кезеңде қалмақтардың жекелеген топтары қазақтармен одақтасып, сыртқы күштерге бірігіп қарсы тұрса да, көбіне жауластықта болды. Кейде қалмақтардың бір бөлігі қазақтардың саяси одақтасы болып қана қоймай, Қазақ мемлекетінің билеушілеріне, атап айтқанда Тәуекел ханға бағынышты.

**Қаржыландыру көзі:** Мақала «Үлкен Алтай» түркі-моңғол әлемі атты Алтай мемлекеттік университетінің мемлекеттік тапсырмасы аясында дайындалған: тарих пен қазіргі замандағы бірлік пен әртүрлілік (жоба нөмірі – 748715F.99.1.BB97AA00002).

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## Казахско-калмацкие отношения в XVI веке

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Статья посвящена казахско-калмацким отношениям в XVI веке. Материалами для исследования стали сведения восточных мусульманских авторов средневековья. В заключение работы автор приходит к выводу, что история взаимоотношений двух крупных кочевых народов позднесредневековой Центральной Азии начинается в 20-е годы XVI века. На протяжении этих 80-лет, до конца XVI века, характер этих взаимоотношений был сложным. Большую часть времени они находились во враждебных отношениях, хотя в некоторые периоды отдельные группы калмаков заключали союз с казахами и вместе противостояли внешним силам. Иногда часть калмаков была не только политическим союзником казахов, но и находилась в подданстве правителей казахского государства, в частности Тауекель-хана.

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### Introduction

Qazaqs and Qalmaqs were two big nomadic peoples of late medieval Central Asia who, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were engaged in a fierce fight for hegemony in the territory of the Great Steppe. While the former had to defend their ethnic territories, the latter, moving westward and south-westward, tried to conquer the lands of the Turkic peoples, or at least to establish their control over them.

*Cut off from China and defeated in the struggle for access to the east, Oirats became a very active force in the west and the north, i.e., in East Turkestan, the steppes of Dasht-i Qipchaq and Central Asia, and had a significant influence on complex historical events that took place in this area [Zlatkin 1964: 63].<sup>1</sup>*

In this period, the Mongolic-speaking Qalmaq groups already possessed enough war power, though they were not as powerful as in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, when they were united in one state. The researchers have different opinions regarding the terms *Qalmaq* and *Oirat*.

*Kalmyks is the Turkic name for one of the Mongolic peoples, whose self-name is Oirats... This word derives (probably only in folk etymology) from the verb qalmaq 'to stay', as if it denoted Oirats as 'those who stayed pagans', – wrote Vasily Barthold [Barthold 1968: 538].<sup>2</sup>*

According to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Buryat researcher Dorzhi Banzarov, the word 'oirat' was "composed of the words 'oy-arat', which according to Rashidov correspond to 'oin irgen', i.e., "forest people"" [Banzarov 1955: 180–186].

Mongolist Vladislav Kotvich noted:

*To designate Western Mongols in Russian and foreign literature, three terms are most often used: Oirats – from Mongolian sources; Kalmyks (Qalmaqs) – from Muslim sources, which are*

<sup>1</sup> *Отрезанные от Китая, потерпевшие поражение в борьбе за выходы на Восток ойраты стали весьма активной силой на западе и севере: Восточном Туркестане, степях Дешт-и Кыпчака и Средней Азии и оказали значительное влияние на сложные исторические события, происходившие в этом районе.*

<sup>2</sup> *Калмыки – тюркское название одной из монгольских народностей, самоназвание которой – ойраты ... Это слово выводится (вероятно, только народной этимологией) от глагола калмак «оставаться», оно будто бы обозначает оставшихся язычниками ойратов.*

*followed by old Russian sources, including archival documents; and Elutes (Ölöts, Eleuths) — from the Chinese sources [Kotvich 1919: 791].<sup>3</sup>*

According to Tursun Sultanov,

*Qalmaq (Kalmyk) is the Turkic name for Western Mongols, whose self-name is Oirat; in Chinese sources, Western Mongols are called Elutes [Sultanov 2020: 242].<sup>4</sup>*

In his recent study, Canadian historian Yoo-Yup Lee has systematized information about Oirats from various sources and examined in detail the correlation between the terms *Western Mongols*, *Qalmaqs* and *Oirats*. In his opinion, these names are not identical and could refer to groups of different compositions. For their contemporaries from Central Asia, Oirats were Qalmaqs but not “Western Mongols,” and at the same time, not all Qalmaqs can be called Oirats, and the term “Western Mongols” does not correspond to the identity of Oirats, who did not consider themselves Mongols, nor did their neighbors [Lee 2016, 6–14].

### Results and Discussion

There is an opinion in the scholarly literature that the first contacts between Qazaqs and Qalmaqs date back to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is believed that the founders of the Qazaq Khanate, Kerey and Zhanibek met Qalmaqs immediately after their migration to Zhetysu (Semirechye). Bury Ahmedov wrote that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Qalmaqs occupied the Chu Valley and Semirechye, and Wais Khan tried unsuccessfully to expel them from there [Akhmedov 1965: 66]. However, data from sources, as Klavdia Pishchulina pointed out, indicate that Qalmaqs only carried out raids on their western neighbors and later retreated to their territory without having a real opportunity to gain a foothold in Zhetysu [Pishchulina 1977: 119].

Some researchers believed that Esen Buqa Khan, the ruler of Moghulistan, hoped to secure the frontiers of his state from the Oirat raids with the help of Kerey and Zhanibek’s followers. Vladimir Moiseyev wrote:

*One of the reasons that prompted the Moghulistan khan Esen-Buqa not to prevent Qazaqs from moving to Semirechye was the hope of using their forces against Oirats) [Moiseev 1991: 13].<sup>5</sup>*

This point of view appears to be wrong. The widespread opinion about the mass migration of the ethnic groups of Dasht-i Qipchaq with Kerey Khan and Zhanibek Khan to Zhetysu does not correspond to the truth [Atygayev 2015: 129–148]. First of all, it should be considered that if the migration had been massive, then the number of livestock among the migrating tribes would have been significant. However, the Kozybasy area could not provide food for many livestock, especially in winter and for a long time. Second, there are specific indications in written sources that the number of followers of Kerey and Zhanibek was insignificant. For example, Mirza Muhammad Haidar writes in *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī* that Kerey Khan and Zhanibek Siltan migrated “with a few people” [Mukhammed Khaydar 1999: 323]. A 17<sup>th</sup>-century encyclopedist, Mahmud b. Amir Wali in his work *Bahr al-asrār* speaks of them only as “a group of people, worthy of recognition” [Ibragimov, et al. 1969: 352]. Therefore, in my opinion, during their migration to Zhetysu the followers of Kerey and Zhanibek did not constitute a serious military-political force, and they were unlikely to be able to resist Qalmaqs.

<sup>3</sup> Для обозначения западных монголов в русской и иностранной литературе употребляются чаще всего три термина: ойраты – из монгольских источников, калмыки – из мусульманских, которым следуют и старые русские источники, в том числе архивные документы, и элюты (ölöts, eleuths) – из китайских.

<sup>4</sup> Калмак (калмык) – тюркское название западных монголов, самоназвание которых – ойраты; в китайских источниках западные монголы называются элютами.

<sup>5</sup> Одной из причин, побудившей могулистанского хана Есен-Буку не препятствовать казахам обосновываться в Семиречье, была надежда использовать их силы в борьбе против ойратов.

By the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, Qalmaqs were so strong that they could easily cross the Moghul lands and reach the Syr Darya River. For example, in 1457<sup>6</sup>, a Qalmaq ruler, Uz-Timur Taishi crossed the Chu (Shu) River, defeated the troops of Shibanid Abu-l-Khayr Khan at Sygnak and reached the vicinity of Tashkent [Ibragimov, et al. 1969: 168–170]. In 1459, a Qalmaq embassy passed through Dasht-i Qipchaq and reached Timurid Abu Said [Rumlu 1389: 607].

Historians Ilya Zlatkin, Shirap Chimitdorzhiev, and Meruert Abuseitova believed that Qazaq-Qalmaq relations were peaceful and neighborly. In the 15<sup>th</sup> to mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. To prove this, they cited *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* written by Mirza Muhammad Haidar [Zlatkin 1964: 67; Chimitdorzhiev 1979: 32; Abuseitova 1998: 200]. However, Mirza Muhammad Haidar wrote not about the Mongolic-speaking Oirats, but about Moghuls who were the Turkic-speaking population of Moghulistan:

*from the time of Isan Buqa Khan till the time of Rashid Khan there had been friendship and peace between the Moghuls and the Qazaqs) [Mukhammed Khaydar 1999: 108–109].<sup>7</sup>*

Since Mongols and Moghuls were called the same (لوعغم) in the sources, these researchers could not fully understand who they were dealing with and turned the peaceful relations between Qazaqs and Moghuls into peaceful relations between Qazaqs and Oirats (Qalmaqs) [Pishchulina, et al. 2006: 51–58].

According to Vladimir Moiseyev, the Qazaq Khanate had to defend its right to exist in the struggle with Oirats from the first days of its emergence [Moiseev 1991: 13]. Meruert Abuseitova also wrote:

*Wais Khan, the ruler of Moghulistan, reckoned that the Qazaq nomads would prove to be a reliable shield against Oirat raids) [Abuseitova 1998: 200].<sup>8</sup>*

However, Kerey and Zhanibek with their followers, occupied, as Mirza Muhammad Haidar points out, the western part of Moghulistan and, naturally, could not protect Moghulistan from Oirats, who were advancing from the areas adjacent to the possessions of Moghuls from the east and southeast.

*Its (Moghulistan's. – N.A.) eastern frontier adjoins the land of Qalmaqs – Bars-Kul, Emel and Irtysh), says Mirza Muhammad Haidar in Tarikh-i-Rashidi.<sup>9</sup>*

Therefore, I am close to the point of view of Tursun Sultanov, who wrote:

*The Qazaq Khanate from the first period of its formation was covered from Qalmaqs by neighboring Moghulistan and all external blows from the southeast fell on Moghuls) [Klyashtorny, Sultanov 1992: 286–287].<sup>10</sup>*

Mahmud b. Amir Wali mentions in *Bahr al-asrār* that Kerey and Zhanibek made raids on the Qalmaqs [Ibragimov, et al. 1969: 353]. Probably, this information from the 17th-century author does not fully reflect the realities of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. There are no such data in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Muhammad Haidar, from which Mahmud b. Amir Wali drew on his materials on the early history of Qazaqs. In general, there is no reliable information about Qazaq-Qalmaq relations in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, following Tursun Sultanov, I believe that there were no contacts between them in that period. Their possessions were divided by the lands of Moghul tribes (Churas, Baarins and others).

<sup>6</sup> Ilya Zlatkin for unclear reasons dated this campaign in 1455, see: [Zlatkin 1964: 55].

<sup>7</sup> С периода Исан Буги хана до времени Рашид хана между моголами и казахами существовали дружба и согласие...

<sup>8</sup> Вайс-хан, правитель Моголистана, рассчитывал, что казахские кочевья окажутся надежным щитом от набегов ойратов.

<sup>9</sup> Его (Моголистана. – Н.А.) восточная граница примыкает к земле калмаков – Барс-Куль, Эмель и Иртыш.

<sup>10</sup> Казахское ханство с первого периода своего образования было прикрыто от калмаков соседним Моголистаном и все внешние удары с юго-востока падали на моголов.

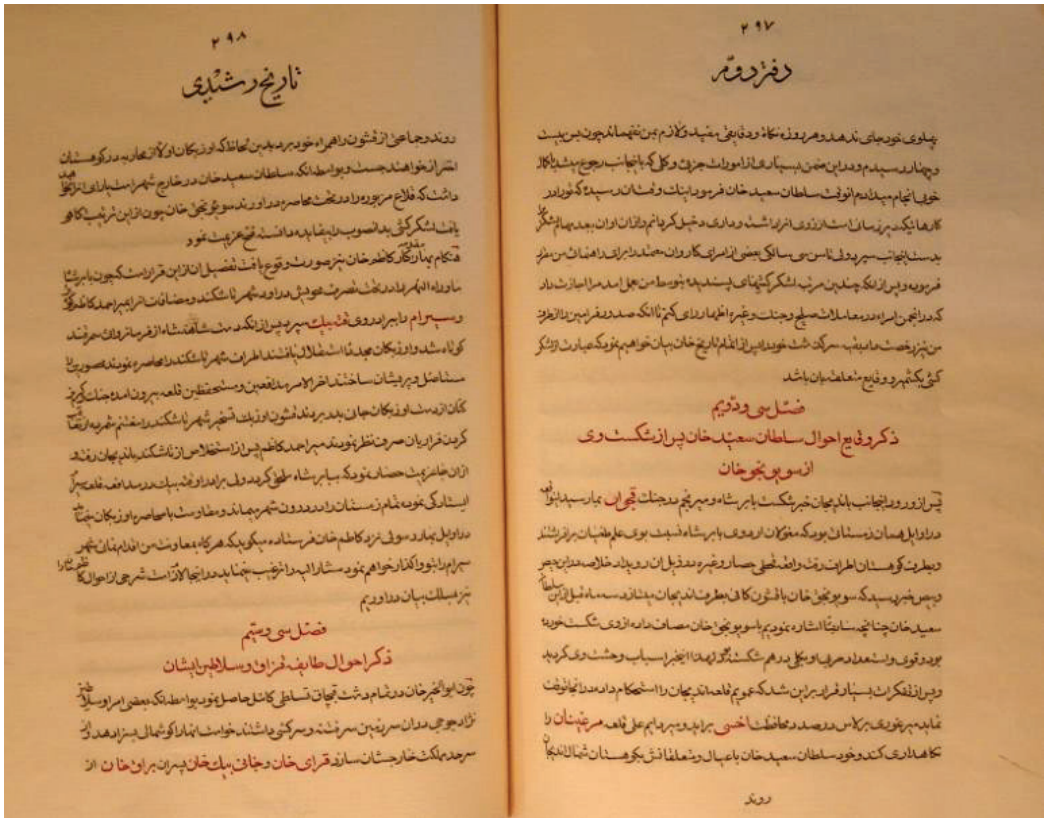


Fig. 1. Mention of the Qazaqs in the work of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Isfahan Public Library, No. 11384, Iran

1-сур. Мырза Мұхаммед Хайдар дұғлаттың «Тарих-и Рашиди» еңбегіндегі қазақтар туралы үзінді. Исфahan қоғамдық кітапханасы, №11384, Иран

Рис. 1. Упоминание о казаках в труде Мирзы Мухаммада Хайдара дуглата «Тарих-и Рашиди». Общественная библиотека Исфahана, №11384, Иран

Qazaq rulers had to face closely with Qalmaq tribes only after the collapse of Moghulistan and the full establishment of the authority of Qazaq khans in Zhetysu. Researchers date the beginning of the Qazaq-Qalmaq confrontation differently. For example, Ilya Zlatkin writes that in the 1530s, “a two-century struggle between Oirat and Qazaq feudal lords began” [Zlatkin 1964: 67]. Boris Gurevich believed that the Qazaq-Qalmaq clashes began in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Qalmaqs attempted to “expand their pasture territories and at the same time make their way to the markets of Central Asia” [Gurevich 1979: 21]. Tursun Sultanov suggests that the direct clashes of Qazaq rulers with Qalmaqs belong to the period of the 1520s [Klyashtorny, Sultanov 1992: 287]. The latter opinion seems to be more correct. According to *Badā'yi al-waqāyī* by Zain ad-Din Vasifi, Tahir Khan, who ruled the Qazaq Khanate in the 1520s, had to build a fortress at the foot of a mountain<sup>11</sup> somewhere in Zhetysu to repel attacks by Qalmaqs.

Under Tahir Khan, a Qazaq-Qyrghyz alliance was formed, that existed on and off for more than a century. Talasbek Mashrapov believes that a military alliance was established between Qazaqs and Qyrghyz to resist invasions by Qalmaqs and other neighbors. The alliance pursued two goals:

<sup>11</sup> The name of this fortress in different manuscripts of *Badā'yi al-waqāyī* is written differently: Jatan, Chander, Khatan, Chayin, see: [Wasifi 1961: 1316; Ibragimov, et al. 1969: 181]. Although most researchers, following Alexander Boldyrev, believe that the name of the fortress should be read as Jatan, its exact location has not yet been established.

*First, to prevent the domination of the Moghul state in the southern and central regions of Moghulistan —in Semirechye and the Chu Valley, which the Moghul rulers considered their hereditary property; second, to take possession of the Syr Darya cities, which were in the hands of the Shibanids) [Mashrapov 1989: 96].<sup>12</sup>*

To these two goals, we believe it is necessary to add a third, no less important, goal—to resist Qalmaq raids. The Qazaq-Qyrghyz union played an important role in their joint defense of ethnic territories against external aggressors. For a long time, it successfully prevented the Qalmaqs from conquering the territory of Zhetysu and Qyrghyzstan.

However, the relations between Qazaqs and Qalmaqs during these years were not only characterized by military-political confrontation. In some periods of history, they fought together against a common enemy. For example, according to *Akhsan at-tavārikh* by Hasan-bek Rumlu and *Tarīkh-i ālam-ārā-yi Abbāsī* by Iskander-bek Turkmen, in 1528 Qazaqs and Qalmaqs along with other neighboring peoples, participated in the struggle of Shibanid Uzbeks against the Safavid (Qzylbash) state. In the battles that took place in the Sarykamysh area of Jam vilayat, the united army led by ‘Ubaidallah Khan was defeated [Rumlu 1389: 1175; Rumlu. Manuscript: 206; Munshi 1387: 53].

Another report about the joint struggle of Qazaqs and Qalmaqs in this period against political opponents is contained in Russian archival documents. In May 1535, the Russian envoy to the Nogai Horde Danila Gubin wrote to Moscow:

*They say, Your Majesty, that the Qazaqs are strong, and the Qalmaqs have submitted to them, and Shikh Mamai and Isup and other myrzes who roam with them are on guard beyond the Yaik on the Yeme River) [Isin 2005: 67].<sup>13</sup>*

According to this message, some Qalmaq groups recognized the power of the Qazaqs, and together they threatened the Nogai Horde in the winter of 1534–1535. Probably, some Qalmaq groups at that time migrated far to the west and occupied the southern Urals and the northwestern part of modern Qazaqstan, although they did not strengthen themselves on this territory. These data show that the history of the Qazaqs and Qalmaqs should not be considered an eternal confrontation between the two groups of nomads.

Unfortunately, the history of Qazaq-Qalmaq relations, as well as the history of the Qazaq Khanate in the 1540s, is not reflected in written sources.

Brief information about Qazaq-Qalmaq relations is recorded in connection with the events of the 1550s<sup>14</sup>, connected with the reign of Hakk-Nazar Khan, son of the famous Qasym Khan, who came to power in the Qazaq Khanate around 1551 [Atygayev 2007: 59]. As a result of Hakk-Nazar Khan’s military successes, several former Qazaq territories were returned to the Khanate. At the same time, the Qazaqs had to repel the attacks of the Qalmaq uluses, who made attempts to move westward, i.e., to the southeastern and southern lands of the Qazaq Khanate. The historian Vladimir Sanchirov believes that the Qalmaqs were forced to move westward because of the defeat they suffered at the hands of the Eastern Mongolian ruler Altan Khan in 1552 [Sanchirov 1987: 16]. The *Tawārikh* of the Ottoman historian Seyfi Celebi contains information about the

<sup>12</sup> Во-первых, не допустить преобладания Могольского государства в южных и центральных районах Моголистана – в Семиречье и Чуйской долине, рассматриваемых могольскими правителями как наследственный удел; во-вторых, завладеть присырдарьинскими городами, находившимися в руках Шибанидов.

<sup>13</sup> А сказывают, Государь, что казаки сильны и Колмаки им передались, и Ших Мамай и Исуп ти иные мырзы, кои с ними кочуют, стоят в заставе за Яиком на реке на Еме всю.

<sup>14</sup> The works of Ilya Zlatkin, Vladimir Moiseyev, Andrey Chernyshev indicate that in the middle and second half of the 16th century, the Qazaq khans gained an advantage in the struggle against the Qalmaqs. In support of this view, they cite the Russian envoy Danila Gubin's report that the Qazaq khans were very strong and subordinated the Oirats to their power; see: [Zlatkin 1964: 68; Moiseev 1991: 15; Chernyshev 1990: 35]. However, this message refers to May 1535, see: История Казахстана, 2005a: 67], and not 1570, as these researchers believed.

Qazaq-Qalmaq clashes in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is reported that the Qazaq ruler Tauyekel Khan led a campaign against the Qalmaqs and destroyed some of their possessions. In response, the Qalmaqs sent a huge army that reached Tauyekel's yurt. When the Qazaq khan saw the size of the enemy army, he fled towards Tashkent. The Qalmaqs, pursuing the Qazaqs, reached Tashkent, plundered Tauyekel Khan's yurt, and returned to their possessions. The Qazaq khan, who decided to take revenge on the Qalmaqs, asked the ruler of Tashkent, Nauruz Ahmad Khan (Barak Khan), for help, but he refused to take part in the campaign, citing the large number of Qalmaqs [Sultanov 2005: 257–258].

As we can see, in Seifi Celebi's story, the ruler of Qazaqs is named Tauyekel Khan, but Tauyekel became a khan only around 1582–1583. Commenting on Seifi Celebi's information, Tursun Sultanov writes:

*The Qalmaqs apparently defeated not the yurt of Tauyekel Khan, but that of Tauyekel Sultan, and the Khan at that time was Hakk-Nazar* [Sultanov 1970: 48].<sup>15</sup>

In his opinion, this was because "Seifi connected the events that took place in the 1550s with the name of the Qazaq khan contemporary to him — Tauyekel" [Sultanov 1997: 380–381]. Vladimir Moiseyev writes that, according to the opinion of Vasily Barthold, this attack of Tauyekel on the Oirats (Qalmaqs) was made in 1552 [Moiseev 1991: 14]. However, Barthold has no dating of this event; he indicates only that in 1552 Altan Khan conquered the Oirats [Bartold 1963: 96]. According to the German orientalist J. Matuz, this campaign of Qalmaqs to the Qazaq lands took place between 1551/1552 and 1556 [Matuz 1970: 152]. Sultanov also writes:

*Taking into account the mention of Altan Khan and Barak Khan in this story, this event should be dated between 1552 and 1556, that is, the period from the subjugation of the Qalmaqs by the Tumet leader to the death of the ruler of Tashkent* [Sultanov 1997: 380].<sup>16</sup>

In my opinion, the events described by Seyfi Celebi took place in 1552–1553. One can rely on the information of the English traveler Antonio Jenkinson, who reported that in 1557 the Qazaqs were at war with the ruler of Tashkent. And this great war, according to him, began three years earlier, in 1554. Therefore, the Qazaq khan could ask the Shibanid Nauruz Ahmad Khan of Tashkent for help by proposing an alliance against the Qalmaqs before the conflict began. It is likely that the Shibanid refused to join forces against the Qalmaqs because he had only recently ascended the throne of Tashkent and had not yet assembled a strong enough army. By 1554, Nauruz Ahmad was strong enough to become the de facto ruler of the entire Shibanid state. [Muhammadyar b. Arab 1385: 159; Qozhamquli-bek Balkhi 2017: 745; Mukminova, Filanovich 2001: 53; Askarov, et al. 1993: 50]. Then, according to *Tarīkh-i-Qipchāqī*, he had 200-thousand troops [Qozhamquli-bek Balkhi 2017: 745]. Therefore, I believe that it is preferable to date the Qalmaq campaign to 1552–1553.

Ilya Zlatkin pointed out that Jenkinson in 1557 could not pass from Central Asia to China because of the war between Qazaqs and Qalmaqs (Oirats) [Zlatkin 1964: 68, 103]. However, the English traveler had no such information.

*At my being at Boghare, there came Carauans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay, and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured 3 yeeres before my coming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries and cities of Tartars that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the saide Cities. The cities are called*

<sup>15</sup> Разгрому калмаков подвергся, по-видимому, иль не Тевеккель-хана, но Тевеккель-султана, а ханом в тот период был Хакк-Назар.

<sup>16</sup> Учитывая упоминание в данном рассказе Алтан-хана и Барак-хана, это событие следует датировать периодами между 1552–1556 годами, то есть периодом от покорения калмаков туметским предводителем до кончины правителя Ташкента.

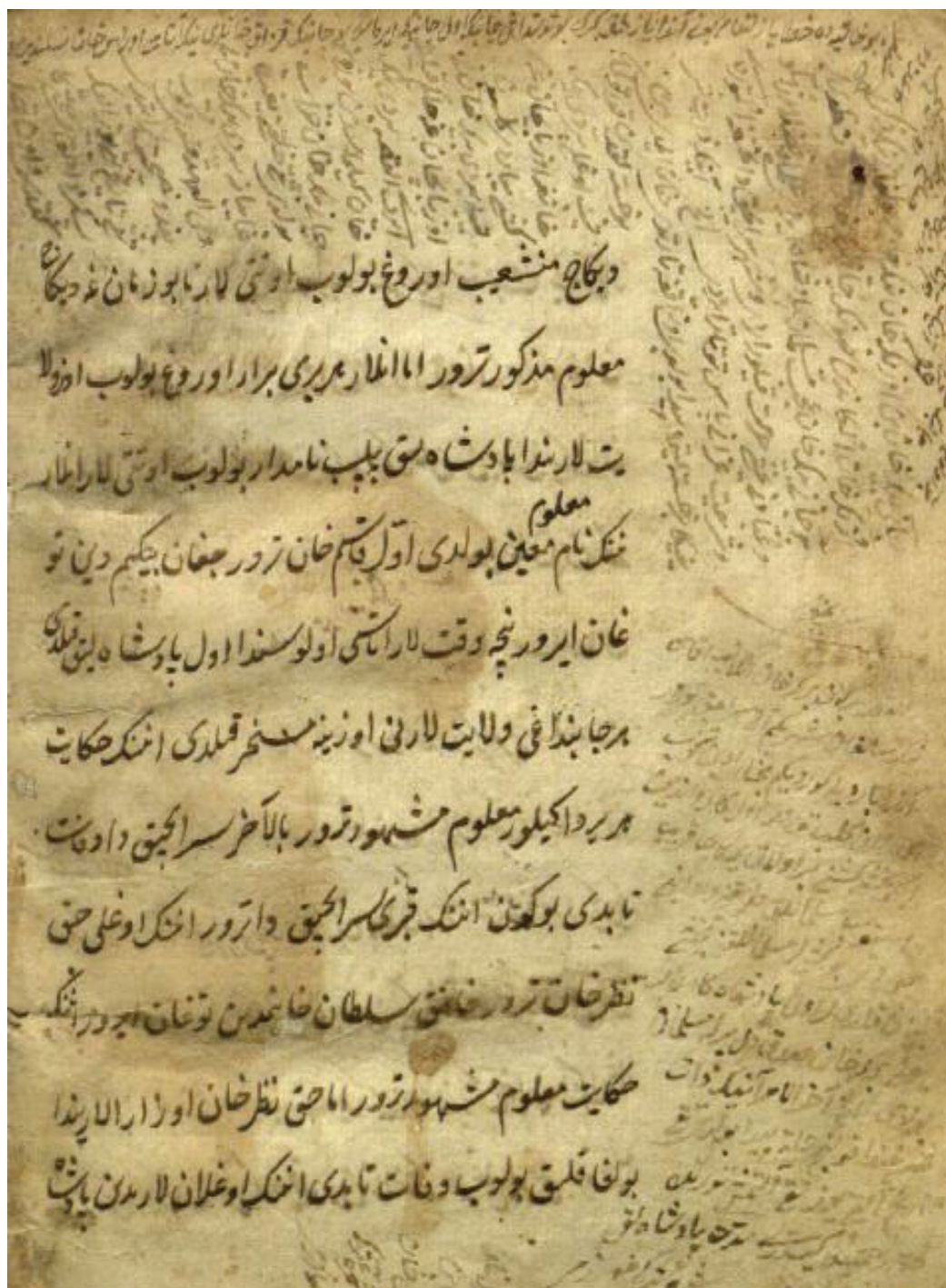


Fig. 2. Qazaq khans in the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* by Qadyrghali-bek Qosumuly. Library of St. Petersburg State University, MsO – 59, №10422

2-сур. Қадырғали бек Қосымұлының «Жамиғ ат-тауарих» еңбегіндегі қазақ хандары. Санкт-Петербург мемлекеттік университетінің кітапханасы, MsO – 59, №10422

Рис. 2. Казахские ханы в труде Кадырғали-бека Косумулы «Джами ат-таварих». Библиотека Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета, MsO – 59, №10422





*Taskent and Caskayre, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet, and they which warre with the said Countrey of Caskayre, are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters* [Morgan, Coote 1886: 90–91].

As we can see, Jenkinson wrote about the Qazaqs' war with Tashkent, where Nauruz Ahmad Khan (Barak Khan) ruled, and not with the Oirats.

In the 1560-1580s, the Qalmaqs under pressure from their eastern neighbors intensified their migrations to the lands of the Qazaq Khanate. Their advance went in two directions. The uluses of Dorbet and part of the Torghuts moved westward and occupied the valleys from the Irtysh River to the Ishim River. The second group of Qalmaqs, the uluses of Khoshut and Choros, moved from Irtysh in south-western direction and occupied the lands of northeastern Zhetysu. Already in 1587, Khoshuts roamed west of Tarbagatai along the banks of the Emel and Ili rivers. The easternmost were the Khoits [Zlatkin 1964: 111].

The Qazaqs bravely resisted the invasion of the Qalmaqs. According to *Jāmi'ū't-tawārīkh* by Qadyrghali-bek Qosumuly, the Qazaq sultan Ondan, son of Shigai Khan, father of the famous ruler of the Kasimov Khanate, Oraz-Muhammad, died in one of the battles with the Qalmaqs. According to Qadyrghali-bek Qosumuly, he was a brave warrior and a skilled archer. Ondan Sultan was the main commander of the Qazaq army under his father, Shigai Khan [Qadyr-ali-bek 1854: 165]. In an archival document, he is called the "Nogai Tsar" [Belyakov 2019: 22]. According to Qadyrghali-bek Qosumuly, Ondan died at the age of 30. After his death, he was buried in Turkestan, in the mausoleum of Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi [Qadyr-ali-bek 1854: 165, Qadyrgali 1997: 123]. Vladimir Vel'yaminov-Zernov dated this Qazaq-Qalmaq battle to 1585 [Velyaminov-Zernov 1864: 365, 399].

With the rise to power of Tauykel Khan, son of Shigai, the position of the Qazaq Khanate was noticeably strengthened. The Qazaqs were able to achieve significant successes in foreign policy<sup>17</sup>, including relations with the Qalmaqs. According to Qul-Muhammad, the Qazaq envoy to Moscow, at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Tauykel Khan appointed his brother Shahmahmet (Shah Muhammad) Sultan as the ruler of the Qalmaqs [Kireev, et al. 1961: 3]. Ilya Zlatkin explains this by the fact that at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the relatively united Qalmaq state was confronted with disunited, weak Oirat principalities that suffered defeats on the battlefields [Zlatkin 1964: 166]. Researchers rightly believe that one cannot speak of the subjugation of all Qalmaqs. Under the authority of the Qazaq khan there were some Qalmaq groups that wandered in the territories bordering the Qazaq Khanate. Tursun Sultanov suggests that, according to Remezov's chronicle, Tauykel Khan subjugated the Qalmaqs living in the basin of the Ishim River in the 1590s, and the main nomadic areas of the Qalmaqs at that time were on the Irtysh River and along Lake Zaisan [Sultanov 2020: 244]. According to Zlatkin, under the authority of the Qazaq khan were temporarily "the inhabitants of the possessions of the Torghut or Dorbet princes" [Zlatkin 1964: 119].

The fact of the subjugation of the Qalmaqs was reflected in archival documents on the title of Tauykel Khan: he appears as the tsar of the "Kazatskaya and Kolmatskaya hordes" [Isin 2005: 202]. The Russian Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), in a letter to Tauykel Khan, wrote:

*Now, by the grace of God, you have become the tsar of two hordes, the Kazatskaya and the Kolmytskaya, and we, the great tsar and grand prince Fyodor Ivanovich, the autocrat of all Russia, would like to receive you under our tsar's hand with your two hordes, the Kazatskaya and the Kolmytskaya.* [Isin 2005: 201].<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Vladimir Moiseyev, seeking to show the power of the Qazaq Khanate under Tauykel Khan, quoted an excerpt from the message of the Russian envoy Danila Gubin, see: [Moiseev 1991: 16]. However, this message does not refer to Tauykel Khan's reign. The message is dated not 1594, but September 1536; see: [Rumovsky 1791: 276].

<sup>18</sup> *Ныне Божию милостью училилися еси царем на дву Ордах, на Казатцкой да на Колмытской, и нам бы, великому государю и великому князю Федору Ивановичу всеа Русии самодержцу, тебя пожаловати приняти под свою царскую руку с обеими вашими Ордами с Казатцкою и с Колматцкою.*

In another letter to the Russian ambassador in England, Tauyekel Khan is already named as “Tevkel tsar of the Pegaya Horde, Kolmaki, and Kazatskaya Horde” [Isin 2005: 212].

The groups of Qalmaqs subordinate to Tauyekel Khan were part of his military campaigns. For example, according to *Tarikh-i Sayyid Rakim* by Amir Sayyid Sharif Rakim Samarqandi, Qalmaqs and Qyrghyz participated in his campaign to Mawarannahr in 1598 [Abuseitova, Baranova 2001: 260].

However, the subjugation of the Qalmaqs by the Qazaq Khanate did not last long. After the death of Tauyekel Khan in 1598, these groups of Qalmaqs, as Vladimir Moiseyev writes, “refused to recognize the authority of his successors over them” [Moiseev 1991: 17]. And at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Qalmaqs posed a significant threat to the eastern and southeastern territories of the Qazaq Khanate.

## Conclusions

The history of Qazaq-Qalmaq relations thus begins in the 1520s. For the next eighty years, until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the nature of these relationships was complicated. Most of the time, they were hostile, although sometimes separate groups of Qalmaqs made alliances with the Qazaqs and fought together against outside forces. At times, some Qalmaq groups were not only political allies of the Qazaqs but were also subservient to the rulers of the Qazaq state, most notably Tauyekel Khan.

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