

THE KALMYK-NOGAI RELATIONS FROM THE MID-16TH CENTURY TO THE MID-17TH CENTURY

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Abstract

This article is written about the Kalmyks, who have not been studied much by historians in our country. An attempt is made to look at the history of the Kalmyks through their relations with the Nogais from the mid-16th century to the mid-17th century. The relations between the two sides are explained using the archival documents and the Russian literature. The methodology of the article is based on the principles of historicism, complexity and objectivity. Basing the article on these principles allows a better understanding of how the relations between the two sides are shaped according to historical events and facts. As a result, based on the information we provide in the article, it is possible to make the following inferences: The Kalmyk-Nogai relations followed two different courses, before and after 1632. The main factor that determines the course of the relations between the two sides is the goals of the Kalmyks. The goal of the Kalmyks until 1632 was to find a safe place. In this direction, they migrated west from the Irtysh River and had to fight against the Nogais they encountered. On the other hand, the goal of the Kalmyks since 1632 has been to subdue the Nogais in the North Caucasus.

Keywords: Great Nogais, Altıul Nogais, Lesser Nogais, Kalmyks, Volga River.

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16. Yüzyılın Ortalarından 17. Yüzyılın Ortalarına Kadar Kalmuk-Nogay Münasebetleri

Öz

Bu makale, ülkemizdeki tarihçiler tarafından pek incelenmemiş bir konu olan Kalmuklar hakkında kaleme alınmaktadır. Kalmukların tarihine, onların Nogaylar ile 16. yüzyılın ortalarından 17. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar kurdukları münasebetler üzerinden bakılmaya çalışılmaktadır. İki taraf arasındaki münasebetler, arşiv belgeleri ve Rusça literatürden istifade edilerek açıklanmaktadır. Makalenin metodolojisi, tarihselcilik, karmaşıklık ve nesnellik ilkelerine dayanmaktadır. Makalenin bu ilkelere dayandırılması, iki taraf arasındaki münasebetlerin tarihi hadiseler ve olgulara göre nasıl şekillendiğinin daha iyi anlaşılmasına imkân sağlamaktadır. Netice itibariyle makalede verdiğimiz bilgilere dayanarak özetle şu çıkarımlarda bulunmak mümkündür: Kalmuk-Nogay ilişkileri, 1632 yılından önce ve sonra olmak üzere iki farklı seyir izlemektedir. İki taraf arasındaki ilişkilerin seyrini belirleyen esas etken Kalmukların hedefleridir. Kalmukların 1632 yılına kadarki hedefi, yaşamak için güvenli bir yer bulmaktır. Bu doğrultuda onlar, dalgalar hâlinde İrtiş Nehrinden batıya göç etmişler ve karşılaştıkları Nogaylar ile mücadele etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Öte yandan Kalmukların 1632 yılından itibaren hedefi ise Kuzey Kafkasya'daki Nogayları itaat altına almaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulu Nogaylar, Altul Nogayları, Küçük Nogaylar, Kalmuklar, Volga Nehri

During the reign of Genghis Khan (1206-1227), the Kalmyks¹, who lived west of Lake Baikal and at the foothills of the Altai Mountains, were the military wing of the Mongol Empire. The Kalmyks continued their military characteristics during the period of grandchildren of Genghis Khan, and in particular, they went east with Kublai Khan and played a role in the establishment of the China-based Yuan Dynasty in 1271. However, as a result of the rebellions that broke out after

¹ They are also called *Oirats* and *Dzungars* in historical literature. The name *Kalmyk* was used mainly by Turks and Russians. Historians believe that the name *Kalmyk* did not exist at first, but arose later, and they put forward various political, sociological and religious views on what the name means. About these views, see: Junko Miyawaki, "History of the Dzungars: Introductory Survey", *History of Civilization of Central Asia (Development in Contrast: From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century)*, Volume 5, (ed. Chahryar Adle-Irfan Habib), (co-ed. Karl M. Bipakov), Paris 2003, p. 141; Mualla Uydu Yücel, "Kalmuklar", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Volume XXIV, İstanbul 2001, p. 267; Ekrem Kalan, *Cungar Hanlığının Siyasî Tarihi*, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Master's Thesis, İstanbul 2005, p. 7; Oktay Berber, *Kalmuk İstilası ve Türk Dünyasına Etkileri*, Ankara University, Social Science Institute, Ph.D., Ankara 2014, pp. 26-36.

the death of Kublai Khan, the Yuan Dynasty collapsed in 1368, and the Kalmyks had to return to their homeland.²

The Kalmyks, who returned to their homeland, began to fight against the Khalkhas³ for sovereignty. Although the Kalmyk Taisha⁴ Togan managed to kill Argutai, the leader of the Khalkhas, in the early fifteenth century, he could not subdue his ulus. However, after the death of Togan, his son Esen succeeded him, and in a short time he subdued the Khalkhas and declared himself the khan of all Mongolia.⁵

On the other hand, after the death of Esen, the dominance of the Kalmyks in Mongolia weakened, and the struggles between the Kalmyks and the Khalkhas started again. During these struggles, the Kalmyks, who were severely defeated by the Khalkhas, had to migrate to the Irtysh River.⁶ However, the Kalmyks could not stay by the Irtysh River for a long time, due to internal and external factors, and migrated to the Tobol, Ishim, Yaik, Emba and Volga rivers at various times.⁷ The Kalmyks, who reached especially the Yaik, Emba and Volga rivers, came across the Nogais and established positive and negative relations with them.

The first contact between Kalmyks and Nogais occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Great Nogais⁸ repelled the Kalmyk groups migrating towards the north of the Caspian Sea in 1556. After this event, there was no contact between the two sides for a long time, but nevertheless, in 1578, the children of Sheikh-Mamai Mirza were given the task of *stand against the Kalmyks* by Urus Beg. On the other hand, in the spring of 1607, the Great Nogai Mirza Ishtarek and his ulus, who fled to the Yaik and Emba rivers due to a heavy blow

² The Kalmyks, who returned to Mongolia, were divided into four clans: Dorbet (ᠳᠣᠷᠪᠡᠲ), Khoshut (ᠬᠣᠰᠢᠬᠤᠲᠤ), Choros (ᠴᠣᠷᠣᠰ) and Torghut (ᠲᠣᠷᠭᠠᠬᠤᠲᠤ). See: Mecnun Yılmaz, “Soyuzы Sibirskikh Shibanidov s Tyurskimi i Mongol’skimi Gruppami v Voenno-Politicheskikh Tselyakh”, *Turkologia*, 116, (2023), p. 78.

³ It is a general term given to the eastern Mongols in historical literature. See: Mualla Uydu Yücel, “Kalmuklar”, p. 267.

⁴ It is one of the titles given to tribal leaders among communities of Mongolian origin. For detailed information, see: Moisey Aaronovich Krol’, “Taysha”, *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar’ Brokgauza i Yefrona*, Volume XXXIIa, Sankt-Peterburg 1901, p. 511.

⁵ Uryubdzhur Erdniyevich Erdniyev, *Kalmyki, Istoriko-Etnograficheskie Oчерki*, Elista 1985, p. 25.

⁶ *Oчерki Istorii Kalmytskoy ASSR: Dooktyabr’skiy Peroid*, (ed. Nikolay V. Ustyugov), Moskva 1967, p. 70.

⁷ Mecnun Tarık Yılmaz, “Elçilik Dairesi (Posolskiy Prikaz) Belgelerine Göre Tayşa Ayuka’nın 1673 Tarihli Yemini”, *Anasay*, 26, (2023), p. 79.

⁸ They are the main mass of Nogais. They lived in the lands around the Yaik, Or, Irgiz, Samara, Volga, Bolshoy Uzen and Maly Uzen rivers. See: Anatoliy Matveyevich Tyurin, “Kalmyki, Karanogaytsy, Kubanskіe Nogaytsy i Krymskie Tatory-Genogeograficheskiy i Genogenealogicheskiy Aspekty”, *Zhurnal Frontirnykh Issledovaniy*, II/6, (2017), p. 8.

from the rebels in Astrakhan, encountered the Kalmyks.⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have information about the results of this encounter between the two sides.

Some events between the Kalmyks and the Russians over time intensified the Kalmyk-Nogai contacts. As a matter of fact, in September 1607, five great Kalmyk taishas conveyed to Tsar Vasili Ivanovich Shuisky IV (reigned 1606-1610) that they wanted to be vassals of the Tsardom of Russia, and in return they stated that they wanted to roam freely along the Irtysh River. The tsar accepted the demands of the Kalmyk taishas, and he also granted them the right to roam all lands close to Russian cities in Siberia.¹⁰ However, soon after this agreement, the Kalmyks ceased to be vassals of the Tsardom of Russia, so the tsar ordered the voievods of the Russian cities in Siberia to:

*“If the Kalmyk taishas and their uluses do not want to be our vassals and do not pay us taxes, then you say to them: Do not roam along our Irtysh, Om and Kamishlov rivers and salt lakes; do not hunt our fish and animals; leave our lands in Siberia. If they do not heed what you say, then you send armies against them from all the cities in Siberia.”*¹¹

Conversely, the Kalmyks continued to refuse to be vassals of the Tsardom of Russia and not to pay taxes to the Russians, and they also attacked the volosts of the Tarsky Uyezd and occupied the salt lakes. As a result, the relations between the Kalmyks and the Russians completely deteriorated, and struggles began between the two sides.¹² During these struggles, some of the Kalmyks migrated west to get rid of pressure from the Russians. This situation, as we have already said, led to increased contacts between the Kalmyks and the Nogais.

In 1613, 4,000 Kalmyks migrated to the Yaik River and attacked the ulus of the Great Nogai Mirza Kel-Muhammad, whom they encountered there.¹³ In order to respond to this attack, Kel-Muhammad united with Ishtarek Mirza in November of the same year, and they organized a military expedition against the Kalmyks. According to the news reported to Moscow by the Great Nogai Envoy Kara-Bogatir, the expedition resulted in the success of the mirzas, and the Kalmyks were expelled from the lands of the Great Nogais.¹⁴ On the other hand, these news are probably either false or the Kalmyks only moved away from the lands of the Great Nogais for a certain period of time. Because Ishtarek Mirza and his ulus were exposed to the attack of the Kalmyks in 1617.¹⁵ Likewise, the Great Nogais,

⁹ Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy Ordı*, Moskva 2002, pp. 372, 412.

¹⁰ *Russko-Mongol'skiye Otnosheniya 1607-1636*, (comps. Lidiya M. Gataullina, et al.), (eds. Il'ja Ya. Zlatkin and Nikolay V. Ustyugov), Moskva 1959, pp. 22-23.

¹¹ *Russko-Mongol'skiye Otnosheniya 1607-1636*, p. 39.

¹² Gerard Fridrikh Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, Volume II, Moskva 2000, pp. 258-259.

¹³ Sergey Nikolayevich Bogayavlyenskiy, “Materialy po Istorii Kalmykov v Pervoy Polovine XVII Veka”, *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, Volume 5, Moskva 1939, p. 57.

¹⁴ RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 1-3; RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 2, l. 2.

¹⁵ Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy Ordı*, p. 412.

who roamed along the Uzen and Qamish-Samara rivers, were exposed to the attacks of the Kalmyks in 1619.¹⁶

In 1622, the Kalmyks, who roamed along the rivers of Siberia, such as the Irtysh, Ishim and Ob, were attacked by the Altyn-Khan Mongols¹⁷. As a result of this event, some of the Kalmyks migrated to the Yaik River in order to find a safer place for themselves.¹⁸ This created a big panic among the Great Nogais.¹⁹ In September 1625, the Great Nogai Mirza Kanai sent Ali Mirza to the Kalmyks as an envoy. Ali Mirza, during negotiations with the Kalmyk taishas, stated that the Great Nogais intend to maintain peaceful relations with the Kalmyks and demanded the establishment of commercial relations between the two sides. In response to these words, the Kalmyk taishas promised to be at peace with the Great Nogais and sent 3,000 horses to Astrakhan for trade. However, although friendly relations were maintained between the two sides, the Great Nogais were dividing into clans among themselves, so there was no consensus among the Great Nogais. As a result of this situation, Tordughal Mirza from the Tinmamet clan of the Great Nogais kidnapped the Kalmyk horses in November 1625, and Khan Mirza from the same clan attacked the Kalmyks in December 1625.²⁰

At the time of these events between the Tinmamet clan of the Great Nogais and the Kalmyks in the west, some disagreements arose between the Kalmyk taishas in the east. Thus, in 1625, some of the Kalmyks left their territories and began to migrate west. When these Kalmyks reached the Emba River, they encountered the Altiul (i.e. Alti-ogul) Nogais²¹ and tried to maintain friendly relations with them. In this context, the Kalmyk taishas Dalai-Batur, Mangit and Batur sent envoys to the Altiul Nogai Mirza Shaynek in 1626.²² Although the sources do not give any information about the course between the two sides after

¹⁶ Yelena Viktorovna Kusainova, *Russko-Nogayskiye Otnosheniya i Kazachestvo v Kontse XV-XVII Veka*, Volgograd 2005, p. 158.

¹⁷ In the sixteenth century, they established a khanate in northwestern Mongolia under the leadership of Sholoy-Ubashi Khuntaishi. The dominance of the Altyn-Khan Mongols in the region lasted about 100 years. For detailed information, see: Nina Pavlovna Shastina, "Altyn-Khany Zapadnoy Mongolii v XVII v.," *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye*, Volume XV, Moskva-Leningrad 1949, pp. 383-395.

¹⁸ *Russko-Mongol'skiye Otnosheniya 1607-1636*, p. 109; *Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya v Tsentralnoy Azii XVII-XVIII vv.*, Book I, (ed. Boris P. Guryevich), Moskva 1989, p. 58.

¹⁹ Sergey Nikolayevich Bogayavlyenskiy, "Materialy po Istorii Kalmykov v Pervoy Polovine XVII Veka", p. 61.

²⁰ RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 79-81.

²¹ During the power struggles that arose among the Great Nogais after the death of Sheikh-Mamai, his sons Kasim, Khan, Bay, Bey, Bek, Ak left their homelands and migrated to the lands between the Syr Darya and Emba rivers. These Nogai groups are called Altiul, which means six sons. For detailed information, see: Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, "Altyuli: Ostatki Nogayskoy Ordy v Kazahskih Stepakh", *Vestnik Yemazii*, 2, (2001), pp. 34-38.

²² RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 221-222.

the envoys were sent to the Altıul Nogai mirza by the Kalmyk taishas, we think that the relations between the two sides have developed positively. Because the sources indicate that the Altıul Nogai mirzas Sultanai and Sheikh-Muhammad sent envoys to Daichin, the son of the Kalmyk Taisha Batur, and asked for military support against the Russians in Astrakhan in 1627.²³

While such positive relations were experienced between the Altıul Nogais and the Kalmyks, a dissension arose between the Great Nogais in the autumn of 1628. Taking advantage of this situation, the Altıul Nogais sent envoys to the Kalmyks, who roamed along the Emba River, and offered to attack the Great Nogais. Accepting this offer, the Kalmyks united with the Altıul Nogais, and they attacked the ulus of the Great Nogai Mirza Mambet-Sein on October 31, 1628.²⁴ This attack not only affected the ulus of Mambet-Sein, but also created a big panic among all the Great Nogais, who lived on the land between the Volga and Yaik rivers. In the face of this event, in 1629, the Great Nogais sent envoys to Moscow and demanded that they be taken under the protection of the Tsardom of Russia. This request was accepted by Moscow.²⁵ However, the disagreements that arose between the Kalmyks taishas in the east were still continuing, so there was constant a migration of the Kalmyks to the west. As a result, the number of the Kalmyks in the west was increasing, and therefore, Moscow could not adequately protect the Great Nogais.

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In the autumn of 1630, the Kalmyk Taisha Kho-Orluk, together with his 6 sons and 50,000 Kalmyks, migrated to the Emba River. Thereupon, the Altıul Nogai Mirza Saltanai, contacted the Kalmyks and offered to launch a joint attack against the Great Nogais living around Astrakhan.²⁶ As a matter of fact, Saltanai and Kho-Orluk attacked the Great Nogais on December 27, 1630 and captured a lot of booty and captives.²⁷ Likewise, in 1631, Kho-Orluk united with the Altıul Nogais, and they attacked the Great Nogai mirzas Kanai and Kel-Muhammad.²⁸

The Kalmyk Taisha Kho-Orluk established the military camp by the Volga River in 1632.²⁹ After this event, the Kalmyks intensified their pressure on the Great Nogais and finally launched a major attack against them on April 13, 1633.

²³ RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 354-358.

²⁴ RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 18-19.

²⁵ Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy Ordı*, p. 412.

²⁶ Sergey Nikolayevich Bogayavlyenskiy, "Materialy po Istorii Kalmykov v Pervoy Polovine XVII Veka", p. 67.

²⁷ Aleksey Andreyevich Novosel'skiy, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo Gosudarstva s Tatarami v Pervoy Polovine XVII Veka*, Moskva 1948, p. 224.

²⁸ Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy Ordı*, p. 414.

²⁹ Vladimir Petrovich Sanchirov, "K Izucheniyu Toponimiki Oyratov i Kalmykov (XVII-XVIII vv.)", *Novyy Istoricheskiy Vestnik: Nauchnoe Izdaniye*, XXIX/3, (2011), p. 68; Junko Miyawaki, "History of the Dzungars: Introductory Survey", *History of Civilization of Central Asia (Development in Contrast: From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century)*, p. 146.

In response to this attack, the Russians organized a military expedition against the Kalmyks on April 22 to protect the Great Nogais, but they did not achieve any success.³⁰ Thus, some of the Great Nogais, who believed that the Russians were useless against Kalmyk attacks, moved to the Don River.³¹ However, this migration movement carried out by the Great Nogais was not the last. Because the military pressure of the Kalmyks on the Great Nogais continued, and therefore, the living space of them was restricted. As a result, on January 9, 1634, some of the Great Nogais had to leave the Volga River.³² According to historian Vadim V. Trepavlov, after this event, the left banks of the Volga River began to be called *the Kalmyk side* instead of *the Nogai side*.³³

The Great Nogais, who migrated to the Don River, followed the invitation of the Crimean khan in 1636 and went to the Crimea. The Astrakhan Voievod F. A. Telyatovsky wanted to return the Great Nogais from the Crimea to the Volga River again, but he was not successful about it. However, starting from 1637, the Great Nogais began to return to the Volga River of their own free will and again recognized the sovereignty of the Tsardom of Russia. On the other hand, F. A. Telyatovsky imprisoned the Great Nogai mirzas, who returned from the Crimea to the Volga River in 1643, on the grounds that they had left the Volga River without permission. This caused some of the Great Nogais to create an alliance with the Kalmyks against the Russians. As a matter of fact, on February 19, 1643, the Great Nogais attacked the Russian garrison in Astrakhan with the help of the Kalmyks and captured many people. After this event, some of the Great Nogais fled to the Terek River.³⁴

Starting in the autumn of 1643, the Kalmyks crossed the Volga River and advanced towards the North Caucasus. The main purpose of the Kalmyks was to subdue the Great Nogais and the Lesser Nogais³⁵ in the region. In the autumn of 1643, the Kalmyk Taisha Louzan, son of Kho-Orluk, attacked the Kuban Nogais, one of the subgroups of the Lesser Nogais, and captured many people. The

³⁰ RGADA, f. 127, op. 1, d. 1, l. 106, 108-109, 112, 116-118, 139.

³¹ Marsel' Muritovich Mannapov, "K Voprosu o Mezhetnicheskikh Kontaktakh i Letnih Kochevках Bashkir i Kalmykov v XVII v. v Stepnom Zavolzh'ye", *Izvestiya Altayskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Istoriya, Politologiya*, IV/3, (2008), p. 156.

³² Oktay Berber, *Kalmuk İstilası ve Türk Dünyasına Etkileri*, p. 138.

³³ Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriya Nogayskoy Ordy*, p. 407.

³⁴ Kermen Petrovna Koltsova and Petr Mikhaylovich Koltsov, "Rasselenie Kalmykov v Volgo-Ural'skom Mezhdurech'ye v XVII-XVIII vv.: Problemy Vzaimodeystviya s Sosednimi Narodami v Kontekste Rossiyskoy Vneshney Politiki", *Gumanitarnyye i Yuridicheskiye Issledovaniya*, 3, (2019), pp. 54-55.

³⁵ It is the name given to the Nogai groups who did not accept Yusuf Mirza's rule and gathered around Ghazi (Qazi) Mirza in the 16th century. These Nogai groups lived in the lands between the Kuban and Baksan rivers. For detailed information, see: Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejays, "La Grande Horde Nogay et le Problème des Communications entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Asie Centrale en 1552-1556", *Turcica*, XVIII/2, (1976), p. 205.

success of the attack encouraged the other Kalmyk taishas. Thus, at the end of 1643, the Kalmuk Taisha Daian-Erkhe, grandson of Kho-Orluk, organized a military expedition to the Terek River and captured some of the ulus of Cheban and Karasain, sons of the Great Nogai Mirza Ishtarek. In 1644, a military expedition was organized to the Kuban Nogais, who lived in the Kabarda, by the Kalmyk Taisha Kho-Orluk. However, the Kalmyks could not achieve any success, because the Russians and the Kabardians and the Crimean Khan Muhammad-Giray IV helped the Kuban Nogais. During this expedition, Kho-Orluk and his sons Kireysan and Irgenten were killed, and also many Kalmyk were captured.³⁶ After the failure of this expedition, in March 1644, the Kalmyks sent envoys to the Kuban Nogais to returned the captives and the remains of the dead taishas. According to sources, negotiations between the two sides were positive, and the Kalmyk captives were returned.³⁷

Despite the defeat in 1644, the Kalmyks continued their efforts to dominate the Lesser Nogais in the North Caucasus. In this direction, in 1660, the Kalmyk Taisha Monchak, grandson of Kho-Orluk, attacked the Lesser Nogais and their accompanying Ottoman soldiers, and captured 1,000 people. Following this, he attacked the uluses of the Lesser Nogai mirzas Cantemir Ablina, Urak Kaspulatov, Devey, Navruz Shidyakov in the vicinity of Temryuk, Taman, Kemurdey, Besleney and captured many horses and cattles. In March 1661, he returned to the camp by the Volga River.³⁸

8

Conclusion

It is possible to divide the Kalmyk-Nogai relations into two periods. The first period begins with the migration of the Kalmyks from east to west due to various internal and external factors. The Kalmyks, who migrated west, had to struggle with the Nogais in order to settle in the lands around the Yaik, Emba and Volga rivers. The division within the Nogais made it easier for the Kalmyks to settle in the lands. Thanks to the military support they received from the Altııı Nogais, the Kalmyks were successful against the Great Nogais and penetrated as far as the Volga River. The first period of the Kalmyk-Nogai relations ended when

³⁶ Rustam Maratovich Begeulov, “Kalmytskiy Pokhod na Severnyy Kavkaz v 1643—1644 gg.”, *Narody Kavkaza: Istorıya, Etnologıya, Kultura. K 60-Letıyu so Dnya Rozhdeniya V. S. Uarşjati: Materialy Vserossiyskoy Nauchnoy Konferentsii s Mezhdunarodnym Uchasıtiem*, Vladikavkaz 2014, pp. 210-218; Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and The Kalmyk Nomad 1600–1771*, Ithaca 1992, p. 86.

³⁷ Vladimir Toltayevich Tepkeyev and German Mandıyevich Borlikov, “Vzaimootnosheniya Kalmykov s Narodami Severnogo Kavkaza v Kontekste Voyenno-Politicheskikh Kontaktov v Seredine XVII Veka”, *Bylye Gody*, L/4, (2018), p. 1392.

³⁸ Vladimir Toltayevich Tepkeyev and German Mandıyevich Borlikov, “Vzaimootnosheniya Kalmykov s Narodami Severnogo Kavkaza v Kontekste Voyenno-Politicheskikh Kontaktov v Seredine XVII Veka”, p. 1393.

the Kalmyks established a military camp by the Volga River. The second period begins with the Kalmyks crossing the Volga River, entering the North Caucasus and trying to subdue the Nogais there. During this period, the Kalmyks could not achieve absolute success against the Nogais. As a matter of fact, although the Kalmyks captured many Nogais and booty in the struggles between the two sides; most of the great taishas lost their lives.

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