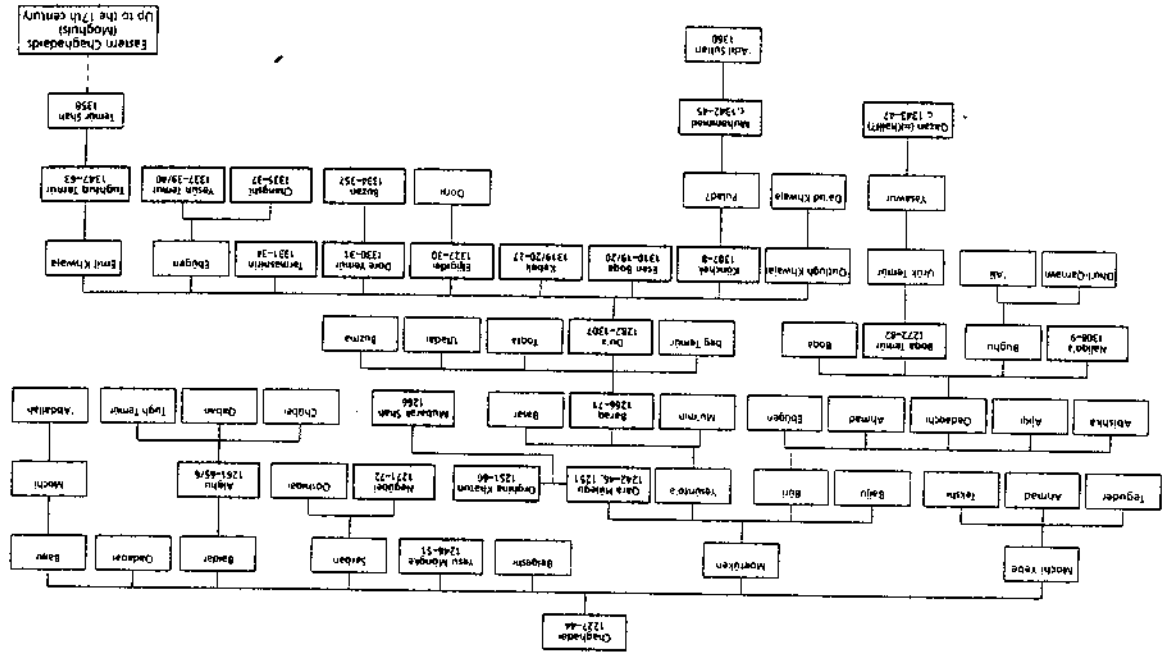


# Genealogy of the Chaghadayid Rulers (up to 1347)



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equivalent to modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, parts of South Kazakhstan and southern Xinjiang. Chaghadaid resided in the vicinity of Almaliq (or Almaliq) (near modern Kulja in north-west Xinjiang) on the Ili River. Ögödei, Chinggis's nominated heir, received a smaller adjacent region between Emil and Qobaq in Zungharia (north-east Xinjiang and South Kazakhstan), but as *qaqhan* he ruled from Qara Qorum. Both the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms had been under Qara Khitai rule for most of the century preceding the Mongol invasion. This highly cosmopolitan and multilingual territory had enjoyed relative stability and prosperity for most of the second half of the twelfth century. Yet, even at its height, the region, unlike Iran or China, lacked an established imperial tradition and a strong sedentary basis. Its peaceful conditions were severely disturbed in the early thirteenth century by the deterioration of the Qara Khitai ruling house, the struggle between the Khwārazm Shāh and the Qara Khitai and the repercussions of the rise of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia, developments which caused the Qara Khitai to lose control of both Uighuria and Transoxania.<sup>1</sup>

The Mongol conquest of Central Asia was surprisingly benign in its eastern part: the Uighurs voluntarily submitted to Chinggis in 1209, becoming major cultural brokers for the nascent empire, and the Qarlucs of Qayaliq and Almaliq followed them in 1211. In 1218 when Jebe was sent to annihilate Gūchūtiūk, the Naiman prince who had usurped the Qara Khitai throne and threatened Chinggis's hegemony in Mongolia, he pursued and killed the prince, but did not severely harm Semirech'e and the Tarim Basin, incorporating most of the Qara Khitai troops into Mongol armies. The Mongol conquest of Transoxania, then under the Khwārazm Shāh, was, however, extremely harsh. Yet it was speedy: less than a year after the Mongols crossed the Jaxartes in the autumn of 1219 they already ruled the whole province, and Transoxania's successful restoration had already begun in earnest by Chinggis's time.<sup>2</sup> However, as one of the first regions that became part of the Mongol realm, Central Asia's resources – human and material – continued to be channelled for the benefit of the ever-expanding empire, often at the expense of local interests.

Chaghadaid, an expert on Mongol law (*jasaq* or *yasa*) and rituals, remained in Mongol Central Asia. He was infamous for his harshness, which reportedly cost him the Qaghanate. Nonetheless, Chaghadaid fully accepted the authority of his younger brother Ögödei, who succeeded Chinggis in 1229. He was highly respected as Chinggis's oldest living son (Jochi had died in 1227) and

<sup>2</sup> See Biran, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> See Jackson's chapter in this volume. For the conquest and restoration see Biran, 2007, pp. 47–70.

## The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's invasion to the rise of Temür: the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms

MICHAL BIRAN

Chinggis's campaign into the Muslim world of Central Asia,<sup>1</sup> a watershed in the region's history, completed his transformation from a successful nomadic chieftain on the fringes of China to a world-conqueror on an unparalleled scale. The speedy annihilation of the Qara Khitai and Khwārazm (Khorezm) Shāh realms not only drastically enlarged the territories and manpower under Chinggis's control, but also bolstered his public image as someone predestined by Heaven to conquer the entire world. Moreover, these conquests closely exposed him to Muslim sedentary culture, different from that of China, which for centuries had been the major reference point for the nomads of Mongolia, thereby greatly enlarging the stock of administrative, military and cultural tools at his disposal. As for Central Asia, much of the region's subsequent political culture, ethnic composition and concepts of legitimacy and law go back to Chinggis Khan. Yet the century and a half that followed the Mongol conquest was far from being the region's golden age. Moreover, the history of Chinggisid Central Asia, largely associated with the Chaghadaid khanate, is less studied in comparison with contemporary Mongol states or with other periods of Central Asian history, because of the paucity of written sources. This chapter reviews the political history of Central Asia under the Mongols up to 1347 and then briefly discusses major economic and cultural-religious phenomena.

### Political history

*The United Empire up to Alghu's reign (1220s–1260s)*

When Chinggis Khan apportioned appanages to his sons, Chaghadaid (Turk Chaghatai) received the land stretching from Uighuria to the Oxus, roughly

<sup>1</sup> 'Central Asia' here refers to the area between the Oxus and the eastern border of modern Xinjiang.

son Mubārak Shāh. Chaghadaid weakness was quickly manipulated by the Jochids, who extended their control to Transoxania and Western Turkestan. The two defeated *ulus*s were thus reduced to varying degrees of impotency.<sup>7</sup>

The struggle between Qubilai and Arigh Böke, which followed Mōngke's death (1259), gave the deprived *ulus*s of Central Asia a chance to restore their fortunes. The Toluid contenders tried to secure a Chaghadaid alliance, each appointing his protégé to the *qaqhan*'s office: Qubilai sent Abishqa, Chaghadaid's great-grandson who had been raised in China, to marry Orghina, but Arigh Böke engineered Abishqa's death before he reached Turkestan. He then appointed his supporter, Alghu, Chaghadaid's grandson from Baidar, to head the *ulus*. In 1261 Arigh Böke sent Alghu to organize supply shipments from Central Asia to Mongolia. Taking advantage of the Golden Horde's preoccupation with the Ilkhanate in the early 1260s, Alghu (r. 1261–6) took over the former Chaghadaid territories and much more at the expense of the Golden Horde, the Ögödeids and the *qaqhan*. Soon afterwards, in 1263, he switched his support to Qubilai, thereby largely facilitating the latter's victory. As a reward, Qubilai confirmed Alghu's rule over the territory stretching from the Altai to the Oxus, including the former Ögödeid realm as well. Even before that, Alghu gained the alliance of Orghina, who married him, and of Mas'ūd Beg, the experienced administrator of Central Asia.<sup>8</sup> Yet before the Chaghadaids could fully benefit from Alghu's achievements, Ögödeid's grandson, Qaidu, appeared on the scene and gained control over Central Asia.

#### The reign of Qaidu: 1271–1301<sup>9</sup>

Qaidu (1236–1301) was born to Ögödeid's son Kashi and grew up in Ögödeid's *ordu*. Too young to be involved in the succession disputes of 1251, in 1252 Mōngke assigned him the city of Qayaliq, in South Kazakhstan, not far from Alghu's base in Almaliq. Qaidu might have begun striving for the Ögödeid cause during Mōngke's reign, but the Qubilai–Arigh Böke conflict certainly permitted him to attempt the restoration of the fortunes of the Ögödeid *ulus*. His first rival was Alghu, who, after joining Qubilai, attacked Qaidu, as part of his attempt to impose his rule on Central Asia. Qaidu turned to the Golden Horde for help. With its assistance he managed to vanquish Alghu once, but was badly defeated in his second attempt, and was saved only by Alghu's death (early 1266).

The vacuum in Central Asia following Alghu's demise in close proximity to the deaths of Ilkhan Hülügü (1265) and Berke, khan of the Golden Horde

retained his own court and guard, but the close supervision of the *qaqhan*'s representatives in the sedentary regions of his realm was often a source of tension. In 1238, when the Bukharan population headed by Maḥmūd Tarabī, a sieve-maker adept in magic, revolted against Mongol financial demands, Chaghadaid took no part in its suppression, leaving it to the *qaqhan*'s troops; the city was saved from savage Mongol reprisals by the intervention of Maḥmūd Yalawāch, the *qaqhan*'s chief administrator in Turkestan. Shortly afterwards, Chaghadaid fell into a dispute with Maḥmūd, after ordering the transfer of certain Transoxanian lands subject to the *qaqhan* to another man. Maḥmūd complained to Ögödeid, who forgave his brother, added the contested territories to Chaghadaid's private appanages, and transferred Maḥmūd to China, while entrusting Turkestan's sedentary regions to Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd Beg.<sup>4</sup> After Ögödeid's death, Chaghadaid quarrelled with the *qaqhan*'s governor in Khurāsān, Kōrgūz, later executed in the Chaghadaid court. As early as 1242, Chaghadaid princes competed with Batu, khan of the Golden Horde, and with the representatives of Törege, Ögödeid's wife and the regent after his death (1241–6), for authority in Khurāsān.<sup>5</sup>

Chaghadaid died around 1244,<sup>6</sup> and was succeeded by his grandson Qara Hülügü, whose father, Mō'ētūken, Chinggis's favourite, had died during the Mongol siege of Bamiyan (1221). Although Qara Hülügü had been designated heir apparent by Chinggis Khan, Chaghadaid and Ögödeid, when Güyük took power in 1246, he deposed him in favour of Yesü Mōngke, Chaghadaid's oldest living son and Güyük's friend, who, however, excelled mostly in drinking. With Güyük's death (1248) most Chaghadaids supported the Ögödeids and opposed the accession of Tolui's son, Mōngke (1251–9). The Toluid usurpation therefore badly harmed the Central Asian Mongols: the Ögödeid *ulus* was completely dissolved, most Ögödeids were either executed or exiled from Central Asia, their army redistributed among the other imperial branches and their territories mostly incorporated into the *qaqhan*'s realm. Only a few minor princes who had supported Mōngke received small and widely separated appanages. The Chaghadaids retained their *ulus* status but their ranks were also thinned: leading princes and commanders were either executed or exiled. Yesü Mōngke was deposed in favour of Qara Hülügü, who had supported Mōngke, but he died before reaching Turkestan, and was replaced by his widow, Orghina, Chinggis's granddaughter, who acted as a regent for their infant

4 al-Juvainī/Boyle, pp. 107–14; Rashid al-Dīn/Boyle, p. 156; Allsen, 'Maḥmūd Yalawāch', in de Rachewitz *et al.* 1993, p. 124.

5 Harawi, 1994, pp. 127–8; Rashid al-Dīn/Boyle, pp. 189–90; Jackson, 1992, p. 344.

6 Qarshi, p. 138.

7 Allsen, 1987, pp. 30–4.

8 Barthold, 1977, pp. 488–92; Liu Yingsheng, 2006, pp. 143–70.

9 This section is mainly based on Biran, 1997.

(1267), as well as Qubilai's preoccupation in China, enabled Qaidu to expand his realm eastwards. Refusing Qubilai's appeals to appear at court, he took Talas and Almaliq and raided the Uighur capital Beshbaliq (near modern Turfan), which was under Qubilai's dominion. The *qaghan*, aware of the potential threat to his legitimacy from an Ögödeid rebel, reacted in 1268, and his army pushed back Qaidu first from Almaliq and then from Talas, where he became once more involved in Chaghadaid politics.

After Alghu's death, Orghina, in March 1266, enthroned her son Mubarak Shāh, without the *qaghan's* approval. A few months later, however, he was deposed by his cousin, Baraq (r. 1266–71), who had grown up in Qubilai's *ordu*. Around 1263, Qubilai, hoping to use him against Qaidu, complied with Baraq's request to return to Central Asia. Although Baraq quickly turned against Qubilai, he had his own reasons for attacking Qaidu, fearing that after losing Talas he would aim at Transoxania. In 1268 Baraq soundly defeated Qaidu near the Jaxartes, but was unable to overcome the combined forces of Qaidu and the Golden Horde. He fled westwards and was busily pillaging Bukhara and Samarqand when Qaidu's emissaries offered peace. The princes set up a *qurultai* in the spring of 1269 at Talas, where they decided that two-thirds of Transoxania's revenues would devolve to Baraq and one-third to Qaidu and Möngke Temür, the Golden Horde khan (r. 1267–81). They agreed to defend the interests of Transoxania's sedentary population, whose administration was entrusted to Mas'ūd Beg. The princes divided among them Transoxania's troops and artisans, formerly subject to the *qaghan*, and assigned pasturelands. From then on, the Mongols of Central Asia did not recognize the *qaghan's* authority.

Dissatisfied with his lot, Baraq planned to invade Khurāsān, then under Ilkhanid rule, which he defined as his ancestors' appanage. After lengthy preparations, in early 1270 Baraq crossed the Oxus and established himself in Khurāsān, but when the troops of Ilkhan Abaqa (r. 1265–81) met him near Herat in July 1270 he suffered a crushing defeat, facilitated by the betrayal of Qaidu's troops who had deserted before the battle. Baraq fled to Transoxania and died soon afterwards (August 1271). Most of his troops joined Qaidu and less than a month after Baraq's demise, Qaidu was enthroned as *qaghan* at Talas. Apart from being the Ögödeid khan, he was also empowered to appoint the head of the Chaghadaid *ulus*. The Battle of Herat thus led to the accession of Qaidu and to the loss of independence of the Chaghadaid *ulus*.

This did not happen without opposition: the sons of both Baraq and Alghu rebelled against Qaidu, as did his newly appointed Chaghadaid Khan, Negübei b. Satban b. Chaghadaï (r. 1271–2). Qaidu executed Negübei and enthroned

Boqa-Temür (r. 1272–82), grandson of Mö'etüken's son Büri, whose family later challenged the Chaghadaid throne on several occasions. Abaqa tried to exploit the Central Asian upheavals: in 1273 his troops invaded Bukhara, reducing it to ashes before returning to Iran. The sons of Baraq and Alghu pillaged the city again in 1276. Conciliation between Baraq's sons and Qaidu was reached only in 1282, when Qaidu appointed Baraq's son, Du'a, as the Chaghadaid Khan (r. 1282–1307). The close cooperation between the two, which lasted until Qaidu's death, enabled Du'a to reorganize the Chaghadaid *ulus*. Alghu's sons, however, moved into the *qaghan's* service, and garrisoned Hexi (the former Tangut region) up to the mid- to late fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Another important advantage that Qaidu gained from Baraq's defeat in 1270 was the alliance of Mas'ūd Beg. The latter and his sons served Qaidu and his family until the early 1300s, and with their blessing supervised the gradual rehabilitation of their sedentary territories.

Aware of Qaidu's achievements, and annoyed by his repeated refusals to acknowledge his authority, in 1271 Qubilai sent a coalition of lesser Toluid princes under his son Nomuqan to Almaliq against Qaidu, adding his senior general An Tong in 1275. Simultaneously Qubilai tried to assert his control of the Tarim Basin and of Uighuria, hoping to use these regions to support Nomuqan's force. This certainly endangered Qaidu, but in 1276 the princes that accompanied Nomuqan rebelled against him. They raided Mongolia, sent Nomuqan and An Tong to Qaidu and asked for his support. Qaidu dispatched Nomuqan to the Golden Horde and refrained from joining the princes, being busy fighting against Alghu's sons in Bukhara. Yet Qubilai's preoccupation with both this rebellion and the final assault on Song China (1276–9) enabled Qaidu to complete his takeover of Central Asia without a threat from the east. Moreover, after Qubilai had subdued the rebellion in 1282, many troops – and several fugitive princes – joined Qaidu, thereby greatly increasing his power. Around the same time Qaidu regained Almaliq, the old Chaghadaid capital. All this contributed to Du'a's willingness to accept Qaidu's leadership.

The 1280s and 1290s marked the apogee of Qaidu's state. During this period the Central Asian Mongols continuously harassed Yuan China, taking over the Tarim Basin and parts of Uighuria and obliging Qubilai to abandon the area in which he had heavily invested during the previous decades. They also supported other rebellions against Qubilai such as the 'Bry-Gung rebellion in Tibet in 1285 and that of Nayán, a descendant of Chinggis's brother, Otchigin, in Manchuria in 1287. While Qubilai fought in Manchuria, Qaidu and Du'a

10 For this Chaghadaid branch, see Liit Yingsheng, 2006, pp. 475–80.

invaded Mongolia, taking over Qara Qorum in 1289. Qubilai rushed troops to defend the original Mongol capital and the Central Asian princes evacuated it a few months later, but up to 1293 they continued to hold sway over large parts of Western Mongolia. Even after Yuan garrisons regained their control of the Yenisei area, Qaidu's forces were still able to threaten Qubilai's revenues in Mongolia, and they also continued their creeping annexation of Uighuria.

From the late 1280s onwards, Qaidu and Du'a's troops had also been active in other borderlands of Central Asia. Beginning in 1288 they invaded the Ilkhanate, taking over parts of Khurāsān. Here, too, they supported rebels, sending in the early 1290s troops to the aid of Nauruz, the rebellious Ilkhanid governor in Khurāsān. When Nauruz tried to assert his independence, however, Qaidu's troops were quick to defeat him, thereby facilitating his subsequent surrender to the future Ilkhan Ghāzān in 1294. Ilkhanid turncoats who had joined Qaidu during Nauruz's rebellion were, nonetheless, instrumental in future invasions from Central Asia: in 1295, when Chaghadaid forces reached Khurāsān and Māzandarān, and in 1300-1 when they reached further westwards, into Fars and Kirmān. Qaidu did not take part in these raids, leaving this front to his son Sarban, but Du'a was often dominant on the Khurāsāni border. Unlike the Yuan frontier, where many clashes between the invaders and Yuan army took place, the Ilkhans mostly refrained from meeting the Central Asian troops in battle, being more interested in their other fronts against the Golden Horde and the Mamliks.

The invasions into Iran were connected with another direction of Chaghadaid expansion: southwards, towards Afghanistan and India. As early as 1262, Alghu attempted to seize the Ghazna region, the appanage of the Qara'unas (or Negüderi), a hitherto independent Mongol group, originating in a Golden Horde garrison, who had occupied large parts of present-day Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup> In the early 1270s the region was subject to the Ilkhanate, and Ilkhan Abaqa installed there the deposed Chaghadaid Khan, Mubārak Shāh, who had found refuge in his realm and who remained in this office at least until 1279. In the 1290s Nauruz, while in Qaidu's service, was described as commander of the Negüderids, and his return to the Ilkhanate must have badly harmed Central Asian interests. Yet, in the mid- to late 1290s, the Chaghadaids renewed their control of Ghazna, and the area was entrusted to Du'a's son, Qutluğ Khwāja, who acted in coordination with Sarban further north. From then on Ghazna remained part of the Chaghadaid realm, and was also a base for several invasions, both into Iran, as described earlier, and into the rich

11 On the Qara'unas, see Aubin, 1969.

Delhi Sultanate. The earliest recorded operation in India is dated to 1297-8 when Qaidu's generals invaded the Panjab, in what seems to have been one of many - and not always successful - small-scale raids of the Central Asian Mongols into the region. In 1299-1300 Qutluğ Khwāja's forces posed a greater threat. Advancing directly on Delhi, they defeated the Sultan's army, withdrawing, with much booty, mainly because Qutluğ Khwāja was fatally wounded. Chaghadaid pressure in this direction continued after his (and Qaidu's) death.

Qaidu's relations with the Golden Horde were relatively friendly, although Möngke Temür had never received his share from the Talas agreement. From his death and throughout Noghai's era (1280-99)<sup>12</sup> the Horde was beset by internal rivalries and temporarily renounced the remnants of its authority in Central Asia. In the late thirteenth century, however, Qaidu and Du'a were involved with their northern neighbours, the White Horde, descendants of Jochi's eldest son Orda, who were theoretically subject to the Golden Horde. Qaidu and Du'a tried to elevate their own candidate onto the throne of the White Horde, but his opponent, building on the improved relations between the new Golden Horde khan Toqtó'a (r. 1290-1312) and the *qaghan*, tried around 1298 to ally the Golden Horde, the Yuan and the Ilkhanate against the Central Asian Mongols. This coalition never materialized but the threat forced Qaidu to station a considerable force on his northern frontier.

Even before that, the need to divide the Central Asian troops between various fronts, in the mid- to late 1290s, resulted in a series of defeats at the hands of the Yuan, where the new *qaghan*, Qubilai's grandson, Temür (r. 1295-1307), strengthened the border defences and attracted defectors from Qaidu's troops. In late 1298 Du'a set out to redress these setbacks and, taking Yuan border commanders by surprise, captured Temür's son-in-law, Kōrgūz, who commanded a garrison west of the Yenisei. The enraged Temür decided to eliminate the Central Asian menace. In 1300 a huge Yuan force under the newly appointed garrison commander, Qaishan (Temür's subsequent heir), moved to the Altai region to face Qaidu. The decisive battle took place in September 1301 south of the Altai and involved most of the troops of Qaidu and Du'a. After a fierce struggle Qaidu won the day but his death shortly afterwards enabled the Yuan to portray it as their victory.

Qaidu was the real founder of the Mongol state in Central Asia. Under his rule it asserted its independence from the *qaghan* and achieved a certain political and economic stability. Yet Qaidu was never strong enough to dismantle the Chaghadaids who retained their separate army and *ultus* inside his

12 For Noghai, a Jochid prince who acted as a joint ruler with the Golden Horde's khans, see Vácsáry's chapter in this volume.

state. Their special position led to the collapse of the Ögödeid state soon after Qaidu's demise.

*The return of the Chaghadaids: Du'a's house and its competitors up to the rise of the emirs (1301–1347)*

With Qaidu's death the Chaghadaids resumed their independence under Du'a, yet the annihilation of the Ögödeids and its repercussions undermined the khanate's stability. On his death-bed, Qaidu ordered his sons to heed the advice of Du'a. Using his position as king-maker, the latter did not enthrone Qaidu's designated heir, his son Orus, but Qaidu's older but less competent son, Chapar. Despite certain Ögödeid resistance, in the spring of 1303 Chapar was solemnly enthroned in Ermi. Soon afterwards, Du'a led a dramatic shift in the political orientation of the Central Asian Mongols and pursued peace with the Yuan. He explained his move in terms of Chinggisid unity, aspirations to continue Mongol expansion, securing the empire's trade routes and relieving the Chaghadaid army and subjects. More salient reasons were the fear of a joint Mongol attack on Central Asia, which the White Horde again proposed in 1302–3, and Du'a's wish to free himself of Ögödeid control.

Temür gladly accepted Du'a's peace proposal. Unlike Qaidu, Du'a posed no threat to the *qaghan's* legitimacy; the economic and military advantages of appeasing the northern border were clear enough, and after three decades of Qaidu's activity the Yuan had already given up its control of Central Asia. In late 1304 Du'a and Chapar surrendered to Temür, thereby creating a global peace in the Mongol world, which included also the settlement of other inter-Mongol conflicts.<sup>13</sup> Du'a indeed used the peace for continuing the expansion into India, the only non-Mongol front open for the Chaghadaids. In 1303 and 1305 Chaghadaid troops threatened Delhi, in coordination with the Qara'unas. Smaller-scale raids continued in the next years as well, but the conflicts between Ögödeids and Chaghadaids, which became apparent in the attackers' ranks, enabled the Delhi Sultanate to defeat the invaders who retreated to Ghazna.<sup>14</sup>

Ironically, in Central Asia the general peace merely marked the beginning of bloody warfare between the Ögödeids and the Chaghadaids. Chapar failed to reap any benefit from the peace he had promoted: not only was he treated as Du'a's equal, he also had to give up some of his territory to the Chaghadaids. Chaghadaid attempts to replace the Ögödeids in Central Asia opened a series of skirmishes in Transoxania, Talas and, most importantly, on the Yuan

<sup>13</sup> Biran, 1997, pp. 70–5.

<sup>14</sup> Vassaf, pp. 510, 517; Jackson, 1999a, pp. 222–31.

frontier, where Orus, Qaidu's chosen heir, was stationed with Qaidu's crack troops. Only with Yuan help were the Chaghadaids able to win. In June 1306, a joint force of Du'a and the Yuan commander in the Altai, the future *qaghan*, Qaishan (r. 1308–11), whom Du'a had manipulated to believe that Orus had plotted against him, badly defeated Orus. Many of his troops, including leading princes in Qaidu's entourage, defected to the *qaghan*, and thus a considerable part of the Ögödeid army was absorbed by Yuan garrisons. The Yuan took over the Irtys and the Altai regions, formerly under Chapar. In 1307 these regions together with most of Mongolia were organized into Yuan Ling-bei province, which became home for a huge nomadic population formerly under Qaidu. Simultaneously other supporters of Qaidu were beaten on various fronts and surrendered either to the Ilkhanate or to the Golden Horde. In late 1306 the desperate Chapar therefore surrendered to Du'a. The latter assigned him an appanage and a salary but continued splitting the Ögödeid ranks, deposing Chapar in favour of another, but otherwise unknown, son of Qaidu, Yanchichar, and giving special rights to Güyük's grandson. Only Du'a's demise in early 1307 temporarily prevented the complete dissolution of the Ögödeid *ulus*.<sup>15</sup>

Du'a was succeeded by his son Könček (r. 1307–8). Könček continued Du'a's policies of expansion into India and curtailment of Ögödeid power, and was challenged by the demands of the new Yuan *qaghan*, who saw himself eligible for a share of the taxes of core Chaghadaid territories – Talas, Tashkent and Samarqand,<sup>16</sup> though this probably never materialized. After Könček's untimely death, the throne was taken by Naliqo'a (r. 1308–9), brother of Böke Temür, the Chaghadaid khan who had preceded Du'a, and a Muslim. Opposition began among his immediate family, and gained force because of his pro-Muslim policies and his non-Du'a descent. The opposition rallied around Du'a's son, Kebek, who with the help of Naliqo'a's Du'a aid commanders managed to arrange his assassination during a banquet (*toy*) in 1308/9.

These struggles gave Qaidu's sons a last chance to regain power. In 1309 they attacked Kebek, who had just concluded his war with Naliqo'a. Recruiting the whole Chaghadaid army and some Ögödeid collaborators, Kebek managed to beat them, and in 1310 Chapar (with Yanchichar who died en route) therefore submitted to the Yuan. Chapar's arrival into the Yuan court, a journey that Qaidu refused to make since 1264, was solemnly celebrated in Dadu, where Chapar received Qaidu's frozen revenues from his Chinese appanages and the title Prince of Running (in Henan) which he passed on to his son

<sup>15</sup> Vassaf, pp. 510–12; Qashani, pp. 33–6, 54; Biran, 1997, pp. 73–7.  
<sup>16</sup> IS, ch. 22, pp. 502–3.

and grandson. The year 1310 also marked the end of the Ögödeid state: Qaidu's domains south and west of the Altai were taken over by the Yuan, whereas most of the remaining Ögödeid territory was annexed to the Chaghadaid Khanate. Ögödeid princes served in the ranks of the Yuan, the Chaghadaids and even the Ilkhanate, but they no longer had their own polity, leaving Mongol rule in Central Asia to the Chaghadaids.<sup>17</sup>

After defeating Chapar, in 1309 Kebek orchestrated the enthronement of his older brother, Esen-Boqa (r. c. 1309/10–1319/20), who was called from Afghanistan. As a reward, Esen-Boqa let Kebek choose the khanate's best warriors for his personal guard and sent him westwards to administer Ferghana and Transoxania.<sup>18</sup> Another brother was sent to assert Chaghadaid control over the Qara'unas and the Indian frontier. Yet the main challenge to Esen-Boqa's reign came from the east. After the Yuan took over Chapar's realm, the winter and summer pastures of several Chaghadaid princes came under Yuan control, and the proximity of Yuan and Chaghadaid troops in Uighuria and the Altai created multiple opportunities for conflict. The simultaneous attempts of the Yuan to limit the volume of trade from Central Asia added to the tension. After his negotiation with Yuan garrison commanders over pasture rights failed in 1312 and his commander in Afghanistan suffered a defeat at the hands of the Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 1305–16), Esen-Boqa feared a joint Yuan–Ilkhanid coalition. He detained Yuan and Ilkhanid diplomatic missions and contacted the new Golden Horde Khan, Özbek (r. 1312–42). The latter, however, chose to side with the *qaghan* and may even have sent a considerable military force against the Chaghadaids. In 1314 Esen-Boqa twice attacked Yuan border commanders but lost. To compensate for the defeat, he sent Kebek to invade Khurasan. Kebek vanquished the Ilkhanid troops, and Esen-Boqa joined him in Khurasan. Yuan garrisons, now strengthened by Qaidu's former troops, took advantage of his absence. In 1316 they penetrated deeply into the Chaghadaid realm, reaching as far as Talas and the Issyk-Kul and plundering Esen-Boqa's household. The Yuan soon withdrew, but they improved their positions on the borders and retook Qara Khojo, the Uighur capital. Small-scale warfare on the Yuan–Chaghadaid frontier continued until the end of Esen-Boqa's reign in 1319–20.<sup>19</sup>

Simultaneously, Kebek's achievements in the west also evaporated due to the defection of Prince Yasawur to the Ilkhanate. Yasawur, a grandson

17 Liu Yingsheng, 1986; Biran, 1997, pp. 69–80.

18 Qashāni, pp. 149–50; Najanzī, p. 107; Yağsāf, pp. 518–20; Kato, 1991, p. 103.

19 al-'Umari/Lech, p. 79; Yuan, Joe, n.d., ch. 34, pp. 512–13; Qashāni, pp. 202–5; Liu Yingsheng, in Anitai-Preis and Biran, 2005, pp. 339–53.

of Buqa-Temür, hence a non-Du'aid, had been the senior Chaghadaid commander in Transoxania prior to Kebek's arrival, and the two were often at odds, especially during the 1315 invasion of Khurasan. In 1316, after a Yuan victory and elaborate negotiations with Öljeitü, Yasawur plundered Transoxania and crossed the Oxus accompanied by a *tümeit* of his personal troops and by other princes and soldiers, some 30,000–40,000 warriors and their families. Ilkhan Öljeitü gladly appointed him over Khurasan, a nomination confirmed by Öljeitü's heir, Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–35). Yasawur had difficulty in asserting his authority, especially over the Kartid dynasty of Herat, but he had grand aspirations that included Iran and Iraq. In 1319, taking advantage of Abū Sa'īd's internal and external difficulties, Yasawur revolted against him. Abū Sa'īd turned to the Chaghadaids for help and Kebek, who in early 1320 inherited Esen-Boqa's throne, was happy to comply. In the spring of 1320 Kebek's troops executed Yasawur, winning back most of his emirs and offspring who returned to Transoxania.<sup>20</sup> Kebek, whose reign marked the zenith of the Chaghadaid khanate, also won over the Qara'unas in Afghanistan and in 1321–2 renewed Chaghadaid invasions into India. In 1322, allied with Özbek, he invaded Khurasan, provoking an Ilkhanid retaliatory attack on Kebek's brother and commander in Afghanistan, Tarmashirin, in 1326. Tarmashirin was badly routed, but Ghazna remained in Chaghadaid hands.

Since his accession Kebek pursued peace with the Yuan, aware of the economic advantages of such a move, but he had first to quell the opposition of his emirs in the east who preferred to continue raiding. In 1323, Kebek was finally able to submit to the Yuan, thereby establishing tribute relations which continued for several decades. As part of the deal, Kebek may have regained Uighuria, since a Mongol document from Turfan cites his orders.<sup>21</sup> Kebek's main interest, however, remained in the west, and he is famous more for shaping the ulus's internal affairs than for his active foreign policy. Unlike his predecessors, he took up residence in Transoxania, building a capital in Qarshi (Turk. 'palace'), near Nakhshab, and strove to restore agriculture, trade and urban life in his war-ravaged territories. He minted new coins, which bore his name (*Kebeks*, hence *kopēka* in Russian), and launched a new administrative division of the khanate into *tümeits*, areas supporting 10,000 soldiers, assigning appanages to his emirs and taking great pains to limit their powers, thereby earning a reputation as a just ruler.<sup>22</sup>

20 Kempinets, 1985, esp. 64; Kato, 1991.

21 Cerensodnom and Taube, 1993, p. 183; Franke, 1962, pp. 404, 406.

22 For example, Ibn Baīṭūr/Gibb, pp. 557–8; Najanzī, 1957, pp. 107–8, 110–11; Yazdī, 1972, pp. 181–2; Kato, 1991, pp. 111–15.

In 1327, Kebek was succeeded by his brother Eljigidei (r. 1327–30), an experienced soldier who was favourably disposed to both Buddhism and Christianity. He returned to Almaliq and was more interested in the eastern zone of his state. In 1328–9 he was involved in a Yuan *coup d'état*, accompanying Qoshula, the eldest son of Qaishan (Yuan Wuzong r. 1308–11) who since 1317 had found refuge among the Chaghadaids from his uncles, and now coveted the Yuan throne. Despite the failure of his protégé, who was enthroned in Mongolia in early 1329 only to be poisoned by his brother and heir several months later, Eljigidei retained very friendly relations with the Yuan. Simultaneously, Eljigidei's brother and viceroy in Afghanistan, Tarmashirin, raided Delhi and gathered huge spoils before returning to Ghazna.

Eljigidei was succeeded by his brother Döre Temür (r. 1330–1), who was soon replaced by another brother, Tarmashirin (r. 1331–4). Like Kebek, Tarmashirin resided in Transoxania and promoted agriculture and trade. Unlike Kebek, he was a devout Muslim who actively disseminated Islam among his troops (many of them already Muslims), and used his conversion to facilitate diplomatic and trade relations with Mamlük Egypt and the Delhi Sultanate. Tarmashirin maintained friendly relations with the Yuan, but, perhaps afraid of his eastern commanders, he refrained from visiting the eastern part of his realm and did not convene the traditional *toy*. This attitude, which the eastern emirs saw as abrogating the *yasai*, combined with his Muslim and pro-sedentary policies and his unfortunate family position – he was the last in a long line of lateral successors to Du'a, which meant that the lineal descendants of the former khans all had a potentially good claim for the throne – led to his swift fall. In 1334 Tarmashirin's nephew, Buzan, son of Döre Temür, headed the rebellion of the eastern emirs that deposed Tarmashirin.<sup>23</sup>

With Tarmashirin's fall the khanate entered into a confused period, in which even the identity of the reigning khan is not always clear, a fact that attests to the growing impotency of the khans *vis-à-vis* the emirs.<sup>24</sup> The period is characterized by bitter succession struggles, including an Ögödeid usurpation; by rulers with different religious and geographical orientations; by the growing interest of the Golden Horde in Central Asia; and by the broadening of Chaghadaid authority in Khurāsān. This, however, mainly favoured the emirs of the Qarā'unas, one of whom eventually deposed the khan in 1347.

Some sources acknowledge Buzan as khan but there were certainly other pretenders (including even a Töluid candidate). The realm was then taken by

23 J.S. ch. 31, pp. 696–701; Biran, 2002b, pp. 742–52.

24 The classical account of this period is Barthold, 1956–62, I, pp. 51–4, 134–8; also Manz, 1989, pp. 21–57; Liu Yingsheng, 2006, pp. 430–50.

Changshi (r. 1335–early 1337). Du'a's grandson from his son Ebügen. A devout Buddhist who also favoured Christianity, Changshi moved back to Almaliq, but was killed by his brother Yesün-Temür (r. early 1337–9 or 1340) less than two years after his accession. Muslim sources describe Yesün-Temür as a madman, famous for cutting off his mother's breasts, but a Mongolian document from Turfan shows that he had an active administration, and the many coins bearing his name indicate that his authority prevailed in both Almaliq and Transoxania.<sup>25</sup> Epidemics, which inflicted the Issyk-Kul region in 1338–9, might have contributed to the deterioration of his rule, and in 1339 or 1340 he was deposed by the Ögödeid 'Alir Sultan, son of Ürüq Temür. This usurper was quickly deposed by the Chaghadaid emirs, and is famous mainly as a fanatic Muslim who persecuted the Christians in Almaliq.<sup>26</sup> These upheavals encouraged the Golden Horde to interfere in Central Asia, and only Özbek's death in 1342 put an end to a huge campaign.<sup>27</sup> In the early 1340s there were again, apparently, several candidates to the Chaghadaid throne including Muhammad Pulād (or Muhammad b. Pulād) b. Könček b. Du'a, and Khalif Sultan b. Yasawur who may have ruled simultaneously. Numismatic evidence attests that a certain Muhammad ruled in Almaliq in 1345, and that Khalif reigned in Bukhara in 1342–3. Khalif may have been identical with Qazan, son of Yasawur, who according to most Muslim historical sources succeeded Muhammad around 1343. Khalif and Qazan both resided in Transoxania, but while Khalif is mentioned only by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and in hagiographic sources (as a dervish who might have been the teacher of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband), Qazan is described in the Timurid sources as a 'bad last ruler' – an evil tyrant whose whims alienated his emirs. We have no alternative evidence to balance this view.<sup>28</sup> Under Qazan the Chaghadaids strengthened their hold on Khurāsān, benefiting from the collapse of the Ilkhanate (1335). Most of the new Khurāsāni territories came under the Qarā'unas emir, Qazaghan, who in 1347, on his second attempt, succeeded in deposing Qazan. With Qazaghan's accession real power in Transoxania shifted from the khanate to the emirs, although he and his heirs continued to appoint puppet khans – Ögödeids and Chaghadaids.<sup>29</sup>

Simultaneously with Qazaghan's accession, the eastern emirs enthroned Tughluq Temür (1347–63), an acclaimed grandson of Du'a through a minor

25 Aubin, 1976, p. 24; Fedorov, 2001; Fedorov, 2002; Cerensodnom and Traube, 1993, p. 181.

26 Ghaffāri, 1964, p. 198; Rashid al-Dīn/Boyle, p. 28; *Shajarat al-aṭrāk* fol. 104b; Yule, 1967, pp. 21–2, 212.

27 al-Shujā'i, 1985, II, pp. 234, 234.

28 Paul, 1990, pp. 284–91.

29 On Qazaghan see, for example, Aubin, 1976, pp. 23ff.; Najanzī, 1957, pp. 113–17; Khwāndamīr/Thackston, vol. 3/1, pp. 91–3, 380–3.



son, in Aqsu. Tughluq Temür, famed for bringing Islam to Moghulistan, invaded Transoxania in 1360 and held it until his death in an attempt to revive the integrated Chaghadaid khanate,<sup>30</sup> but with the rise of Tamerlane (1370), who defeated Qazghan's grandson, Husayn, the division between the Ulus *Chaghatai*, as the Turko-Mongolian nomads in Transoxania called themselves, and the eastern Chaghadaids in Moghulistan, became a reality. This political division, the roots of which are evident at least from Kebek's time, characterized Central Asia in earlier periods as well. In Transoxania the emirs continued to appoint puppet khans (mostly Ögödeids) well into Tamerlane's reign, while in the east, after a short period of dominion by the emirs, real power was regained by the Moghul Khans, who reigned until the late seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup>

#### Economy and administration

The Mongol state in Central Asia was divided into nomad and sedentary realms. The nomads were organized in decimal military units and subject to princes or commanders. Under Qaidu there was a strict distinction between his army and the Chaghadaid units. The Chaghadaids also kept the *kesig* (guard), which retained its core functions of guarding and serving the ruler. Khans and princes had their own guards and these units sometimes preserved their identity after the death of their leader.<sup>32</sup> Already under Qaidu, the khan usually commanded the Yuan front while princes led other fronts, notably Transoxania (facing the Ilkhanate) and Afghanistan (facing India and leading the Qara'unas). The princes who manned these posts were often leading candidates for the throne. When Kebek moved westwards he had difficulty in asserting his authority on the Yuan frontier. Tarmashirin did not have a loyal commander in the east, and from his reign onwards the Qara'unas were subject not to a prince but to an emir. The growing power of the Qara'unas' emir culminated in Qazghan's taking over Transoxania in 1347.

Probably from Qaidu's time and certainly from Kebek's the khanate was divided into *tümen*s (Mong. '10,000'), an area the revenues from which were required to support one *tümen* of troops. The *tümen* commanders were responsible

30 Moghulistan (literally: land of the Mongols) was the name for the eastern Chaghadaid territories, comprising modern Kyrgyzstan, South Kazakhstan and most of Xinjiang; on Tughluq Temür see Dughlār/Thackston, I, pp. 6–14; Kim Hodong, in *Amittai-Preis* and Morgan, 1999, pp. 299–304.

31 See the chapters by Manz and Millward in this volume.

32 Ibn Baṭṭāra/Gibb, pp. 557–8; Rashid al-Din/Boyle, pp. 148, 155, 257, 313–15; al-Juwayni/Boyle, p. 273; Manz, 1989, pp. 34, 83, 164–5; Ando, 1992, pp. 89–90; Biran, 1997, pp. 81–92.

for the collection of taxes in their regions, but it is hard to determine the relationship, if any, between military and administrative *tümen*s.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout the period under discussion, the Mongols remained nomads, living from pastoralism, hunting, raiding – and taxes – although supplementary agriculture is also attested. In the 1320s Transoxanian Mongol emirs owned villages, gardens and mills, and were generally more willing to live next to sedentaries than their kinsmen in Semirech'e.<sup>34</sup>

The sedentary sector in Central Asia was under the Yalawāch family throughout the thirteenth century, first under the *qaghans* and later under Al-ghu and Qaidu. Beneath these administrators, many local dynasties remained in power (in Almaliq, Utrar, Talas, Shash, Khojend, Ferghana, Tirmidh and Khotan). *Şadırs* (religious leaders) held prominent positions in other cities (Kashghar, Bukhara).<sup>35</sup>

After Qaidu's death the Chaghadaids had to establish their own administration. This was based on the Khans' guard, and, under Tarmashirin, was headed by four functionaries: the Khan's deputy (an emir); the vizier; the chamberlain and the seal-keeper.<sup>36</sup> *Şikāns* (governors) were stationed in cities, and, at least in Turfan, there was a complicated hierarchy of tax-collectors and postal station supervisors.<sup>37</sup>

Documents from Turfan describe a complicated taxation system, the main components of which were *ālm birim* – a general tax which included land tax and commercial imports (*tanğhat*); and *qalan* (labor tax). Additional taxes included the *qubchar* (poll-tax), and various demands for the maintenance of the postal system (for which most of the *qalan* labor was also assigned). While Chinese paper money was in use in Uighuria, most business was conducted there by barter and taxes were paid in kind (wine, leather, cotton, wheat).<sup>38</sup> In the rest of the Chaghadaid realm, however, most taxes were paid in cash. Already in the 1220s the Mongols sought to revive the Central Asian monetary economy, and under Möngke (1251–9) wide-scale minting of gold, silver and copper coins resumed in Almaliq. In 1271, concurrently with Qaidu's enthronement, Mas'ūd Beg implemented a currency reform in Central Asia, minting coins with a high percentage of silver. After the stabilization of Qaidu's rule in 1281–2, these coins proliferated in various mints in Transoxania and Ferghana

33 Biran, 1997, pp. 99–100; Matsui, 2005, p. 79.

34 Natanzī, 1957, pp. 107–8; Qashani, p. 208; Chelidovich, 1965, pp. 58, 65, 67, 68, 75, 83, 84, 107; Manz, 1983.

35 Biran, 1997, pp. 98–9.

36 Ibn Baṭṭāra/Gibb, pp. 557–8.

37 Qashani, p. 205; Weiers, 1967; Dang, 2004, pp. 15–22. It is uncertain how typical was the situation in Turfan for the khanate's other areas.

38 Matsui, 2005, pp. 72–9; Liu Yingsheng, 1995, p. 209.

Agriculture suffered both from the constant wars and from the multitude of pastoralists, though there were also successful attempts at recovery supported by the khans. Agriculture was restored in Transoxania after the original Mongol conquest; after Qaidu's stabilization (in the 1280s and 1290s), and under Kebek and Tarmashirin (1320s and 1330s), this time with only partial success. Uighur agriculture revived mainly in the fourteenth century, but in Semirech'e many agricultural lands became pasture in the 1250s, and the mid-fourteenth-century wars led to the complete decline of the region's agriculture and urban centres.<sup>43</sup>

### Culture and religion

The Mongols in Central Asia remained nomads throughout the period under discussion. They maintained mobile courts and welcomed their guests in lavish golden tents. Even when Kebek built a new capital in Qarshi it was a city of tents. The mobile courts included the usual Mongol amalgamation of experts of various origins: physicians, astronomers, scholars, poets, merchants and military specialists. Hunting remained a popular and respected activity of the khans, and women held a central place in Chaghadaid politics and patronage.<sup>44</sup>

Chaghadaid chancellery in Turfan was written in Mongolian at least until 1369, and the rare use of a 'Phags-Pa seal there suggests Yuan influence.<sup>45</sup> Already in Chaghadaid's time, however, his court was called *ulugh ev* ('Great House'), the khans Kebek and Tarmashirin spoke Turkic, and Turkic appeared on Chaghadaid seals.<sup>46</sup> Most Chaghadaid coins bore Arabic legends, and monumental inscriptions were written in Arabic and Persian.<sup>47</sup>

Chaghadaid was famous as an expert in Mongol rituals and customary law (the *jasag* or *yasa*). His erudition in ritual, especially the fire cult, made him the patron of shamans in later Mongolian folklore.<sup>48</sup> His zealotry in enforcing Mongol norms (sometimes colliding with Muslim ones) earned him an anti-Islamic reputation, although Muslims – often adept in magic no less than

43 Barthold, 1956–62, I, pp. 52–3; Biran, 1997, pp. 102–3; Chekhovich, 1965, pp. 40, 41, 42, 94; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, pp. 567, 571–2, 574, 590.

44 For example, Waley, 1931, pp. 97, 110, 116, 120; YS, ch. 151, p. 358; Rashid al-Din/Boyle, pp. 143, 149–51, 154; al-Juvaini/Boyle, pp. 272–6; Khwandamir/Thackston, pp. 44, 46; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, pp. 557–8; Natanzai, 1957, p. 110; Biran, 1997, pp. 2, 94, 97; O'Kane, 2004.

45 Ligeti, 1972, pp. 208–37; Franke, 1962, p. 407.

46 al-Juvaini/Boyle, pp. 504, 507, 536, 538, 586, 612; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, p. 557; Franke, 1962, p. 407.

47 O'Kane, 2004, pp. 277–8; Babajanov, 1999.

48 Birtalan, 2005, p. 308.

as well as in Almaty and Kashghar. Although the coins were anonymous and not uniform in iconography, their identical weight, purity and basic design suggest a central supervision on minting.<sup>39</sup> Further reform was introduced by Kebek, who was the first khan to mint coins in his own name. Following the reforms of Ghāzān in early fourteenth-century Iran, Kebek minted silver coin (*dirhām*) equivalent to six smaller silver coins (*dirhams*) with a new weight, which resulted in a developed monetary economy in Transoxania in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

Due to its central location, the Chaghadaid khanate had a major role in the commerce of the Silk Routes at least during the united empire period. Most of the *ortogs* (merchant 'partners' of Mongol princes) were either Central Asian Muslims or Uighurs. They must have kept contacts in their original hometowns, thereby creating commercial networks which spread throughout the empire. Later, although the frequent wars and political upheavals harmed commercial interests and shifted much of the East–West trade to maritime routes, the khans actively endeavoured to promote trade, for example when Qaidu and Du'a built the city of Andijan to serve as Ferghana's mercantile centre, and commercial interests influenced their political posture, especially with regard to their relations with the Yuan. Trade flourished especially in the 1320s and 1330s, when rapprochement with the Yuan resulted in regular tribute missions to China, and opened the Silk Routes for European and Muslim traders. After Tarmashirin's conversion we find Iraqi, Syrian and Indian traders active in Transoxania, often heading towards China or to the Golden Horde.<sup>41</sup> Central Asian exports included agricultural products (fruits, grains), animals (horses, camels, tigers, leopards), jade, jewels, furs, medicinal herbs, textile, wine and slaves, and there existed a commercial infrastructure of loans, hospices, road maintenance, post-stations and load animals for hire.<sup>42</sup>

While the khans maintained workshops and the region continued to produce textiles, jewellery and weapons, artisanship under the Chaghadaids did not seem to match its pre-Mongol level, mainly due to the transfer of the region's best artisans to Mongolia and China in the united empire period and afterwards.

39 Davidovich, 1970a, pp. 64–5; Biran, 1997, p. 101.

40 Davidovich and Dani, 1998, in Asimov and Bosworth, 1998, pp. 406–8; al-'Umari/Lech, p. 47; al-'Umari/India, pp. 48–9; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, pp. 542–60.

41 Alseni, 1989; see for example, 45, ch. 51, p. 3568; 55, p. 3592; 59, p. 3752; 62, p. 3987; 65, p. 4204; 74, p. 4635; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, pp. 546–8; al-'Umari/Lech, p. 41; al-'Umari/India, pp. 48–9; Yüle, 1967, pp. 31, 147, 212.

42 H.g. al-'Umari/India, p. 49; al-'Umari/Lech, pp. 47–8; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, pp. 542–60; YS, ch. 24 pp. 550, 551, 555; ch. 27, pp. 620, 629; ch. 28, pp. 631–2; *Jing shu dadian*, *Zhan dian*, 1960, ch. 19420, pp. 2, 14; Liu Yungsheng, 1995, pp. 202, 209; Dang, 2004.

Nestorian communities were scattered in Central Asia mainly in Semirech'e and Samarqand and later in Almaliq. The Issyk-Kul community was eliminated in 1338–9 due to a combination of epidemics, 'Alī Sultan's massacres and a gradual process of Islamization, but tomb inscriptions attest a Nestorian presence in Almaliq up to the mid- to late 1360s.<sup>56</sup> The Catholic mission flourished in Central Asia in the 1320s and 1330s despite Tarmashirin's conversion. It began as a by-product of the mission in China and established bishoprics in Almaliq (mid-1320s) and Samarqand (1329). The Almaliq bishop and his companions were massacred in 1339 by 'Alī Sultan, and attempts at revival – like those of the Nestorians – evaporated after the Islamization of the eastern khanate.<sup>57</sup>

We have more information on the culture of Chaghadaid Muslim subjects: although the main feature of the Chaghadaid period is the outward migration of scholars, certain scholarly activity continued inside the khanate. Before Chaghadaid Islamization, local Muslim dynasties in Almaliq, Khojend and Tirmidh recruited Muslim scholars; the Jaxartes region became more prominent with its centre in Sighnaq; and Bukhara retained some of its pre-Mongol prestige through scholars such as Shams al-'aī mā' Kārdārī (d. 1246), Fāfīz al-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 1296) and the Maḥbūbī *šadr*s (attested till 1346).<sup>58</sup> Among the Bukharan colleges, one was built by Mōngke's wife and another by Mas'ūd Beg, and after Tarmashirin's conversion his emir established many colleges in Ghazna. Law as well as hadith, Qur'an, Arabic grammar and belle-lettres (*ādab*) were taught in the colleges, and scientific activity in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, poetry and philology also continued.<sup>59</sup> Transoxania retained some scholarly prestige, at least in comparison to India: around the 1330s the Delhi Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq tried to attract Transoxanian scholars to his realm, and was willing to invest heavy sums of money to this end.<sup>60</sup>

Individual Sufis were active among the Chaghadaids, and are credited with Tughluq Temür's conversion. Chaghadaid Bukhara was a centre of thriving Sufi activity, mainly of the Kubrawī order. Among the disciples of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1220), the lines of Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī and Bābā Kamāl Jandī were particularly active. Bākhārī (d. 1261), famous for converting the Golden Horde khan Berke (1257–67), held an important *waqf* in Bukhara, which

56 Niu Ruiji 2007; Liu Yingsheng, 2006, pp. 543–54.

57 Ryan, 1998, pp. 371–3.

58 For example, Qarshī, pp. 140–3; Sakhāwī, 1966, II, pp. 194–5; al-Dhahabī, 1982–96, LVII, pp. 138–9, 266, LVIII, p. 78; LIX, p. 97; LX, pp. 178–9.

59 For example, al-Juvainī/Boyle, pp. 84–5; Sakhāwī, 1966, pp. 194–5; Mu'īn al-Fuqarā', 1960, pp. 21, 31, 33, 36–7, 40, 53–4, 55, 64, 71, 75; al-Dhahabī, 1982–96, LVII, p. 266; LVIII, pp. 116, 122; LIX, p. 57; LX, pp. 178–9; Brockelmann, 1938, pp. 257–259.

60 al-'Umari/India, pp. 48–9.

in Muslim law – held important posts in his court.<sup>49</sup> Despite this reputation and several cases of Muslim or Buddhist zealotness, Qaidu and most Chaghadaid khans were tolerant towards the main religions in their realm: Islam, Buddhism and Christianity. Several khans (Du'a, Elijigidei, Changshi, Yesün-Temür) favoured Buddhism, and even after his Islamization Tughluq Temür is said to have asked for a Buddhist teacher from Tibet. Mongolian documents from Turfan, most of which are Buddhist texts, suggest the popularity of Buddhism among the Mongols in this region. Buddhist monasteries were exempted from labour taxes (as was the rule in China) and sometimes also from land and sales taxes.<sup>50</sup> Chaghadaid himself was said to have been baptized, and several later khans (Elijigidei, Changshi) showed favour towards Christian missionaries and conducted diplomatic relations with the Pope.<sup>51</sup>

Chaghadaid Islamization was a gradual process, which began in the west and moved eastwards. As in the other Mongol khanates, contact with Muslim elements, mainly in the army and among the local population, as well as Sufi missionary activity were the main stimulators of conversion, though it took longer to root Islam among the *yasā*-adherent Chaghadaids than among other Mongols in West Asia. Tarmashirin is credited with bringing Islam to Mongol Transoxania, and his pro-Muslim policies certainly contributed to the khanate's Muslim character, although many emirs, several princes and ephemeral khans, and rank-and-file Mongols had embraced Islam before his rise. It took a few more decades before the Sufis established Islam in Moghulistan under Tughluq Temür and his heirs.<sup>52</sup> The few remaining Chaghadaid monuments – the mausoleum of Tughluq Temür in Almaliq and that of Bayan-Quli Khan (Qazghan's puppet khan, 1348–58) in Bukhara – date from the Muslim period and are obviously influenced by Ilkhanid style.<sup>53</sup>

The Chaghadaid subject population was mostly Muslim, although there were also considerable Buddhist and Christian communities. Uighuria was predominantly Buddhist and smaller Buddhist communities existed in Khotan, Kashghar and Qayaliq.<sup>54</sup> Although the Uighurs maintained close connections with Buddhists in Yuan China, Mongolian versions of the Alexander romance and of an Arabic divination book unearthed in Turfan suggest that Western cultural influence reached even the most eastern Chaghadaid realm.<sup>55</sup>

49 Khwandamūr/Thackston, pp. 44, 46; al-Juvainī/Boyle, pp. 272–6.

50 Nataanzī, 1997, p. 114; Ligeti, 1972, pp. 115–83; Matsui, 2005, pp. 72, 76; Roerich, 1949–53, II, p. 504; Jackson, 1992, p. 345.

51 Yule, 1967, pp. 31–2, 34–5, 81–8, 219–14; Ryan, 1998, pp. 364–8.

52 Biran, 2002b; Kim, 1999; Li Yixin, 1998.

53 O'Kane, 2004, pp. 277–88; Babjanov, 1999, pp. 197–207.

54 Liu Yingsheng, 2006, pp. 555–64.

55 Ligeti, 1972, pp. 184–207.

originated in a grant from Möngke's wife. It remained under the administration of his family until the mid-fourteenth century, accumulated considerable economic power, and some of its riches were used for the purchase, conversion and manumission of slaves. Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 1273), whose student was the sheikh of Mas'ūd Beg, was active in the Jaxartes region and beyond, among nomads and sedentaries. Bukharan Kubrāwī Sufis reached India, Kashmir, China and the Volga region and were a major agent of cross-cultural contacts in the khanate.<sup>61</sup>

The different economic and cultural orientations of the khanate's western and eastern realms contributed to its dissolution in 1347. Squeezed between stronger and richer Mongol khanates and plagued by internal strife and political instability, enhanced by its two competing ulus, the record of the Chaghadaid khanate is less illustrious than that of its neighbours. Still, the name Chaghadaid retained a certain prestige, attested by the fact that the Turkic-Mongolian nomads in Transoxania continued to call themselves *Ulus Chaghatai* even under Tamerlane and his heirs, when Central Asia did reach one of its zeniths. It is thus not a coincidence that *Chaghatai* was also the name given to the eastern Turkic literary language that flourished in the region from the fifteenth century onwards.

<sup>61</sup> Kim, 1996; DeWeese, 1988; DeWeese, 1994b.

## The Jochid realm: the western steppe and Eastern Europe

ISTVÁN VÁSÁRY

According to the regulations of the *yasa*, the Mongol legal code based on Chinggis Khan's ordinances, the entire empire was the property of the Khan's family, and its members divided up this property according to set principles. Every new conquest necessitated the division of the added spoils. Chinggis's first wife, Börte, bore four male children and Chinggis 'envisioned each of them as a ruler and called them the four *küligs* [pillars]'; dividing up the empire between them during his lifetime. The youngest son, Tolui, was the 'guardian of the hearth' (Mong. *otkhigin*), and thus received the ancient central Mongol regions along the Tola, Onon and Kerulen rivers as his inheritance. The third son, Ögödei, received the territory from Lake Balkhash westwards along the Imlil and Irtysh rivers. The second son, Chaghadaid (later Cha'adai), whose name is better known in its Turkic form, Chaghatai, became the official guardian of the *yasa*, and received the former centre of the Qara Khitai territory along the Ili, Chu and Talas rivers (today's Semirech'e) and later the Transoxania and Kashghar regions also came under his authority. Finally, Chinggis awarded the area of the Irtysh River and the Altai Mountains to his first-born son, Jochi, with the command to conquer the western steppe, the Dasht-i Qipchāq, as well.<sup>2</sup>

Jochi died unexpectedly in 1227, half a year before his father. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Jochi had nearly forty sons, among whom the chronicler mentions fourteen by name.<sup>3</sup> Four of them later founded their own dynasties: Orda, Batu (whose position as Jochi's heir had been confirmed by Chinggis), Shiban (or Sheiban) and Toqa-Temür.<sup>4</sup> Orda refused to succeed his father in

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston, I, p. 147 = Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan and Mūsavi, I, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston, II, p. 359 = Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan and Mūsavi, II, p. 731.

<sup>3</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn/Thackston, II, p. 348 = Rashīd al-Dīn/Rawshan and Mūsavi, II, pp. 709–10.

<sup>4</sup> For Chinggisid genealogies, the best source is Rashīd al-Dīn's work and two hitherto unpublished works: the *Shu'ab-i panjgane* of the same Rashīd al-Dīn and its Timurid continuation, the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The frequent references to the Istanbul MS of the former and the Paris MS of the latter in the scholarly literature cannot substitute for a reliable edition of both works. For Shiban's line see Sultanov, 2002.