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Chinggisids

The **Chinggisids** were the descendants of Chinggis Khān (r. 602–24/1206–27) who headed dynasties in the Muslim world and beyond, mainly from the seventh/thirteenth century to the twelfth/eighteenth. Chinggis Khān saw the Mongol empire as a joint possession of his clan and therefore divided appanages among its members—sons, daughters, brothers, and other relatives. Gradually, however, the descendants of his four sons by his chief wife, Börte, took over most of the other appanages and established various dynasties, some of which held power for centuries. After 658/1260, the united empire dissolved into four khānates—not identical with the territories belonging to the four sons; see below—centred in China, Iran, Russia, and Central Asia. While they were often at each other’s throats, the khānates maintained the ideal of Chinggisid unity and saw each other as brotherly states, clearly distinct from non-Chinggisid polities. Moreover, the Chinggisid principle according to which only descendants of Chinggis Khān were eligible to rule as *khāns* was followed in Central Asia until the twelfth/eighteenth century, despite

various manipulations. Even dynasties that replaced the Chinggisids attempted to gain a share of the Chinggisid charisma by marrying into the Chinggisids, known as the Golden Family. Even in non-Chinggisid polities, from the Ottoman Empire to Muscovy, descendants of Chinggis Khān enjoyed special privileges, and even twelfth/eighteenth-century Europe was aware of Chinggis Khān’s special status as the common ancestor of many Asian dynasties. This article concentrates on the dynasties established by Chinggis Khān’s four sons—Jochi, Chaghatai, Ögödei, and Tolui—and emphasises the Muslim polities. The Ögödeids lost all power in the early eighth/fourteenth century; the Toluids fell in China and Iran in about the middle of the same century, retaining limited power in Mongolia for centuries later; the Chaghatayids and Jochids, who ruled the steppes, preserved their authority into the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries and, in some cases, later.

1. THE TOLUIDS

As Chinggis Khān’s youngest son, Tolui (d. 629/1232) held the appanage in his father’s homeland, Mongolia. The Toluids came to the fore when Tolui’s older son, Möngke, was elected Great Khān (Mongolian, *Qa’an*; r. 649–58/1251–59), thereby deposing the Ögödeids who had earlier held the office. Möngke entrusted his two brothers, Qubilai and Hülegü, with broadening the empire’s borders towards China and the Middle East. After his death, Qubilai—following a succession struggle with their younger brother Arigh (Ariq) Böke, who had remained in Mongolia—succeeded Möngke as the *Qa’an*, ruling 658–93/1260–94, and established the Yuan dynasty (r. 1272–1368). He trans-

ferred the imperial capital from Mongolia to northern China and completed the conquest of southern China (673–6/1276–9). Qubilai also granted Hülegü the right to rule in the territories he had conquered. Hülegü adopted the title *Īlkhān* (lit., the submissive *khān*), and his descendants, the *Īlkhānids* (r. 658–736/1260–1335), ruled a territory stretching from the Caucasus to Iraq and from Anatolia to Khurāsān and revived the notion of Iran as a political entity. The two Toluid states maintained especially cordial relations—political, economic, and cultural—facilitated by the fact that both ruled vast sedentary regions and cultural resources. These exchanges resulted in artistic, commercial, and scientific splendor. In 694/1295, under Ghazan Khān (r. 694–703/1295–1304), the *Īlkhānate* adopted Islam but kept its close connections with China and Europe, and, up to the peace agreement in 723/1323, its anti-Mamlūk policy. In 736/1335 the last *Īlkhān*, Abū Saʿīd died childless. The attempts to find a strong ruler from the Hülegüid line or other branches failed, though minor Chinggisids held local power until 754/1353. Chinggisid in-laws who were also military commanders (e.g., Chobanids and Jalayirids) established several short-lived dynasties, but Iran was soon taken by another dynasty of in-laws, that of Tīmūr (Tamerlane, r. 771–807/1370–1405; see below). Yuan China fell in 1368 to the Han-Chinese Ming dynasty. The Mongols returned to Qaraqorum (in Mongolia) and established the northern Yuan dynasty, which ruled, in name only, from 1368 to 1634 but failed to unite the Mongol tribes. In the eleventh/seventeenth century the Manchus, who established the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) in China, began to attack Mongolia, completing its conquest in 1759. The Man-

chus married northern Yuan princesses, thereby becoming Chinggisid in-laws, and presented their rulers as incarnations of Chinggis and Qubilai, according to the Tibetan Buddhist system that prevailed in Mongolia at that time. They used this Chinggisid connection in order to ally various Mongol tribes against the non-Chinggisid Zungars (Dzungars, or Kalmyks/Qalmuqs, 1046–1172/1636–1759) but limited the actual power of the Chinggisids in Mongolia. With the fall of the Qing (1911), Mongolia won its independence but was never again ruled by Chinggisids.

2. THE ÖGÖDEYIDS

Chinggis Khān named Ögödei (r. 626–39/1229–41) as his heir, and Ögödei was, in many ways, the real founder of the empire's administration, legitimation, and religious policies. His personal appanage was in Zungaria, but as Qa'an he ruled the sedentary territories of the whole empire and built its capital in Mongolia. Ögödei was succeeded by his elder son, Güyüg (Güyük, r. 644–6/1246–8), after a long interregnum caused by Güyüg's bad relations with the Jochids. After his untimely death, the Ögödeids lost the Qa'anate to the Toluids. Their *ulus* (people, state) and territory were dissolved, and many were killed or exiled, although minor princes who supported Möngke received dispersed appanages. One of these princes, Ögödei's grandson Qaydu (r. 670–701/1271–1301) rose to revive the Ögödeyid cause. In the mid 660/1260s, Qaydu began to take over parts of Central Asia and refused Qubilai's summons. In 670/1271, after the Chaghatayid *khān* Baraq was defeated by the *Īlkhāns*, Qaydu enthroned himself as *khān* in Central Asia, also becoming the Chaghatayids' overlord. After 681/1282 he enjoyed the

support of Baraq's son, Du'a (r. 681–706/1282–1307), and together they invaded the Yuan and the Ilkhānate. After Qaydu's death, Du'a's manipulations forced Qaydu's heir Chapar to surrender to the Yuan, in 710/1310. While certain Ögödeid princes later contested the Chaghatayid throne, served as Tīmūrid puppet *khāns*, or vainly contested the Yuan throne, Chapar's surrender marked the end of the Ögödeids' power.

3. CHAGHATAYIDS

Chaghatay (r. 624–42/1227–44), Chinggis Khān's second son, received the territories of Central Asia, from the borders of the Uighur lands to the Oxus. The Chaghatayid *ulus* was severely harmed, after Möngke's rise, by its support of the Ögödeids. After Möngke's death, Alghu (r. c. 658–64/1260–6) attempted to restore the Chaghatayid territories, but the *ulus* soon fell under the sway of the Ögödeid Qaydu. Du'a Khān, who had been Qaydu's right hand, managed, after Qaydu's death, to break the power of the Ögödeids. His descendants remained the sole rulers of Mongol Central Asia and invaded India and Khurāsān. Under Du'a's son, Tarmashirin (r. 731–4/1331–4), Islam became the state religion in Transoxania. The succession struggles after Tarmashirin was deposed led to the division of the khānate into eastern (Moghulistan) and western (Transoxania) parts in 748/1347, and to the decline of the *khāns* power vis-à-vis their *amīrs*. In Moghulistan an *amīr* of the Dūghlāt tribe enthroned Tughluq Temür, allegedly Du'a's grandson. Soon afterwards, Tughluq Temür converted to Islam and conquered Transoxania, uniting the khānate for the last time. After Tughluq Temür's death, in 764/1363, Tīmūr drove his son out of Transoxania and took over the western

part of the khānate, although he continued to install Chaghatayid puppet *khāns*. After a period of Dūghlāt usurpation (766–97/1365–95), the *amīrs* enthroned another descendant of Tughluq Temür and surrendered to Tīmūr, recovering Moghul (Eastern Chaghatayid) independence after the latter's death, in 807/1405. The Moghuls despised the non-Chinggisid Tīmūrids, and the latter treated the Moghuls as *jete* (bandits). After the mid-ninth/fifteenth century, the Moghul centre moved to Kashgar, in western Xinjiang. Later, the Moghuls gradually took over Turfan (in eastern Xinjiang) and in 919/1513 advanced eastwards, taking Hami from the Ming dynasty and bringing Islam to this originally Buddhist region. By then, however, the Moghuls had lost to the Kazakhs first the Farghāna valley and then the Ili region. Having lost their best pasture lands, they gradually settled in their new centres at Yaqand and Turfan and soon lost most of their Mongolian language and customs. In 1088/1678 the Naqshbandī Šūfī Kh'ājas deposed the *khāns*, after making a marriage alliance with the Chinggisids. In Turfan, however, the Chaghatayids surrendered to the Qing dynasty (which had vanquished the Kh'ājas in 1170–2/1757–9) and maintained their rule there and in Hami up to the twentieth century.

Another offshoot of the Chaghatayids was the Mughals in India. The Moghul Yūnus Khān (874–91/1492–62) married his daughter to the Tīmūrid Abū Saīd. Their son Bābur (r. 932–7/1526–30) led the Tīmūrid refugees into India after the Shaybānid conquest of Transoxania in 906/1499–1500, eventually establishing the Mughal dynasty (r. 932–1274/1526–1858), which, while retaining certain Chinggisid traditions, called itself al-Tīmūrriya (i.e., the Tīmūrids).

4. THE JOCHIDS

The descendants of Jochi (d. 624/1227) founded the largest number of Muslim dynasties and are the ancestors of the modern Uzbeks, Kazaks, Noghays, and Tatars. During Chinggis Khān's reign, Jochi received the territory stretching from the Irtysh River (northern Xinjiang and Siberia) to Bulghar, and "as far in this direction as the Tatar horse penetrated." Under his son Batu (r. 624–54/1227–56) the Mongols advanced westwards, adding wide swathes of Russia and eastern Europe to the Jochids' realm, later known as the Golden Horde. Unlike the other khānates, the Jochid elite did not reside among its sedentary subjects but administered them indirectly, leaving the Russian princes to lead their principalities. The Jochids were closer to the Muslim population of Kh^vārazm and the Volga region, where the khānate's capital, Saray, was founded, and, under Uzbek Khān (r. 713–42/1313–41), Islam became the state religion. The Golden Horde maintained close relations with the Mamlūk sultanate, which it supplied with military slaves, and with Byzantium and the Italian city states. Ottoman control of the Dardanelles after 755/1354, however, limited to the Horde to a Russian power. The khānate was led by the descendants of Batu until 758/1357, but the descendants of Jochi's eldest son, Orda (r. 623–79/1226–80), known as the White Horde, ruled simultaneously in western Siberia. After a period of anarchy—"the time of troubles," 758–80/1357–80, during which the *amīrs* took over, Orda's offspring Toqtamish (r. 778–97/1377–95)—united the Golden and White Hordes, sacking Novgorod and Moscow in 784/1382. His success, however, threatened his former ally Tīmūr, who burned Saray in 795/1395, forcing

Toqtamish to flee to Lithuania. After Toqtamish's death, the Horde began to splinter because of internal discord and the rise of Muscovy, Lithuania, and the Ottomans. In 907/1502, the leader of one such splinter group, the Crimean Tatar *khān* Mengli Giray (r. 871–9/1467–74, 880–1/1475–6, and 883–920/1478–1514), took over the Horde's remnants. Three major successor khānates arose from the ruins of the Golden Horde: the khānate of Qazan (840–959/1437–1552), the khānate of Astrakhan (871–964/1466–1557), and the *khāns* of the Crimea known as the Crimean Tatars (853–1208/1449–1792). The Kazan and Astrakhan khānates were founded by Toqtamish's descendants in the middle Volga region and the lower Volga region, respectively. Both were annexed by Ivan the Terrible in the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. The founder of the Crimean khānate descended from Jochi's son Toqay Temūr. The polity began its consolidation in the time of troubles but became independent only in 853/1449. In the late ninth/fifteenth century it also controlled the Noghay lands on the northern Black Sea coast and, in 907/1502, deposed the Golden Horde and declared itself the latter's heir. The Crimean Tatars were vassals of the Ottoman Turks and comprised a buffer state between the Turks and eastern Europe. Thanks to their Chinggisid descent, they held a unique position in the Ottoman Empire, and there was a vague feeling that, if the Ottomans were to die out, the Girays would have a claim to the succession to the Ottoman throne. Russian expansionism eventually reached the Crimean Tatars, and, in 1197/1793, Catherine the Great (r. 1762–96) annexed Crimea. The Ottomans, too weak to challenge Moscow, appointed two of the

Girays to head the Tatars in Bessarabia for a few years. A smaller offshoot of the Golden Horde was the khānate of Kasimov (c. 856–1092/1452–1681), which held power in Ryazan, southeast of Moscow; these were Jochids of various lines who were vassals of Muscovy. Some of the Jochids were later Christianised, becoming Russian nobles, and the khānate was eventually annexed to the Russian crown.

The Jochids were also the ancestors of the modern Uzbeks and Kazakhs. When Toqtamish and the White Horde moved westwards in the late eighth/fourteenth century, western Siberia fell to the descendants of Jochi's younger son, Shiban (Shaybān). One branch remained in Siberia until the Russians extinguished it in the late eleventh/seventeenth century, but most of the Shaybānids moved southwards, to the borders of Transoxania, under Abū l-Khayr Khān (r. c. 842–72/1438–68). In 906/1500 Abū l-Khayr's grandson Shībānī Khān conquered Transoxania from the Tīmūrīds, his people calling themselves Uzbeks, after Uzbek Khān of the Golden Horde. The Shaybānids revived Chinggisid traditions in Transoxania, but their rule was much less centralised than the original Chinggisid government. They formed a loose family confederacy, whose territory was divided among various family members as appanages—mainly Bukhara, Balkh, Tashkent, and Samarqand. They continued many Tīmūrīd customs, maintained commercial and diplomatic relations with the Mughals, Ottomans, and Šafavids, and reached their peak under 'Abdallāh Khān II, who had been the effective ruler from 964/1558 to 1006/1598. In 1007/1599 the last Shaybānid Khan was killed by the Toqay-Tīmūrīds, the migrating descendants of the *khāns* of

Astrakhan, also known as Uzbeks, who ruled Transoxania from 1007/1599 to 1160/1747. After the death of Subhān Qulī (r. 1092–1114/1681–1702), the last effective Toqay-Tīmūrīd, real power was transferred to the chief minister (*ataliq*) of the Manghit tribe. Eventually the Manghits took power in 1160/1747, first nominating a puppet *khān* and then creating an in-law dynasty that ruled in Bukhara from 1166/1753 to 1339/1920. Another Uzbek in-law dynasty arose in Khīva (the Qunjrats, r. 1184–1338/1770–1920), while the third Uzbek khānate, the Mings of Khokand (1213–93/1798–1876) fabricated an origin myth that connected it to Bābur and thus to Chinggis Khān.

In the mid-ninth/fifteenth century, the princes Kiray and Janibek, also descendants of Jochi's son Toqay Tīmūr, defied Abū l-Khayr's authority and migrated to Semirechye (in present-day Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan) with their people. The *khān* of Moghulistan allowed them to settle along his western border, in the Chu valley, hoping to use them against his brother, who claimed Moghulistan for himself. This splinter group came to be known as Uzbek-Kazakhs and later simply as Kazakhs. Unlike the Uzbeks and Moghuls, they remained nomads until the twentieth century, and, while they had incorporated various tribes and had (since the early eleventh/seventeenth century) been divided into three major groups, called *zhūzs*, the Kazakhs continued to be ruled by descendants of Janibek down to the first half of the nineteenth century, when the Russians, who annexed the *zhūzs*, abolished the title *khān*.

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Command (*amr*), in Islamic law

Muslim jurists explicate the nature of various **commands** based on their understanding and interpretation of relevant Qurʾānic verses. Depending on its wording, emphasis, and nuances of expression, a command (***amr***) may convey various meanings and juridical consequences. A command is defined as a verbal demand to do something issued by a superior to a subordinate. Command thus differs from supplication and request in that the former is a demand from a subordinate to a superior and the latter from one person to another of equal or nearly equal status. A verbal command can convey various juridical meanings, including obligation, recommendation, and even permissibility, which explains the disagreement among Muslim jurists as to what is the primary and what the secondary meaning of a command; in response, it is said that a command is like a homonym that conveys all of these meanings. Others have held that a command conveys either obligation or recommendation, but not permissibility.

A command not attended by attenuating circumstances conveys an obligation,

but this may change in situations in which a command is reduced to recommendation, permissibility, or various other meanings. Thus, the command regarding hunting after the completion of the *hajj* ceremonies (Q 5:2) and that addressing worshippers to “scatter in the land” after performing the Friday congregational prayers (Q 62:10) are both framed in the imperative but convey only permissibility.

A command may convey a recommendation if there are indications to that effect. For example, the command regarding the documentation of loans (Q 2:282) conveys only a recommendation, because the following portion of the verse says that, if the creditor trusts the debtor, then the debtor should faithfully discharge his trust (even without documentation). Modern textbook writers, including Khallāf (d. 1956) and Abū Zahra (d. 1974), have stated that the majority (*jumhūr*) position of the leading schools is that witnessing is not obligatory in situations of mutual trust. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the leading figure of the now extinct but academically influential Zāhirī school, disagreed, however, asserting that the Qurʾānic command requires that every loan transaction be witnessed. This requirement is, in his view, more conducive to fulfillment of contracts, as disputes may subsequently arise even among people who have trusted one another.

Other meanings of command mentioned by Muslim jurists include threat, contempt, and supplication, depending on context and circumstance. The general consensus is now, however, that command normally conveys obligation, unless persuasive indications suggest otherwise.

There is a question as to the meaning of a command that follows a prohibition—whether it conveys an obligation or permissibility. Mālik (d. 179/795), al-Shāfiʿī