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Contents

Culture and Cross-Cultural Contacts in the Chaghadaid Realm (1220–1370)

Some Preliminary Notes

MICHAL BIRAN

Despite its central location at the heart of the Mongol empire, the Chaghadaid Khanate is often left out of the discussion of cross-cultural contacts inside and outside the Mongol empire. However, both the vigorous contacts between the neighbours of the Chaghadaids, Yuan China and Ilkhanid Iran, recently discussed in Allsen's superb *Culture and Conquest in the Mongol Empire*,[1] and the grandeur and cosmopolitanism of Tamerlane's empire, which succeeded the Chaghadaids' western realm in 1370, suggest that significant cross-cultural contacts existed under the Chaghadaids as well.

What were those contacts like? What kind of culture existed in the Chaghadaid realm? These questions are not easily answered due to the dearth of sources for the history of the Chaghadaid Khanate, which is in sharp contrast to the ample historical literature that exists for both Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China. Based on Muslim and Chinese literary sources, archaeological and numismatic findings, and Mongolian documents from Turfan and Dunhuang, this article aims to highlight a few aspects of the cross-cultural contacts in the Chaghadaid realm, mainly through three, often interrelated, agents of such contacts; the court, trade networks and religious networks – Buddhist, Christian and Muslim. First, however, some background information on the Chaghadaid realm is called for.

[1] T. T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in the Mongol Empire*. Cambridge 2001.

The background: The Chaghadaid realm before and after the Mongol Invasion[2]

Chaghadai's appanage, stretching from Uighuria to the Oxus,[3] had been under Qara Khitai rule for most of the century which preceded the Mongol invasion. The region enjoyed a relative stability and prosperity for most of the second half of the twelfth century. It benefited from a highly developed artisan class, flourishing agriculture, growing urbanization, thriving commerce and very active intellectual life. Moreover, it was a highly cosmopolitan and multilingual area, combining Chinese and Muslim administrative traditions, which in a way served as a precedent for the Mongol mode of ruling.[4]

This relatively peaceful condition was severely disturbed in the early thirteenth century by the struggle between the Khwārazm Shāh and the Qara Khitai and the repercussions of the rise of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia. Yet the Mongol invasion, while rather disastrous to Transoxania (which, however, recovered quite quickly), hardly harmed the eastern parts of the Chaghadaid realm; Uighuristan, Semirechye and the Tarim basin.[5]

Nevertheless, the Mongol conquest had an enormous impact on Central Asia. As one of the first regions that became part of the Mongol empire, Central Asia's resources – human and material – were channelled for the benefit of the ever-expanding empire, often at the expense of local interests. Thus a substantial part of the region's nomadic warriors were recruited into the Mongol army and sent across Eurasia to fight. More important for our purposes was the transfer of myriad artisans and their relocation eastward, mainly into Mongolia and north China.[6] The huge numbers involved – supposedly 30,000 artisans from Samarqand alone![7] – suggest that this policy seriously damaged local industries. In

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[2] This section is based on M. Biran, "The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's invasion to the rise of Temür: The Ögödeid and Chaghadaid realms," in P. B. Golden and N. Di Cosmo, eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, Vol. 2. Cambridge (forthcoming).

[3] For the contested status of Uighuria in the Chaghadaid realm, see Th. T. Allsen, "The Yuan dynasty and the Uighurs in Turfan in the 13th century," in M. Rossabi, ed., *China Among Equals*. Berkeley – Los Angeles, California 1983, 248–250, 260; M. Biran, *Qaidu and the rise of the independent Mongol state in Central Asia*. Richmond, Surrey 1997, 42–44, 115; Liu Yingsheng, 劉迎勝, *Xibei minzu shi yu Chahatai Hanguo shi yanjiu* 西北民族史與察合台汗國史研究 [History of the northwestern minorities and studies in Chaghadaid history]. Nanjing 1994, 30–44.

[4] M. Biran, *The Qara Khitai Empire in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World*. Cambridge 2005, chs. 3, 5.

[5] See Biran, *Qara Khitai* (see n. 4), ch. 3; M. Biran, *Chinggis Khan*. Oxford 2007, 43–70.

[6] The Beshbaliq colony, originally in the Chaghadaid realm (but see n.3), was probably transferred to north China in 1283. T. T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*. Cambridge 1997, 41.

[7] E.g., ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ-malik Juwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, ed. M. M. Qazwīnī. London 1912–1937, Vol. 1, 95, 11, 101; tr. J. A. Boyle, *History of World Conqueror*, reprint: Manchester 1997, 13, 122, 128 (hereafter: Juwaynī/Boyle); Song Lian 宋濂. *Yuan shi* 元史 [The

some cases the Mongols agreed to send back some of the transferred artisans, but this was in no proportion to the original brain-drain and hand-drain.[8]

Moreover, apart from the forced transfers – and occasional flights – there was a considerable amount of voluntary migration due to the new opportunities opened up by Mongol rule. The Mongols needed experts to help them administer their growing empire and the educated, multi-lingual elite of Central Asia, already experienced in serving nomadic rulers, was highly qualified for this task. Many, therefore, chose to join the Mongol imperial venture and were dispersed across the empire. For example, most of the famous Muslims who reached high positions in Yuan China, such as Sayid Ajall, Aḥmad or 'Abd al-Raḥmān, originated in Transoxania. This constant immigration continued to characterize the region throughout the rule of the Chaghadaids as well.

In return for the major transfers the Mongols brought new populations into Central Asia. They imported Chinese farmers, scholars and artisans; Tangut farmers, Khitan administrators, and European craftsmen.[9] Certainly, the first requirement of cross-cultural contacts – extensive mobilization of skilled population – was apparent in the Chaghadaid realm under the united empire.

When the Mongol empire disintegrated in the early 1260s, the Chaghadaids did not have a good starting point. They were politically weak, after supporting the losing side in the succession struggle of 1251; and were also challenged by the Ögödeid Qaidu who from 1271 until his death in 1301 became the Chaghadaids' overlord. Qaidu's policies, the Khanate's central location and the Chaghadaids' territorial ambitions led to an almost constant tension – and frequent wars – between the Chaghadaids, Yuan China and the Ilkhanate. After Qaidu's death, the Chaghadaids regained ascendancy in Central Asia and made peace with the Yuan, but their attempts to overcome the Ögödeids undermined the khanate's stability. The heydays of the Chaghdaids were under Kebek Khan (r. 1320–1327), who established peaceful relations with Yuan China, moved into Transoxania and reorganized the Khanate's internal administration. After the reign of Kebek's Muslim brother, Tarmashirin (1331–1334), who also resided in Transoxania, the tension between the western and eastern parts of the Khanate became more apparent. In 1347 the western realm was taken by the emirs, eventually leading to Tamerlane's accession in 1370, while in the east (modern Kirgizstan, south Kazakhstan and Xinjiang, known from the fourteenth century as Moghulistan), Chaghadaid Khans, known as Eastern Chaghadaids or Moghuls, continued to hold power until the late seventeenth century.

Squeezed between stronger and richer Mongol khanates, and accommodating two competing *uluses*, Mongol Central Asia was often plagued by internal strife or engaged in raiding its neighbouring states. This certainly harmed the economic

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official history of the Yuan]. Beijing 1976, ch. 153: 3609 (hereafter *Yuan shi*); Allsen, *Commodity* (n. 6), 35–36.

8 Allsen, *Commodity* (n. 6), 36–37; Allsen, "Uighurs" (n. 3), 248.

9 P. Jackson, and D. Morgan, trs. and eds., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*. London 1990, 144–146; A. Waley, tr., *Travels of an Alchemist*. London 1931, 73, 92–93.

and religious networks active in its domains and encouraged outward migration. Yet raiding was not a phenomenon new to the region, and during the turbulent years there were decades of relative peace and prosperity in Central Asia (1280s–1290s; 1320s–mid 1330s). This allowed the evolution, albeit on a modest scale, of cross cultural contacts.

The Khan's Court

The mobile courts of the Chaghadaids and Qaidu were the principal arenas of cross-cultural contacts, mainly due to the usual Mongol amalgamation of experts which manned the court, its multi-linguality and the diplomatic contacts it held. Already Chaghadai's court enjoyed special prestige under Ögödei's reign, as the court of the older living son of Chinggis Khan, and even more so after Ögödei's death (in 1241; Chaghadai died in 1244) and was often frequented by travellers, traders and scholars who came to pay homage. In terms of experts, Chaghadai's court included Chinese engineers, astronomers, physicians and administrators; Muslim physicians, poets, merchants and religious scholars, who were sometimes respected more for their miracles than for their religious learning.[10] Qaidu's court also included Chinese and Muslim physicians, a Muslim astronomer, Muslim scholars and Chinese military experts.[11] Buddhist priests and European physicians manned the court of the Chaghadaid Khan Changshi (r. 12/1335–1337).[12] The court's interests therefore encouraged inter-religious dialogue and scientific interest.

At least regarding the latter, and in contrast to Barthold's statement that the Chaghadaid realm had no tradition of secular sciences,[13] other evidence indicates the continuation of scholarly activities in the fields of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, poetry and philology in Mongol Central Asia.[14] The region's sound scientific infrastructure is attested by the fact that several leading scientists who

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10 Waley, *Alchemist* (n. 9), 97, 110, 116, 120; *Yuan Shi* (n. 7), ch. 151: 3581; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, ed. and tr. J. A. Boyle, New York – London 1971, 154 (hereafter Rashīd/Boyle); Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 272–276; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabību' siyar* [sic], ed. and tr. Wheeler M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1994, Vol. 3, 44–46; Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawwād, Damascus 1962–1965, Vol. 4/2, 903, 1106; Vol. 4/4, 626.

11 Jamāl Qarshī, *Mulkhaqāt al-ṣurāḥ*, in V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestvia*, Vol. 1. *(texts)*. St. Petersburg 1900, 138, 143–144; Mīrkhwānd, Muḥammad b. Khandshāh, *Ta'rīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā*. Vol. 5, Tehran 1339/1961, 218; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 97.

12 H. Yule (comp.), *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Reprint: Nendeln and Liechtenstein 1967, Book 3, 232; Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī (Anonyme d'Iskandar)*, ed. J. Aubin. Tehran 1957, 114.

13 V. V. Bathold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Vol. 2, reprint: Berlin 1935, 5.

14 C. Brockelman, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur. Zweiter Supplementband*. Leiden 1938, 257, 297; Khāfī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Fāsiḥī, *Mujmal-i fāsḥī*. Tus-Mashed 1339/1960, Vol. 2, 321, 324 ; Muḥammad b, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*. Beirut 1966, Vol. 2, 194–195; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 173.

were active either in Yuan China or in Ilkhanid Iran were of Tansoxanian or Turkestani origin. Nonetheless, as will be apparent also in the discussion of religious scholars below, many scholars chose to migrate to safer and richer places than to stay in the turbulent Chaghadaid realm. [15]

The Chaghadaid court was multi-lingual. The Chaghadaid chancellery in Turfan wrote in Mongolian at least until 1369, and the use of 'Phags-Pa seals there suggests Yuan influence.[16] Already in Chaghadai's time, however, his court was called *ulugh ef* (Turkic: Great House), the khans Kebek and Tarmashirin spoke Turkic, and Turkic appeared on Chaghadaid seals.[17] Most Chaghadaid coins bore Arabic legends, and monumental inscriptions were written in Arabic and Persian. [18] Multi-lingual knowledge therefore remained an asset for Central Asians working inside and outside the Chaghadaid realm even in the fourteenth century, and facilitated further contacts.[19]

The court conducted diplomatic relations with its neighbours. Chaghadaid tribute missions to China in the early decades of the fourteenth century are well documented and also involved trade and gift exchange. There was also frequent exchange of messengers with the other khanates, either on strategic matters (attempts to ally against a certain threat – often of a third khanate) or formal ones (e.g. announcing the accession of a new khan or the death of another), and such contacts also existed with the Delhi Sultanate. [20] The Pope also sent letters to

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[15] Among the scholars originating in Central Asia, one can mention the builder of the famous Maragha observatory, later the head of the Yuan astronomical institute, Jamāl al-Dīn; several Khotani and Kashgari astronomers working in the Maragha observatory, and Haybat Allāh al-Turkestānī "who knew something of every branch of learning" and was active in Ghazan's court. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī. Tehran 1338/1959, Vol. 2, 706, 718; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jami'u't-tawarikh* [sic] *Compendium of Chronicles*, tr. W. M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1998–1999, Vol. 3, 666; *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 90: 2297; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/4, 704–705; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 166–167, 171.

[16] L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques XIII et XIV siècles*. Budapest 1972, 208–237; H. Franke, "Zur Datierung der mongolischen Schreiben aus Turfan," *Oriens* 15 (1962), 407.

[17] Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 504, 507, 536, 538, 563, 586, 612; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958–1994, Vol. 3, 557 (hereafter Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb); Franke, "Datierung" (n. 16), 407.

[18] B. Okane, "Chaghatai architecture and the tomb of Tughluq Temür at Almaliq," *Muqarnas*, 21 (2004), 277–278; B. Babajanov, "Monuments épigraphiques de l'ensemble de Fatḥābād à Boukhara," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 7 (1999), 195–210; M. Fedorov, "A hoard of fourteenth-century Chaghatayid silver coins from north Kirghizstan," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 162 (2002), 404–419.

[19] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/4, 692; Vol. 4/2, 1201–1202; Qarshī (n. 11), 150.

[20] E.g. *Yuan Shi* (n.7), ch. 24, 550, 551, 555; ch. 30, 680; ch. 31, 699; ch. 33, 740; ch. 34, 754; ch. 139, 3352; *Jing shi dadian, zhan chi* 經世大典.站赤, in *Yongle da dian* 永樂大典 [Yongle's encyclopedic dictionary] facsimile edition. Beijing 1960, ch. 19420, 2 (hereafter *Yongle Dadian*); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), vol. 3, 556; Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Ūljaytū*, ed. M. Hambly. Tehran 1969 (hereafter Qāshānī), 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 53, 145–6, 149. Note Chaghadaid diplomatic relations with the Mamluks, which seem to have been con-

Qaidu and to the Chaghadaids, but it is unclear whether they received them.[21] Due to the Khanate's location, diplomatic missions, especially from Yuan China to Ilkhanid Iran and vice versa, often passed through the Chaghadaid realm. The court often investigated the emissaries and, depending on the political situation, either detained them and confiscated their property, or hosted them, providing them with a letter to ensure their peaceful journey through its lands.[22] Other international travellers, such as missionaries or traders, also often asked for the court's protection.[23]

The itinerant courts also retained Mongol nomadic traditions. Chaghadai was famous as an expert in Mongol rituals and law (the *Jasaq* or *Yasa*),[24] and his descendants were keen on keeping their nomadic culture. Thus Qaidu and the Chaghadaids entertained their guests in lavish golden tents;[25] hunting remained a popular activity of the khans, and they often held the traditional *toy* (banquet, assembly) in which the khan entertained his *keens* and commanders, and where the latter could depose him.[26] In their inauguration ceremonies, the Chaghadaid retained the custom of removing their hats and slinging their belts across their backs, to demonstrate their giving up of their former privileges and their subor-

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ducted through a third party (the Golden Horde?) as we have the exact formula of how to write to the Chaghadaids but not one report on their embassies, as opposed to those of the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde. (e.g., Aḥmad b. Yaḥya b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*. Beirut 1988, 70).

21 K. E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamichen und mongolichen Herrschern im. 13 Jahrhundert anhand ihres Brieweschels*. Vatican City 1981, 258–260; J. D. Ryan, "Preaching Christianity along the Silk Route: Missionary outposts in the Tatar 'Middle Kindom' in the fourteenth century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2:4 (1998), 368.

22 Qāshānī (n. 20), 201–8; Yuan Jue, *Baizhu yuanshuai chushi shishi* [The narrative of the missions of Marshal Baiju], in *idem*. *Qingrong jushi ji* [Yuan Jue's literary collection]. Yuan facsimile edition, Shanghai: n.d., ch. 34; Liu Yingsheng, "War and peace between the Yuan Dynasty and the Chaghdaid khanate (1312–23)," in R. Amitai and M. Biran, eds., *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, Leiden 2005, 339–353; Dai Matsui, "A Mongolian Decree from the Chaghadaid Khanate discovered at Dunhuang," in P. Zieme, ed., *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism: In Memoriam Kogi Kudara*. Turnhout (forthcoming), 157–176.

23 E.g. W. E. A. Budge, tr., *The Monks of Khubilai Khan: The History of Rabban Sawma*. London 1928, 59.

24 E.g., Rashīd/Boyle (n. 10), 145; Chaghadai's erudition in ritual, especially the fire cult, made him the patron of shamans in later Mongolian folklore. A. Birtalan, "The Mongolian Great Khans in Mongolian mythology and folklore," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 58:3 (2005), 308.

25 Qāshānī (n. 20), 37, 41; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 97; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), 3, 558.

26 E.g. Qāshānī (n. 20), 34–35, 37, 41, 217; Naṭanz *Anonyme d'Iskandar* (n. 12), 104, 108; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 561 (one of the main reasons for Tarmashirin's deposition, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, was his refusal to conduct the traditional *toy*, perhaps because he preferred not to deal with his eastern commanders).

dination to the new ruler.[27] Women held an especially high position in the Chaghadaid court. They acted as regents or actual rulers, for instance, in the cases of Naishi, wife of Yesü Möngke Khan (r. 1246–1251), who performed the duties of her constantly-drunk husband, or of Orghina Khatun, who reigned for nine years (r. 1251–1260) as regent for her son; or as patrons of monumental building as in the case of Tughluq Temür's wife, Tini Khatun. There is also at least one example of a fighting princess, Qaidu's daughter, Qutulun (Marco Polo's Aijaruc), who excelled over most of her father's generals, but when she had tried to succeed him, her brothers sent her to "the scissors and needles".[28]

Although the courts were mobile, the location of Chaghadaid summer pasture in the vicinity of Almaliq (a town near modern Kulja in Xinjiang) greatly affected the city's importance. Almaliq became a major post on the Silk Roads, thereby marginalizing Balasaghun, the former Qara Khitai capital. Later on, in the 1320s, the khan Kebek moved to Transoxania and built a city of tents named Qarshi (Turkish: castle) in the Kashka Daria valley to serve as his capital, though it was never a match for the region's traditional centres in Samarqand and Bukhara, nor is it clear if future khans ever resided there.[29]

The court's mobility also meant that there are few remaining Chaghadaid monuments. These monuments – mainly the mausoleum of Tughluq Temür in Almaligh and that of Bayan Quli Khan (the puppet khan of amir Qazaghan, 1348–1358) in Bukhara – date from the Khanate's Muslim period and are obviously influenced by Ilkhanid style. A notable exception is the "baroque" monument in Talas which Kervran proposed to identify as the mausoleum of Orghina Khatun (Chaghadai's regent, r. 1251–1260). This identification is highly conjectural, however, and the monument could easily be a product of the Qara Khitai period, i.e., of the twelfth century, as indeed local tradition maintains.[30]

The court also had enormous impact on the trade and religious networks in Central Asia as will be discussed below.

Trade and Trading Networks

Central Asian traders were among the first supporters of Chinggis Khan and many of them became useful participants in the Mongol imperial venture, manning high posts in Mongol (and Chaghadaid) administration. The Yalawach fam-

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[27] Qāshānī (n. 20), 150; see R. Sela, *Ritual and Authority in Central Asia: The Khan's Inauguration Ceremony*, Papers on Inner Asia, no. 37. Bloomington 2003, 26.

[28] Rashīd/Boyle (n. 10), 143, 149–151; Okane, "Architecture" (n. 18), 278–288; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 2, 70, 76, and see Marco Polo's description of Qutulun's adventures in H. Yule, tr., *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, London 1903, Vol. 2, 393–396.

[29] E.g. Aḥmad b. Yaḥya b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. and trs. K. Lech, Asiatische Forschungen, Vol. 14. Wiesbaden 1968, 49 (hereafter 'Umarī/Lech).

[30] Okane, "Architecture" (n. 18), 277–288; Babajanov, "Monuments" (n. 18), 197–207; M. Kervran, "Un monument baroque dans les steppes du Kazakhstan: le tombeau d'Orkina Khatun, princesse Chaghatay?" *Ars Asiatique* 57 (2002), 5–32.

ily, which served the Mongols from Chinggis Khan's time and administered the Chaghadaid realm throughout the thirteenth century, was a family of polyglot merchants from Khwárazm. Chaghadai's trusted minister, Ḥabash 'Amīd, also made fortune in trade.[31] Most of the *ortogh* merchants active under the Mongols were either Central Asian Muslims or Uighurs.[32] They must have kept contacts in their original home towns, thereby creating commercial networks which spread throughout the empire.[33] Although we have no indication that the Chaghadaid rulers, like their cousins in China and Iran, were directly involved in the *ortogh* trade, and even though the political unrest in Central Asia shifted part of the exchange to maritime channels, the rulers of the landlocked Chaghadaid realm actively endeavoured to promote trade, and commercial interests influenced their political stance, especially with regard to their relations with the Yuan. Thus Qaidu and Du'a built the city of Andiján to serve as Farghána's mercantile centre, and one of the main reasons for Chaghadaid peace overtures in 1304 was their desire to revive the caravan trade throughout the empire.[34] In the 1310s, Yuan officials complained about traders from the Chaghadaid realm who exploited the post-station system and the tribute conditions for enriching themselves and threatened to limit their number. This attempt was one of the reasons for the subsequent tension between the Chaghadaids and the Yuan,[35] which continued up to Kebek's submission in the early 1320s. The 1320s–1330s were the heydays of the overland Silk Roads, and Pagelloti's famous – and often criticized – statement in the 1340s, that "the road you travel from Tana to Cathay [i.e. via the Chaghadaid Khanate] is perfectly safe whether by day or night", probably relates to this period.[36] Apart from native traders, who remained active and accompanied the resumed Chaghadaid tribute missions to China from the 1320s, [37] in the 1320s–1330s we many European (mostly Italian) and Muslim (Iraqi, Syrian, Indian) traders were active in Chaghadaid Central Asia, often on their way to China or

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31 Th. T. Allsen, "Maḥmūd Yalavač, Mas'ūd Beg', Alī Beg, Safaliq, Bujir," in I. de Rachewiltz et al., eds. *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yuan period*. Wiesbaden 1993, 122–135; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'* (n. 10), Vol. 4/3, 297; Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 273–275.

32 The *ortogh* was a trader (or trading company) who acted on behalf or was financed by the capital of a Mongol (or other) notable and in return shared his profits with his patron. Th. T. Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners 1200–1260," *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 2:2 (1989), 83–126; E. Endicott-West, "Merchant associations in Yuan China: The *Ortoy*," *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 2:2 (1989), 127–156; see e.g. *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 51, 3568; ch. 53, 3592; ch. 59, 3752; ch. 62, 3987; ch. 65, 4204; ch. 73, 4635.

33 As an example, see the solidarity of the Kashgari merchants in the Ilkhanate: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma'*, Vol. 4/2, 861, 1201–1202; also the Iraqi merchants in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 546, 548.

34 Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 103–104.

35 Liu, "War and Peace" (n. 22), 342–343.

36 Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), book 3, 152; P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*. London 2005, 296–301. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 546–548; 'Umarī/Lech (n. 29), 41.

37 *Yongle Dadian* (n. 20), ch. 19420, 2.

the Golden Horde.[38] Their presence was prompted not only by the Chaghadaids' improved relations with China since Kebek's reign (1320–1327), but also with the Muslim rule of Tarmashirin Khan (r. 1331–1334), who abolished the commercial duties not sanctioned by the *shari'a* (Muslim law) and improved economic relations with Mamluk Egypt and the Delhi Sultanate.[39]

As for the trade routes, the main east-west routes passed through Utrar to Almaliq, Qarakhojo to Dadu (modern Beijing and the Yuan capital); or from Tabriz, via Khurasan to Bukhara, Samarqand, Kashgar and Qarakhojo to China. There was also a north-south route leading from the Golden Horde (via Urgench) to Ghazna and Delhi.[40]

What was exported from the Chaghadaid realm? The items mentioned in the sources include agricultural products (fruits, wheat and barley),[41] animals (from horses and camels to tigers and wild and domesticated leopards),[42] jade, jewels, furs, herbal medicines, textiles and wine. Most of these were renowned products of the region in the pre-Mongol period as well.[43] Another traditional merchandise of the region was slaves. Captives, later sold as slaves, were often the main booty from the Chaghadaids' frequent raids to India (from 1287 onwards) and lively slave markets existed in Central Asia. A 1333 *waqf* document from Bukhara described the purchasing of Mongol, Chinese and Indian slaves for working in the fields. Even earlier, the renowned Bukharan Sheikh, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bákharzī, is credited for buying Fāṭima, the daughter of the last 'Abbasid Caliph, who was sold in the slave markets after the conquest of Baghdad. Central Asians, either children of nomadic tribesmen or exported captives, were also sold as Mamluks in Egypt in the 1280s. [44]

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[38] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa /Gibb (n 17), vol. 3, 546–8; 'Umarī/Lech (n. 29), 41; Yule, *Cathay*, 3:147, 212; Aḥmad b. Yaḥya b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, *A Fourteenth-century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq*. English translation of the chapters on India from Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī's Masālik al-abṣār fi-mamālik al-amṣār, ed. I. H. Siddiqi and Q. M. Ahmad, Aligarh 1972, 48–49 (hereafter 'Umarī/India); Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (n. 36), 296–301.

[39] M. Biran, "The Chaghadaids and Islam: the conversion of Tarmashirin Khan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122:4 (2002), 747–748.

[40] Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (n. 36), 296–301.

[41] 'Umarī/India (n. 38), 49; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542, 550.

[42] *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 24, 550, 551, 555; ch. 27, 620, 629; ch. 28, 631–632; *Yongle Dadian* (n. 20), ch.19420, 2, 14; 'Umarī/Lech (n. 29), 47–48. Exchanging wild animals, especially those used for hunting like leopards or gerfalcons, was also common among the Yuan and the Ilkhanate, see, e.g. Qāshānī (n. 20), 204–205, 208.

[43] *Yuan shi* (n. 7), ch. 24, 550–551, 555; ch. 27, 620, 629; ch. 28, 631–632; *Yongle Dadian* (n. 20), ch. 19420, 2, 14; J. C. Y. Watt and A. E. Wardell, eds. *When silk was gold: Central Asian and Chinese textiles*. New York 1997, 127–130; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*. Beirut 1982–1996, Vol. 23, 368. For the pre-Mongol period see Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4), 137–138.

[44] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. F. 'Ashūr. Cairo 1984, Vol. 27, 354–355; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 104.

While Chinese paper money was in use in Uighuria, most deals there were made by barter and taxes were paid in kind (wine, leather, cotton, wheat).[45] In the rest of the Chaghadaid realm, however, taxes and commercial deals were paid mainly in cash. Already in the 1220s the Mongols strove to revive the Central Asian monetary economy, and under Möngke (1251–1259) the wide-scale minting of gold, silver and copper coins resumed in Almaligh. In 1271, simultaneously with Qaidu's enthronement, Mas'ūd Beg (Yalawach's son and the administrator of Central Asia) led a currency reform in Central Asia, minting coins with a high percentage of silver. The coins appeared first in Utrār, Talas and Khujand, but with the stabilization of Qaidu's rule in 1281–82 they proliferated in various mints in Transoxania and Farghāna as well as in Almaliq and Kashgar. Although these coins were anonymous and were not uniform in iconography, their identical weight, purity and basic design suggest a central supervision of minting.[46] A further reform was introduced by Kebek, the first Chaghadaid khan to mint coins in his own name. Following the reform of Ghazan in early fourteenth-century Iran, Kebek minted a silver coin (dīnār) equivalent to six smaller silver coins (*dirhams*) with a new weight.[47] Numismatic finds, as well as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and al-'Umarī's descriptions, attest to a developed monetary economy in the Chaghadaid realm.[48] Local prices were regarded as very low in comparison to the level of prices in the Mamluk and the Delhi Sultanates.[49]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Turfan documents also illustrate the existence of commercial infrastructure in Chaghadaid Central Asia, consisting of loans, hospices, road maintenance, load animals for hire and post-stations.[50] While the post-stations, at least in Uighuria, were a major part of this infrastructure, they could also be a

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45 Matsui Dai, "Taxation systems as seen in Uighur and Mongol Documents from Turfan: An overview," *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 50 (2005), 72–79; Liu Yingsheng 刘迎胜, "Meng-Yuan shidai Zhongya shehui jingji yanjiu 蒙元时代中亚社会经济研究 [A Study of the economy and society of Central Asia in the Mongol Period]," *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (1995), 209.

46 E. L. Davidovitch, "Denezhnoe khoziaistvo i chastichnoe vosstanovlenie torgovli v Srednei Azii posle mongol'skogo nashestvia," *Narody Azii i Afriki* 6 (1970), 64–65; Biran, *Qaidu* (n. 3), 101.

47 E. A. Davidovich, and A. H. Dani, "Coinage and the Monetary System," in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 4/1, Paris 1998, 406–408.

48 'Umarī/Lech (n. 29), 47; 'Umarī/India (n. 38), 48–49; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542–569; Liu Yingsheng, „"Shehui Jingqi" (n. 39), 200–209.

49 'Umarī /Lech (n. 29), 47; 'Umarī/India (n. 38), 48–49; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542–569.

50 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), 542–569, esp. 549; 'Umariī/Lech (n. 29), 47; Liu, "Shehui jingqi" (n. 41), 202, 209; Dang Baotai 黨寶海, "Menggu Chahatai hanguo de yizhan jiaotong 蒙古察合台汗國的驛站交通 [Posts traffic in Chagatai khanate] [sic!]", *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (2004/4), 15–22; M. Weiers, "Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čaghatai," *Zentral-Asiatische Studien* 1 (1967), 1–53.

source of trouble for travellers, since the post-stations' personnel occasionally confiscated animals and merchandise for their own use.[51]

A certain amount of commercial infrastructure and expertise was evidently retained in the Chaghadaid realm, and it certainly benefited the later flourishing trade under Tamerlane.

Religious Networks

The Chaghadaids' subject population was mostly Muslim, although there were also considerable Buddhist and Christian communities. Despite Chaghadai's insistence on enforcing Mongol norms (sometimes colliding with Muslim ones), which earned him an anti-Islamic reputation, and several cases of Muslim or Buddhist zealousness,[52] Qaidu and most Chaghadaid khans were tolerant towards the main religions in their realm. Each of these three religions contributed to the cross-cultural contacts in the realm.

Buddhism prevailed in Uighuria and smaller Buddhist communities existed under the Chaghadaids at least in Khotan, Kashgar and Qayaliq. Once a major religion along the Silk Roads, towards the twelfth century, Buddhism was gradually driven out of Central Asia due to both Islamic expansion and the decline of the Buddhist tradition in its homeland of India. Even the rule of the Buddhist Qara Khitai (1124–1218) over most of the territory which later became the Chaghadaid realm did not create a major revival.[53] In the Mongol period, however, Tibetan Buddhism, which had been adopted as the state religion in Yuan China, was also introduced to eastern Turkestan, and found many adherents among Uighurs and Mongols alike, as proved by the quantities of Uighur and Mongol Tantric texts unearthed in Turfan.[54] The Turfan Buddhists held close connections with Buddhist communities in northern China, both in Dadu, the Yuan capital, and in the closer Gansu, where a Chaghadaid branch subject to the Yuan heavily patronized Buddhist translations and monasteries. The translation efforts, both in Gansu and Dadu, involved the work of Tibetan, Kashmiri and

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51 Dai Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 158.

52 See the case of 'Ali Sultan mentioned below (Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 31, 212); Naṭanzi's assertion mentioned below that Khan Changshi (1335–1337) put idols in every mosque is highly questionable due to the contemporary accounts of the continuation of Muslim scholarship in Samarqand at the time. (Naṭanzī, *Anonyme d'Iskandar* (n. 12), 114 and see below). Two questionable stories from the united empire period may suggest the existence of inter-religious tension in Central Asia: see Minhāj al-Dīn Jūzjānī. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ᶜA. Ḥabībī. Kabul 1342–44/1963–64, Vol. 2, 171–173 (Buddhist suggesting to Güyüg to kill all the Muslims in his realm or at least emasculate them), 215–217 (Christian-Muslim tension in Samarqand leads to a murder of a Christian convert to Islam who refused to renounce his new religion; Berke, the Golden Horde Muslim Khan, orders the execution of the murderers, including the Mongol who participated in the slaying).

53 Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4 above), 177–178; Liu, Yingsheng, *Chahatai hanguo shi yanjiu.* [Research on the History of the Chaghadaid Khanate]. Shanghai 2006, 555–564.

54 Ligeti, *Monuments* (n. 16), 115–83; Dai Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 167–169.

Uighur translators, and were also a channel for cross-cultural contacts, the repercussions of which probably reached Turfan. Although many Buddhist Uighurs - both laymen and monks - emigrated to Yuan China, pilgrimage from Tibet to China and vice versa, which passed through the Chaghadaid realm, helped to establish the presence of Tibetan Buddhism there.[55]

Several Chaghadaid khans personally favoured Buddhism, mainly Du'a (r. 1282–1307) who gave his son the Buddhist name Tarmashirin and who granted very generous exemptions to Buddhist monasteries; and Changshi (r. 12/1335–1338) who, according to one exaggerated description, "put up Buddhist sculptures in every mosque".[56] Other khans, such as Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) and Yesün Temür (r. 1338–1339) also patronized Buddhism, and a decree ascribed to Muhammad Polad (r. ca. 1340s) assures the safe transit of a high Tibetan priest from Yuan China in the Chaghadaid domains. Even after his conversion to Islam, the Eastern Chaghadaid Khan Tughluq Temür (r. 1347–1363) is said to have asked for a Buddhist teacher from Tibet.[57] It has also been suggested that the Chaghadaid *tamgha* (seal), a mark shaped as double-leaves which is rendered in the seal stamped on Chaghadaid Mongolian decrees and on Chaghadaid coins from the early fourteenth century onward, is an upside-down form of the Tibetan script for Cha (the beginning of Chaghadai's name).[58] If this is correct, it attests a sound connection between the Chaghadaid royal house and Tibet, perhaps initiated by Du'a. Nonetheless, after the fall of the Yuan and the subsequent decline of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols, Islam had less competition both among the Chaghadaid royal house and among the East Turkestan population.

As for Christianity, Nestorian communities were scattered in Central Asia centuries before the Mongols arrived, but the Latin missionaries were an innovation of the Mongol period. In pre-Mongol Central Asia, the Nestorians had a metropolitanate in Samarqand and in Kashgar and Nawākit (near the Issyk Kul). They instructed in Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Turkic, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries managed to convert several Mongol tribes (Kerayids, Ongüts, and part of the Naimans and Merkits). Strong Nestorian communities existed in Semirechye (the Issyk Kul region and Balāsāghūn) and even among the Turfan Uighurs. Under the Chaghadaids, a strong Nestorian community, attested up to the late 1360s, flourished in Almaliq, and the Nestorian presence in Samarqand continued into Tamerlane's time. The Nestorian community of the Issyk Kul, on the other hand, was eliminated around 1338-9 due to a combination of epidemics,

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55 Liu, *Chahatai hanguo* (n. 51), 555–64; Dai Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 157–163.

56 Naṭanzī, *Anonyme d'Iskander* (n. 12), 114; Dai Matsui, "Taxation" (n. 41), 72.

57 F. W. Cleaves, "The Bodistw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954), 1–129; G. N. Roerich, trans. and ed. *The Blue Annals*. Calcutta 1949–1953, Vol. 2, 504; P. Jackson, "Chaghatayid dynasty", *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. 5 (1992), 345; Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 158–172; Liu, *Chaghadai Hanguo* (n. 51), 555–564.

58 Matsui, "Mongolian Decree" (n. 22), 165.

the presecutions of 'Alī Sultan (r. 1339–1340), a fanatic Ögödeid who for a short while usurped the Chaghadaid throne, and a gradual process of islamization.[59]

The Catholic mission in Central Asia began as a by-product of the mission in China, and its bishoprics were established in Almaligh (mid-1320s) and Samarqand (1329), later than in the other Mongol khanates. The missionaries included friars from Europe (Italy, Spain, France) and Alexandria as well as European merchants. They learned Turkish, bought and baptized pagan slaves, and tried to stay in touch with their co-religionists in India and China (the latter often passed through the Chaghadaid realm on their way to China). We have no information about the missionaries' relations with the Nestorians, but the Latin priests seem to have been closer to the Chaghadaid khans. Chaghadai himself was said to have been baptized (though this was probably wishful thinking), and obviously the khans' support was a major factor which enabled the mission to flourish or led to its fall. Both Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) and Changshi (r.12/1335–1338), also famous as admirers of Buddhism, showed favour to Latin missionaries. Eljigidei, under whom the Samarqand bishopric was established, sent two Dominican friars from there to Europe with greetings to the pope. One of these emissaries, Thomas of Mancasola, reported that the Khan had been baptized (perhaps wishful thinking again) and that he had given the friars licence to preach and built a church in Samarqand. Before the papal envoys returned, however, Eljigidei was replaced and the islamization of his brother Tarmashirin (r. 1331–1334) hampered future relations with Rome. Among Tarmashirin's non-Muslim successors, however, Changshi is said to have baptized his son after a Christian physician healed him. He also welcomed Nicholas, the newly appointed Archbishop of Dadu, who had left Europe in 1334 and stopped at Almaliq on his way to China, allowing him to preach freely and restore churches and granting him land for building a friary. [60] Apparently the local Muslim population at that time was less sympathetic towards the missionaries. In a letter of 1338 Pascal of Vitorria recounts the many trials he suffered on his way from Urgench to Almaliq, throughout which he insisted on preaching Christianity. His adventures included polemic with the Muslims (in which he won, according to his testimony), many vain attempts to convince him to adopt Islam, and lots of humiliations and injuries, although he managed to make it to Almaliq.[61] When the fanatic 'Alī Sultan took the throne in 1339, however, he massacred the bishop of Almaliq and his companions (including Pascal), and the Latin attempts at revival evaporated with the islamization of the eastern khanate in the 1350s.

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[59] Niu Ruji "Xinjiang Alimali gucheng faxian de Xuliya wen jingjiao beiming yanjiu," *Xiyu yanjiu* (2007), 74–80; Liu, *Chahatai hanguo* (n. 51), 543–554; Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 31, 212.

[60] Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), 31–32, 34–35, 81–88, 213–214; Ryan, "Preaching Christianity" (n. 21), 359–368.

[61] Yule, *Cathay* (n. 12), Book 3, 81–88.

The mission therefore came to an end, leaving very limited intellectual or other legacy. [62]

Most of the Chaghadaid subject population was Muslim, and the region had a sound scholarly base from the pre-Mongol period, when Bukhara was a major centre especially for the study of law, and Muslim studies flourished also in Farghāna, Samarqand and even in Kashgar, Khotan and Balāsāghūn.[63] Indeed we have more information on Muslim networks, as one of their main – and lasting – outcomes was the islamization of the khanate in the fourteenth century.

Chaghadaid islamization was a complex and gradual process, which began in the west and moved eastward. 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 stimulants of conversion, though it took longer to root Islam among the Yasa-adherent Chaghadaids than among other Mongols in West Asia. Tarmashirin (r. 1331–1334) is credited with bringing Islam to Transoxania, and his pro-Muslim policies certainly contributed to the khanate's Muslim character. Yet, similarly to the situation in Ilkhanid Iran, conversion seems to have begun in the lower levels before it reached the top, since many army commanders and rank-and-file Mongols, as well as several princes and ephemeral khans, embraced Islam before Tarmashirin.[64]

While by Tarmashirin's time Islam was well established in the western Chaghadaid khanate, this was not the situation in the eastern Chaghadaid realm, and this contrast was one of the reasons for Tarmashirin's deposition and for the disintegration of the khanate into its eastern and western parts. As was already mentioned, Tarmashirin's successors included patrons of Buddhism and Christianity as well as the fanatic 'Alī Sultan, and some less fanatical Muslims. A few decades after Tarmashirin's reign, in the early 1350s, the eastern Chaghadaid Khan, Tughluq Temür (r. 1347–1363), adopted Islam under the influence of wandering Sufis combined with political considerations. Building on the Muslim infrastructure of the Tarim basin (originating in the tenth-century Qarakhanids), Tughluq Temür used Islam to unite his subjects – both the different nomadic tribes over which he ruled and the nomads and sedentary populations subject to him – and for trying to regain legitimacy in the western part of the khanate.[65]

Even before the Khanate's islamization, Muslim scholars and administrators held a place of honour in the Chaghadaid court (despite Chaghadai's anti-Muslim reputation), and Mongolian versions of the Alexander romance (closer to

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62 Ryan, "Preaching Christianity" (n. 21), 371–373.

63 Biran, *Qara Khitai* (n. 4), 177–178; 181–182.

64 Biran, "Tarmashirin" (n. 39), 750–751.

65 Biran, "Tarmashirin" (n. 39), 742–752; K. Hodong, "Muslim Saints in the 14th to the 16th centuries of Eastern Turkestan," *International Journal of Central Asian Studies* 1 (1996), 285–322; K. Hodong, "The Early History of the Moghul Nomads: The Legacy of the Chaghatai Khanate," in R. Amitai-Preiss and D. O. Morgan, eds., *The Mongol Empire and its legacy*, Leiden 1999, 299–304; Li Yixin 李一新, "Chahatai hanguo de Iselanhua 察合台 汗國的伊斯蘭花 (On Islamization of Caqadai Khanate [sic])," *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究, 23 (1998/2), 56–84.

its Persian version) and of an Arabic divination book unearthed in Turfan suggest that western cultural influence reached even the most eastern Chaghadaid domains.[66] The non-Muslim Mongols sometimes patronized Muslim religious institutions, and already in the 1250s Möngke's wife built a college (known as *Madrasa-i Khāni*) in Bukhara and established the *waqf* of the Bākharzī family there, which was still active in the 1340s.[67] The Khans' Muslim administrators also patronized Muslim scholarship. The house of Bahā' al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, the minister of Chaghadai and his son Yesü Möngke, himself an offspring of a distinguished scholarly family, was a meeting place for scholars, and Mas'ūd Beg, the main administrator of the Chaghadaid realm in the thirteenth century, not only befriended *'ulmā'* and Sufis, but also built (in the 1240s–1250s) the *Madrasa-i-Mas'ūdiyya* in Bukhara (burned in 1273 but rebuilt later).[68] Local Muslim dynasties which existed in the Chaghadaid domains (e.g. in Almaliq, Khujand and Tirmidh) also employed and subsidized Muslim scholars, thereby contributing to the growth of the cities' scholarly prestige. Jamāl Qarshī, who was employed by the ruler of Almaliq, describes the flourishing Muslim community in the city (which was also Chaghadaid summer pasture). Many of the Almaliq scholars arrived from more established centres like Bukhara or Khujand, or from Balāsāghūn, which the rise of Almaliq had marginalized. The Jaxartes region also became more prominent with an important centre in Sighnāq.[69] In Samarqand the Marghīnāni family continued to hold the office of *sheikh al-islām* (the town's most prestigious scholar) throughout the fourteenth century.[70] Bukhara retained some of its pre-Mongol prestige through scholars such as Shams al-a'imā' Kardārī (d. 1246); Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 1296) and the Maḥbūbī *ṣadrs* (attested until 1346).[71] They retained the local traditions (based on Marghinānī's *Hidāya*, and the Maḥbūbīs' and Ibn Māzas' works), which continued to be studied under the Timurids as well.[72] Apart from the two big colleges mentioned above, each comprising around 1000 students, at least two other Bukharan colleges are attested in the sources; *Madrasat Abū Ḥafs* and the *Vabkent madrasa*, which held only 80 stu-

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66 Ligeti, *Monuments* (n. 16), 184–207.

67 Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108; Sakhāwī, (n. 14), vol. 2, 194–195.

68 Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108, 275; Qarshī (n. 11), 139.

69 Qarshī (n. 11), 140–143.

70 A. K. Muminov, *Rol' I mesto khanafitskikh 'ulamá' v zhizni gorodov tsentral'novo mavarannakhra (II–VII / VIII–XIII vv.)*. Tashkent 2003, 32.

71 E.g., Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, ed. 'U. 'A. Tadmūrī. Beirut 1997–2004, Vol. 57, 138–139, 266; Vol. 58, 78; vol. 59, 97; vol. 60, 178–179; 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafiyya*, ed. 'A. M. al-Ḥilw. Cairo 1993, vol. 1, 260, 330; Mu'īn al-Fuqarā', *Kitāb-i Mullāzādah*. Tehran 1960, 21, 31, 33, 36–7, 40, 53–56, 64, 71, 75.

72 For Timurid continuation of Chaghadaid scholarship, see M. E. Subtenly, "The Making of Bukhara al-Sharif: Scholars, Books and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara: The Library of Khwaja Muhammad Parsa," in D. Deweese, ed., *Studies on Central Asian History in honor of Yuri Bregel*. Bloomington 2001, 79–111.

dents in the 1340s.[73] After Tarmshirin's conversion his emir established many colleges in Ghazna.[74]

Law remained the main field of study but *ḥadith*, the Qur'an and its exegesis, Arabic grammar, *belles-lettres* (*adab*), poetry and medicine were also taught.[75] People from the Chaghadaid realm moved freely between the different centres (*fī ṭalab al-'ilm*) inside the khanate and in Khwárazm,[76] but I have found only a few cases of people from outside, mainly from Khurasan, who came to learn in Bukhara or the Chaghdaid realm in general, in contrast to the situation in the pre-Mongol period.[77] Certainly one of the most apparent phenomena of the thirteenth century was the massive migration of scholars – mainly *Ḥanafite* lawyers – away from the Chaghadaid realm, into the Ilkhanate (to Tabriz, Baghdad, Anatolia and especially Kirmān, probably due to the Qara Khitai origin of the Muslim dynasty ruling there under the Ilkhanate's overlordship), the Delhi Sultanate, the Mamluk sultanate, the Golden Horde, and even Yuan China.[78] A major wave of emigration followed the 1270s events of Bukhara, when Abaqa reduced the city to ashes in 1273 in retaliation for the Chaghadaid attack on Khurasan in 1270, and Alghu's sons pillaged the city in 1276 during their struggle with Qaidu. [79] Yet the emigrants took their traditions with them, and leading twelfth-century Central Asian paragons, like Qāḍī Khān or (especially) al-Marghīnānī as well as their continuator Shams al-a'imā' Kardārī (d. 1246), continued to be studied all over the Muslim world.[80] Transoxania, however, retained some scholarly prestige, at least in comparison with India. Around the 1330s the Delhi Sultan Muḥammad b. Tugh-

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[73] Sakhāwī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–195; al-Qurashī, *Jawāhir* (n. 71), Vol. 1, 330; Juwaynī/Boyle (n. 7), 108.

[74] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb, vol. 3, 561–562.

[75] e.g. Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh* (n. 71), Vol. 57, 266; Vol. 58, 116, 122; Vol. 59, 57; Vol. 60, 178–9; Sakhāwī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–195.

[76] E.g. Sakhāwī, (n. 14), Vol. 2, 194–5; Qarshī (n. 11), 129, 144–145, 149.

[77] Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh* (n. 71), Vol. 57, 86; Vol. 58, 116.

[78] See, e.g., Dhahabī, *Ta'īikh* (n. 71), Vol. 53, 81; Vol. 57, 153; Vol. 58, 94; Vol. 59, 321; Vol. 60, 369, 491; Vol. 61, 40, 213; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt*. Beirut 1981–2004, Vol. 23, 268; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *a'yān al-'aṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. 'Alī b. Abū Zayd. Beirut and Damascus 1998, Vol. 4, 369–370; Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-'ulā ili'l-ḥaḍra al-'ulyā*, ed. I. 'Abbās. Tehran 1328/1949–50, 42; Mujmal-i Fāsihī (n. 14), Vol. 2, 342, 343, 344, 380; vol. 3, 17, 42 ; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb (n. 17), Vol. 3, 542, 563, 606–607, 675, 692, 735.

[79] For the Chaghadaid attack and its aftermath, see M. Biran, "The Battle of Herat (1270): A Case of Inter-Mongol Warfare," in N. Di Cosmo, ed., *Warfare in Inner Asia*. Leiden 2002, 175–220.

[80] E.g., Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-kāmina*. Cairo 1966, Vol. 2, 360; Muminov, *Rol' i mesto* (n. 70), 30–34. See T. W. Joynboll and Y. Linant de Bellefonds, "Ḳāḍī Khān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4 (1978), 377; W. Heffening, "al-Marghīnānī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (1991), 557–558. Al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197) authored the celebrated legal commentary *al-Hidāya*. Chaghadai's minister Bahā' al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, mentioned above, was a relative of his, and (as mentioned above) his family held the office of *Sheikh al-Islam* in Samarqand.

luq tried to enlist Transoxanian scholars into his realm, and was willing to invest large sums of money for this goal.[81]

Sufism also flourished in Mongol Central Asia. While individual Sufis were active among the Chaghadaids, and are credited with Tughluq Temür's conversion,[82] 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 Bākharzī and Bābā Kamāl Jandī were active in the Chaghadaid realm, and both enjoyed the patronage of the Mongols or their administrators. Bākharzī (d. 1261), famous for converting the Golden Horde khan Berke (r. 1257-67), held an important *waqf* in Bukhara, which 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.[83] Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 1273), whose pupil was the sheikh of Mas'ūd Beg, was active in the Jaxartes region and beyond it among nomads and sedentaries alike.[84] Bukharan *Kubrāwī* Sufis reached India, Kashmir, China and the Volga region and were a major agent of cross-cultural contacts in the khanate.[85]

Conclusion

Despite the limitations of sources, even the scanty evidence assembled in this article suggests that the Chaghadaid Khanate took a significant part in the cross-cultural contacts characteristic of Mongol rule. While some of the cross-cultural network active in the khanate (e.g. the Latin mission) resulted only in contact, not in communication, others left a more enduring legacy, the most lasting result being the islamization of the Chaghadaids and their territories.

Like the other khanates, Chaghadaid state culture was composed of Mongol nomadic traditions, augmented by local components and elements from the cultures of other parts of the empire (notably China),[86] and the Khans promoted trade, scholarship and religions. Evidently, and with the court's blessing, an infrastructure of both commerce and scholarship – religious and scientific – continued to exist in the Chaghadaid realm despite its frequent political upheavals.

Another apparent phenomenon was the high degree of mobility of scholars inside and outside the Chaghadaid realm. This mobility was partly motivated by the competition for human talent that characterized the Mongol khanates and into which other states (such as the Delhi Sultanate) were quick to join, and partly by the scholars' attempts to improve their position and security. Due to the dis-

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81 'Umarī/India (n. 38), 48–49.

82 Hodong, "Muslim Saints," (n. 64), 285–322.

83 D. DeWeese, "The eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies* 21 (1988), 45–83.

84 D. DeWeese, "Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubravī tradition among the Turks of Central Asia," *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 58–94.

85 *Ibid;* DeWeese, "Kubravīyah" (n. 78), 45–83.

86 For the Mongol imperial culture, see Allsen, *Culture and Conquest* (n. 1), 189–211.

turbed Chaghadaid politics and the high demand for the highly-qualified Central Asian elite, the Chaghadaids were more often the losers in this competition. With the collapse of the Ilkhanate (1335) and of Yuan China (1368) and the stabilization of the political scene in Central Asia under Tamerlane from 1370, the direction of the migration could easily be changed in favour of Central Asia. Both the existing infrastructure and the high incidence of mobility were helpful for Tamerlane when he came to build his state on the remnants of Chaghadaid Transoxania. The cosmopolitanism of Tamerlane's empire was therefore built not only on Ilkhanid models but also on the more modest developments that had already taken place in the Chaghadaid realm.