



CHAGHATAYID DYNASTY

CHAGHATAYID DYNASTY, name given to the descendants of Čengīz Khan's second son Čaġatai, who reigned in Transoxania until ca. 771/1370 and in parts of Turkestan down to the 11th/17th century. Čaġatai accompanied his father on his first campaigns against north China and subsequently on the great expedition to the West (616-22/1219-25). According to Jovaynī (ed. Qazvīnī, I, pp. 31, 226-27), when Čengīz Khan allotted an *ulus*, that is, pasturage and subject peoples, to each of his sons Čaġatai's share extended from the borders of the Uighur territory as far as Samarkand and Bukhara, and his seasonal residences lay on the river Ili, not far from Almalīġ (Almālīġ/q); though the fiscal administration of his lands was in the hands of civil officials directly responsible to the great khan. The same author (I, pp. 162, 227) depicts Čaġatai as extremely zealous in enforcing Mongol customary law, the *yasa*; the Muslims especially suffered, since various prescriptions of the *Šarī'a*, such as those for ritual ablution or for the slaughter of animals, ran counter to Mongol practice. It is difficult to imagine that this policy could be enforced among Muslims in general, and Jovaynī's remarks in all probability apply mainly to those Muslims domiciled in the vicinity of Čaġatai's own encampments or at the great khan's capital, Qaraqorum. Nevertheless, Čaġatai certainly acquired a reputation for being no friend of the Muslims. According to one version given by Rašīd-al-Dīn (*Jāme' al-tawārīk* II, ed. Blochet, p. 184), he died seven months before his brother, the great khan Ögedei (Ūkatāy), in 638/1241, but Jovaynī's statement that he outlived him (II, p. 227) is corroborated by the local chronicler Jamāl Qarši, who says that Čaġatai died in 642/1244-45 (Barthold, *Turkestan*¹ I: *Teksty*, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 138).



After the death of the Great Khan Güyüg (Koyūk) in 646/1248, most of the Chaghatayid princes joined with their cousins, the descendants of Ögedei, in opposing the succession of Möngke (Münkkā; also Mengü/Mankū); and upon his enthronement in 649/1251 they were either executed or exiled. The *ulus* of Ögedei was practically dismembered, but that of Čağatai survived, though somewhat curtailed in size. On Möngke's death in 657/1259 the succession was disputed once more, between his brothers Qubilai (Qūbīlāy) and Arıg Böke (Arıq Būkā): the former was victorious only after a five-year civil war in which numerous members of the imperial family were involved on both sides. One consequence of the crisis was that the civil administration in Central Asia was subordinated to the head of Čağatai's *ulus*, Alǵu (Alǵū; 658-64/1260-66), rather than to the great khan in the east, and it is from this point that we may legitimately speak of a Čağatai khanate. Its history has been surveyed in the secondary works listed in the bibliography, and detailed treatment here will be confined to the relations of the Chaghatayids with Iran.

We find the khans of Čağatai's *ulus* encroaching on the territory south of the Oxus at an early date: for example, Körgüz (Kürgüz; q.v.), the great khan's governor of Khorasan, was executed by Čağatai's widow in the early 640s/1240s, and her son Yesü Möngke (Yīsü Münkkā; 644-49/1246-51) intervened in the affairs of Herat (Sayf Heravī, pp. 127-28). At this time other members of the imperial family exercised important influence in parts of Iran, notably the descendants of Čengīz Khan's eldest son Joči (Jūjī) who were headed by Batu (Bātū), khan of the so-called [Golden Horde](#) in the steppes of southern Russia. In 654/1256 the Great Khan Möngke sent to Persia under the overall command of his brother Hülegü ([Hülāgū](#)) a fresh army including contingents supplied by both the Jochids and the Chaghatayids; the latter force was commanded by the prince Tegüder ([Takūdār](#)). Hülegü, however, subsequently took advantage of the civil war of 657-62/1259-64 to establish himself as a virtually autonomous ruler, which led to sixty years of hostilities between Hülegü and his successors, the Il-khans, on the one hand and the Golden Horde on the other. But the creation of a new *ulus* south of the Oxus also gave rise to tensions with the Chaghatayids. Alǵu, according to Kirakos (pp. 236-37), allied with Hülegü in his struggle against the Golden Horde, but his successor Baraq (Barāq, ca. 664-70/ca. 1266-71) adopted a different policy and planned to invade Khorasan. In 666/1268 he induced Tegüder to rebel against the [Il-khan Abaqa](#) in the Caucasus region. The conspiracy was discovered: Tegüder's rising was suppressed, and Baraq, who found the Il-khan's forces prepared for him, had to abandon Khorasan after a brief



occupation in the years 667-68/1269-70. Rašīd-al-Dīn (*Jāme' al-tawārīk*, Baku, p. 110) links Baraq's expansionist designs with his resentment that his territories were now largely hemmed in by those of his relatives. This sense of constriction was doubtless further heightened by the emergence, as paramount ruler in Central Asia, of Ögedei's grandson Qaidu (Qāydū, d. 702/1303), with whose fortunes those of the khans of Čağatai were to be closely intertwined.

Qaidu was elected Great Khan in opposition to Qubilai at an assembly (*quriltai*) in Central Asia ca. 670/1271 and exercised a stranglehold upon Čağatai's *ulus* for over three decades. He and his confederacy of nomadic princes formed a barrier between the two Toluid allies, the Il-khan and Qubilai, ruling over primarily sedentary societies in Persia and China respectively. The Il-khan Abaqa dispatched an army to sack Bukhara and other towns in Transoxania in 671/1273 at a time when Chaghatayid rule in this area was weak. But it recovered during the reign of Baraq's son Du'a (Dovā, Tovā, ca. 681-706/1282-306), when cooperation between Qaidu and the Chaghatayids was at its height. Du'a loyally seconded his attacks upon Qubilai's supporters and outposts in Mongolia and eastern Turkestan and with Qaidu's backing launched a series of invasions of the Il-khanid empire, in 687/1288, 690/1291 and 695/1295-96. According to Rašīd-al-Dīn (*Jāme' al-tawārīk*, Baku, p. 578, and *Tārīk-eğāzānī*, p. 26), Qaidu's son Sarban (Sārbān) was already in possession of the Bādġīs and Šabūrġān territories as early as 690/1291. This forward policy served as a constant incitement to disaffected Il-khanid generals to throw off their allegiance. One of them was the celebrated Amir Nowrūz (q.v.), who from 688/1289 to 694/1294, when he reentered the service of the future Il-khan Ġazan (Ġāzān), commanded an army which served as a bridgehead on behalf of Qaidu's forces, and we later find his brothers and another commander, Uġurtai (Ūyġürtāy, Īġürtāy), collaborating with Du'a.

If the campaigns mentioned above had established the rule of the Central Asian Mongols over the pasturelands immediately south of the Oxus, a development of equal importance was the definitive assertion of their control over the Negüderis (Negüdārīān/Nīkūdārīān q.v.; sometimes called Qarā'ünās/Qarāvona, Qarāvonā, Qarāvonās), a hitherto independent Mongol grouping based on Ġazna and occupying a large part of present-day Afghanistan. Alġu had made a short-lived attempt to dominate this region ca. 660/1262, but in ca. 671/1272-73 the Il-khan Abaqa installed around Ġazna the fugitive Chaghatayid prince Mobārakšāh, who renewed his submission at the



time of Abaqa's Herat campaign in 678/1279 (Rašīd-al-Dīn, *Jāme' al-tawārīk* II, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, London and New York, 1971, p. 154, n. 40; cf. Baku ed., p. 252). While in Qaidu's service Nowrūz is described by Waṣṣāf (*Tārīk-eWaṣṣāf*, p. 253; cf. also p. 314) as commander of the Negüderis, and his defection to the il-khan was presumably a severe blow to the interests of the Central Asian Mongols in this region. Early in the 960s/1290s some of the Negüderis were led by a Chaghatayid prince named 'Abd-Allāh, though it is doubtful whether he owed allegiance to Du'a rather than to the il-khan, if indeed to any outside power. Not long before 698/1298-99, however, he was supplanted by Du'a's son Qutluḡ Qoča (Qotloḡ K̄vāja), who from his bases in Ġūr and Ġazna worked in concert with Sarban further west. Rašīd-al-Dīn (*Jāme' al-tawārīk*, tr. O. I. Smirnova, *Sbornik letopisei* I, ii, Moscow and Leningrad, 1952, p. 69) describes Qutluḡ Qoča as joint ruler of Čaḡatai's *ulus* with his father, and Waṣṣāf (pp. 367-68) lists among the areas under his rule Ġazna, "Sīstān" (i.e., Ġūr and Ġarčestān), Balk and its dependencies, Šabūrḡān, Badaḡšān, Marv, Andkūy, and Ṭālaqān. The occupation of Afghanistan enabled the Čaḡatai khanate both to assume direction of the Negüderi pressure on India and to intensify its war against the Mongols in Persia. Nor was the expansionist policy terminated by Qutluḡ Qoča's death on the return march from an invasion of India in ca. 699/1299. During the absence of the Il-khan Ġazan on campaign against the Mamluks in 700/1301, Qutluḡ Qoča's forces mounted a major raid on Fārs and Kermān: their commander was killed in an encounter with the viceroy of Khorasan, the il-khan Ġazan's brother Ḳarbanda (later Moḡammad Ḳodā-banda). In the winter of 702/1302-03 Sarban invaded western Khorasan: he was routed by Ḳarbanda, however, and was prevented by adverse climatic conditions from making a junction with Qutluḡ Qoča's forces, with the result that he was compelled to withdraw. In 705/1305 Du'a conferred Qutluḡ Qoča's command on another son, Esen Buqa (Īsenbūqā, Īsenboqā; *Tārīk-eWaṣṣāf*, p. 510), but by this time the Central Asian Mongols were locked in internecine strife.

Qaidu died in 702/1303, and Du'a prevailed upon the princes to pass over his designated heir, Orus (Orūs), in favor of another son, Čapar (Čāpār), in whom he discerned a more malleable overlord. At Du'a's instigation Čapar then submitted to the great khan, Qubilai's grandson and successor Temür, so that for the first time since 658/1260 the Mongol world was united. In 704/1304 a friendly embassy from Čapar and the Chaghatayids accompanied the great khan's envoys to Persia, where Ġazan had died and Ḳarbanda had succeeded him as the Il-khan Öljeitü (Üljāytü, q.v.). As a result of this general



reconciliation, Persia enjoyed a respite from attacks by the Central Asian Mongols for almost ten years. But within Central Asia the peace was short-lived. In 705/1305 Du'a, in collaboration with the great khan's troops, engineered a treacherous attack upon Čapar's supporters, and by 709/1309 the empire founded by Qaidu had disintegrated, most of its territories passing to the Chaghatayids. One result of these upheavals in Transoxania was that various princes of both Čaġatai's and Ögedei's line, including Sarban, crossed over the Oxus with their followers to seek refuge in the il-khan's dominions. Peace was temporarily restored under Esen Buqa, who had now become khan (709-ca. 720/1309-ca. 20), but Chaghatayid authority in the territories south of the Oxus was soon threatened again. First, in 712/1312, Dāwūd Qoča, the son of Qutluġ Qoča, was expelled from Afghanistan by some local chiefs acting in alliance with Öljeitü, and Esen Buqa's own retaliatory invasion of Khorasan was a failure. Then, in 716/1316, another Chaghatayid prince, Yasaður (Yāsā'ūr, Yasāvor, Yasūr, q.v.), quarreled with Esen Buqa and moved across the Oxus to submit to the il-khan, who issued a diploma granting him the pasturelands of Šabūrġān. Following Öljeitü's death, however, Yasaður occupied much of Afghanistan, rose in revolt against his young son *Abū Sa'īd* in 718/1318, and advanced westwards through Māzandarān, possibly with the aim of making himself il-khan. He was eventually compelled to retreat and was slain in 720/1320 in battle against the army of Esen Buqa's brother and successor Köpek (Kobek, ca. 720-26/ca.1320-26), which had entered Afghanistan by arrangement with *Abū Sa'īd*'s frontier commanders. But the principal beneficiaries of Yasaður's removal were his Chaghatayid kinsmen, not the il-khan, for Afghanistan remained in Chaghatayid hands. Although in 726/1326 Ġazna was sacked by *Abū Sa'īd*'s army (Ḥāfez-e Abrū, pp. 166-68), the Moroccan traveler Ebn Baṭṭūṭa, who passed through the region seven years later, found the tract from Ġazna to Qondūz under the rule of the Čaġatai khan Tarmaširin (Tarmašīrīn, ca. 727-35/ca. 1327-35), Köpek's brother (Ebn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, pp. 561, 589); and 'Omarī's informants too regarded Ġazna at this time as part of the *ulus* of Čaġatai.

Apart from the few episodes mentioned above, the il-khans failed to take any military initiatives against the Chaghatayid menace. One effect of the pressure from Central Asia was that it acted on occasion as a brake upon the il-khan's own external policy of war against the Mamluks. Like the khans of the Golden Horde, Qaidu corresponded with the Egyptian sultans (Yūnīnī, fol. 135v; von Tiesenhausen, pp. 67, 81), as did the Čaġatai khan Tarmaširin later (Mofaẓẓal, pp. 63-64, 90, tr. pp. 179, 234). Towards the very end of Öljeitü's reign, it was



alleged that Esen Buqa was in league with the Golden Horde and with the Egyptians to invade Persia from three directions (Kāšānī, p. 212). There is little evidence that the Central Asian Mongols were actually involved in such plans of encirclement; but certainly their raids tended to coincide with the il-khan's absence from Iran, as for example in the devastation of Fārs in 700/1301. And in 1303, according to Hayton (Latin text, p. 321, variant reading), Ġazan was obliged to withdraw most of his army from a Syrian campaign on the news of the incursion by Qaidu's forces.

When the Il-khanid dynasty collapsed upon Abū Sa'īd's death (736/1335), the Čaġatai khanate was itself a prey to renewed internal chaos. It seems that this stemmed from conflict between the sedentarizing and centralizing aspirations of certain khans, such as Tarmaširin, and the more traditionalist nomadic elements and possibly also from the antipathy of the latter towards Islam, since unlike some of his successors Tarmaširin was a devout Muslim and that faith effectively took hold of the Čaġatai *ulus* in his reign ('Omarī, text pp. 38-39, tr. p. 117 with incorrect date). In any case, from the 740s/1340s the Čaġatai khanate appears to have divided into two. The western portion, centered on Transoxania, was dominated by tribal amirs, who maintained scions of Čaġatai's (and sometimes Ögedei's) line as puppet sovereigns to legitimize their own authority. The most important of these amirs, Qazaġan (d. 759/1358), waged war upon the Kartid (see [āl-e kart](#)) ruler of Herat, who had taken advantage of Chaghatayid weakness to proclaim his own sovereignty. After Qazaġan's death Transoxania was invaded by the eastern Chaghatayid khan Tuġluq Temür, under whose patronage Tīmūr (q.v.) of the Barlas tribe first attained prominence. Subsequently, Tīmūr cooperated with Qazaġan's grandson Ḥosayn against the invaders, and then destroyed his new ally in turn. By 771/1370 he was the virtual ruler of the western khanate and was able to harness the energies of the amirs and their nomad followers (still called Čaġatais in the sources) to campaigns of conquest in those very regions, Persia and the Delhi Sultanate, which had attracted his Chaghatayid predecessors. He and his dynasty continued to appoint nominal khans from Ögedei's family down into the 9th/15th century, though none is mentioned after 852/1448 and the Timurids had long held the real sovereignty in Transoxania.

Neither Tīmūr nor his successors, however, were able to overcome the eastern half of the Čaġatai khanate, known as "Moġalestān," where a more vigorous line of khans reigned initially from Almaliġ, then from Kāšġar, and finally, after Kāšġar had been appropriated by the powerful Doġlāt amirs, from Āqsū.



Of these later Chaghatayids particular mention should be made of Vays Khan (d. ca. 832/1428-29), in whose reign the Oirat (Ūyrāt) or Qalmaqs first began their inroads into the Čağatai khanate, and his sons Esen Buqa II (d. 866/1462) and Yūnos (d. 892/1487) who divided the territory between them. Yūnos, whose daughter Qutluq Negār Kānom married the Timurid prince ‘Omar Shaikh and became the mother of [Bābor](#), had been educated in Persia by the chronicler Šaraf-al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and is described as having the physical features of a Tajik rather than a Mongol (Ḥaydar Doġlāt, pp. 84-85, 97-98). He wrested Tashkent from the Timurids and reunited the khanate. But under his two sons, Solṭān-Aḥmad and Maḥmūd, the westernmost territories, including Tashkent, were lost at the beginning of the 10th/16th century to the Shaibanid Uzbeks (See [central asia vi](#)). Solṭān-Aḥmad was defeated by their leader Moḥammad Šaybānī (Šībānī) Khan and died of chagrin in 909/1503, whereupon the khanate fell into confusion. The eastern regions were eventually governed from Ṭurfān by his son Maṣṣūr (d. 950/1543). It was left to one of Solṭān-Aḥmad’s numerous other sons, Sa’īd (d. 939/1533), the contemporary and friend of Bābor, to take Kāšġar from its Doġlāt ruler in 920/1514 and to found a new state in this region. Under his descendants, however, this khanate in turn underwent fragmentation, with different princes ruling in Kāšġar, Yārkaṇd, Āqsū, etc. In 1089/1678, with Qalmaq support, power in Kashgharia passed to local religious leaders, the Khojas (See [chinese turkestan vi](#)), and the Chaghatayid dynasty was extinguished.

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