

The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

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Nurlan Kenzheakhmet

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FOREWORD

The “The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibaniid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources” monograph that you are about to read represents a unique opportunity for readers with its extensive original sources that are not presented before in Eurasian studies concerning the XIV-XVI centuries. Therefore, it could be considered as the first presentation of numerous new sources on historical and political relations among the Ming Dynasty, (1368-1644) and the Tūqmāq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibaniid dynasty, Ottoman Empire and Moghulistan. Another originality in this research is that it provides the readers sources that are older than many European sources regarding the Central-Western Asia region. By opening new horizons with fresh sources and deepening our knowledge about the region with addition of older documents from Ming Shilu, the imperial annals. This monograph allows us to reshape our historical familiarity on relations between Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and its relations with the Tūqmāq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibaniid Dynasty, Ottoman Empire and Moghulistan.

This book is concerned with the diplomatic relationship between Eurasian countries and Ming China in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. This monograph is the first attempt to understand historical and political relations between the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Tūqmāq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibaniid Dynasty, Ottoman Empire and Moghulistan — which coexisted in Central Asia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — as told through Chinese historical sources. What is Kenzheakhmet’s work about and why is it so important for historians?

This book utilizes a wider range of original sources than have been used in previous discussions about the Eurasian countries XIV-XVI centuries. The author uses the Ming Shilu, the imperial annals of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1664), one of the key sources for our understanding of China’s history from the second half of the fourteenth century through to the early seventeenth century, to understand the history between west and east in XIV-XVI centuries. Among the unique materials contained within the Ming Shilu is a wide range of references to polities and societies which today we consider to be parts of “Eurasia”. This work identifies all of the references to Central and Western Asia contained within the Ming shilu and provides them to readers in English-language translation. The fact that many of these references predate European sources on Central-Western Asia underlines their importance to historians of

the region.

The Ming Shilu, contains information on the diplomatic missions sent by Rum, Tūqmāq, Qazaq Khanate and Shibanid Dynasty to the Ming emperor. These records are important as it indicates that, a fact that is not mentioned in Central Asian sources. Some original information on the Ottoman Empire (called Roumi, Rong or Lumi in the Ming Shilu) of the sixteenth century also provided by Ming Shilu. The account of the Juhan'er ren, who are inhabitants in Western Asia, provided in the Xiyu tudi renwulüe. According to the author, the ethnic group of juhan'er is a transliteration of the name of kuffar, refers to Europeans or Christians in Western Asia or Europe. In addition to the Chinese sources mentioned above, some Central Asian sources are also utilized in this monograph. The author also uses a number of Chinese cartographic sources for reconstructing the history of the Western and Central Asia countries XIV-XVI centuries.

I would like to thank Nurlan Kenzheakhmet for its efforts to shedding a light and bringing a new perspective on the topic of “The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānīd Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlīstan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources” that could be considered as one of the impeccable works in this area.

Prof. Dr. Musa Yıldız,
President of the Board of Trustees
Khoja Akhmet Yassawi
International Kazakh-Turkish University

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List of Abbreviations

etc. - et cetera

BGA - Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum

ca. - circa

cf. - confer

comp. - completed

ed. - edited

Ejibie jingong shu - Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu

j. - juan

MSL - Ming shilu

p. - page

r. - reign

Renwu tu - Xiyu tudi renwutu

Renwu lüe - Xiyu tidi renwu lüe

repr. – reprinted

rev. - reverend

trans. - translate

UNESCO - The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Vol. - volume

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Cover illustration: Traveler Mongolian ruler. From Diez-Album Fol. 71, S.53
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In this place, I would like to thank several people and organizations, who took their time and gave suggestions to improve this monograph, this project would not have been possible without the kind support and help of them.

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Introduction

This monograph will study the historical and political relations between the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Tūqmāq (the Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānīd dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire) and Moghūlistan (East Chagatay) - which coexisted in Central Asia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries - as told through Chinese historical sources. I will base this study on the records of Tuohuma, Özbek-Qazaq, the Shībānīd, Rūm and Moghūlistan in Chinese historical literature, including the *Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu* 論額即乚夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (27 Vol.) (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute), the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty), *Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu* 論額即乚夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute), Yan Song's 嚴嵩 *Nangong zouyi* 南宮奏議 (The South Palace memorials) and Yan Congjian's 嚴從簡 *Shuyu zhou zilu* 殊域周咨錄 (Informative records on countries far away), as well as key sources like the *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (Veritable records of the Ming dynasty), the *Ming shi* 明史 (History of the Ming).

My principal source, *Ming shilu* (Veritable records of the Ming dynasty, hereafter *MSL*), is a book that has required much time to read through.¹ The information in the *MSL* is central for the study and research on the history of Central and Western Asia; and it can shed light on the important interactions that took place between the Central-Western Asian polities and the Ming court. Therefore, in order to understand the relationships among the countries, I will begin with an analysis of the *MSL*, a fundamental source for my study.²

This monograph analyzes the *MSL* in order to understand the character of Chinese knowledge about the Central-Western Asia between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, culls data from the Chinese reign records (i.e. *MSL*) on several key foreign states that had sent their tributary missions to the Ming court, such as the Qazaq Khanate, the Tūqmāq, the Shībānīd dynasty, and Rūm

¹ The chronicles called *Shilu* are extant for all reigns of the Ming dynasty. Until the end of the Qing dynasty the manuscript copies only were available for a small circle of historians which had strong connections to the imperial court where they were kept safe. In the 0, the Government of the Republic of China published – under the collective title “Ming shilu” 明實錄 – a series of photo-lithographic blockprint editions of manuscripts of all *Shilu* of the Ming dynasty. From 1962 to 1968, under the direction of Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健 members of the Academia Sinica (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan 中央研究院) in Taiwan published a size-reduced edition of all Ming emperor's *Shilu*, with additional critical apparatuses. In this article references always are made to the chapter numbers of the *Shilu* of the respective emperors, but in the main text the titles always are abbreviated to *Shilu*.

² I only mention the *MSL* in this proposal because the records, like the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典, *Nangong zouyi* 南宮奏議 and *Shuyu zhou zilu* 殊域周咨錄, derive most of their knowledge from it. Therefore, the *MSL* enjoys an indispensable position in my study.

during the active periods of the Ming dynasty, accounts for their activities, and attempts to address some of the pertinent questions raised. Additional sources like geographic accounts and maps will help define the extent of Chinese knowledge about the Central-Western Asia, clarify the kinds of information that the Chinese sought and why, and measure the influence of cross-cultural contact on Ming Chinese understanding of the Central-Western Asian polities.

The primary sources on the subject also consists of maps that were mainly drawn in Chinese during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, with an overwhelming majority of the Chinese sources. The most important maps of the countries west of China during the Ming period are the “Menggu shanshui ditu” 蒙古山水地圖 (The Mongolian landscape map) and “Xiyu tudi renwu tu” 西域土地人物圖, (Atlas of Territories, Peoples and Natural Products of the Western Region, hereafter Renwu tu) which is included in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lue” 西域土地人物略 (Commentary on the Territories, Peoples and Natural Products of the Western Region, hereafter Renwu lue) of the *Shaanxi tongzhi tongzhi* 陝西通志 (Provincial gazetteer for Shaanxi) compiled in 1542 (the twenty-second year of Jiaping 嘉靖 reign) by Zhao Tingrui 趙廷瑞 (1492–1551), Ma Li 馬理 (1474–1555), and Lü Ran 呂柟 (1479–1542) they give rich geographical and historical information about the Xiyu during the Ming dynasty. Both maps display the place names of regions far to China’s west; from Jiayuguan to Lumi or Rong dimian (Rūm, modern Istanbul), but geographical information contained in the “Xiyu tudi renwu tu” is richer than that found in the “Menggu shanshui ditu”.

In fact, the *Renwu tu* and *Renwu lue* share a rich geographic knowledge about foreign places seen in earlier and contemporary world maps made by Central Asian scholar-officials who were mostly sponsored by the Chinese government. The atlas shows the blending of different cultures and geographic knowledge behind its production. Although the map is drawn from a Chinese perspective, its author drew on Chinese-based geographical knowledge that had accumulated for centuries. Comparing this map with both earlier and contemporaneous extant maps, therefore, will demonstrate what kind of foundational geographic knowledge had been circulating among Chinese scholars by the time of the map’s production, and how Islamic scholars adopted and modified popular geographical knowledge.

This monograph has a clear-cut aim: to provide a new perspective on relations between these six countries—Ming China, the Qazaq Khanate, the Golden Horde, the Shībānid dynasty, Rūm and Moghūlistan—by making use of underutilized Chinese sources. Scholars have achieved much progress in developing a history of the relations between Ming China and the Timurids, Ming China and the Early Shībānid dynasty, and Ming China and the Mongols.³

³ Cf. Kauz, R., *Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden. China, Iran und Zentralasien im Spätmittelalter*. Wiesbaden, (2005); Serruys, H., *Sino-Mongol relations during the Ming II: the tribute system and diplomatic missions (1400-1600)*, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 14 (1966-1967), Brüssel: Institut Belge des hautes études chinoises, (1967).

Regarding research on the Tūqmāq-Ming, Qazaq-Ming and the later Shībānid-Ming, Ottoman-Ming relations based on Chinese historical materials, however, has been absent until now, though these relations and the history of these kingdoms have been crucial in the shaping of modern Central Asia. This monograph aims to fill that void.

The four Central Asian kingdoms - the Tūqmāq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid dynasty and Moghūlistan - shared a common origin in their Turkic descent. Being neighbours and descendants of Turkic clans, the four khanates enjoyed close political, economical, marital relations, although by the mid-sixteenth century they had evolved divergently and each had developed its own distinctive characteristics.

Academic studies of this history currently create a vague understanding of this relationship, however. References to them in Chinese and Islamic (Turkic-Persian) sources are inconsistent. This situation, in the end, has resulted in many erroneous viewpoints.

A new work is Joo-Yup Lee *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), which attempts to analyse and record the data given by the medieval Persian-Turkic chronicles on the *Qazaqliq* and Qazaqs. It contains important Arabic-Persian-Turkic sources and selected modern references. In effect, I used their works as an external reference point to the study origins of the four central Asian kingdoms.

During the Ming dynasty, China's rulers restructured the traditional "tributary system" as the institutional mechanism to pursue foreign policy and official trade with their overland and island "vassal" states, and managed its relationships with other states through the *chaogong* 朝貢 system, in which foreign states paid tributes to the Chinese court at regular intervals in exchange for the empire's gifts, diplomatic recognition and sometimes even military protection. This meant that a kind of official diplomatic relationship formed, however, it did not mean that China regarded the Western rulers who participated in this system as its vassals—at least, it did not emphasize the kind of unequal relationship that their worldview implied, for the Ming and other governments in Chinese history took the supremacy of the Chinese emperor for granted and, thus, beyond debate. This was a remarkable feature of Sino-foreign relations, namely, that China regarded itself as the centre of the world, and by doing so, it was forcing foreign states to accept a subordinate position in their relationship with China—tacitly or not.

This monograph will use archival and historical, etymological, comparative, comparative linguistic methods to examine geographical representations of the Central-Western Asia produced by Chinese geographers in the Ming period. Historical maps provide rich knowledge resources that graphically encode

information about the state of a fraction of the real world at a certain point in time. Different place names associated the region with different phases of its history and with the different languages spoken there during those phases. This toponymic information is very important for the determination of changes of the region's objects for historical time.

Chapter I

Tūqmāq-Chinese Relationship During the Ming Period (1394-1456) ⁴

1.1 Introduction

The Central Asian historians, Mongolian chroniclers and Ming China historians used the term Tūqmāq (the Golden Horde) and Tuohuma to refer to the Jochid Ulus (also spelled as Jūchīd Ulūs).⁵ Little is known about diplomatic relations between the Jochid Ulus and Ming China (1368-1644), even though some evidence of early tribute trade relations exists. The first extant Chinese account about the country of Salai (Saray) dates to around 1394, when accounts of diplomatic exchange between the Ming court and the Jochid Ulus began to appear in *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (The Veritable Records of the Ming).⁶ This chapter analyzes the *MSL* in order to understand the character of Chinese knowledge about the Jochid Ulus during their years of contact between 1394 and 1456. Additional sources like geographic accounts and maps will help define the extent of Chinese knowledge about the khanate, clarify the kinds of information that the Chinese sought and why, and measure the influence of cross-cultural contact on Ming Chinese understanding of the Jochid Ulus.

1.2 Various names of the Jochid Ulus from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century: the terminology used in Chinese, Persian and Turkic historical materials.

The information in the *MSL* is central for the study and research on the history of Central Asia; and it can shed light on the important interactions that took place between these three Central Asian polities and the Ming court. Therefore, in order to understand the relationships among the countries, I will begin with an analysis of the various name of the countries.

⁴ The term *Золотая Орда* (Golden Horde) was first used in the second half of the sixteenth century by the Russian chroniclers to refer to the city of Saray. Hence, I have used the appellation Tūqmāq.

⁵ Togan, Z. V., *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Arkadaş, İbrahim Horoz ve Güven Basımevleri, 1942-1947, p. 31; For detailed analyses of the Tūqmāq, see Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs. State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia*. Leiden/Boston, 2016, pp. 136-137. Also see Bretschneider, Emil, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th Century*. London: Trübner, 1910 (2 vols.), II, p. 161.

⁶ *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (The Veritable Records of the Ming). 133 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1967). Many editions exist; here we used the photo-lithographed version compiled by the Academia Sinica in Taiwan over the years 1962 to 1967 under the direction of Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健. It is on the Taiwan edition that this article is based.

1.2.1 Wilāyat of Sarāy and Salai 撒來

It is necessary to define some of the ethnic terms in use in the Jochid Ulus. By the mid-thirteenth century when the partition of the newly conquered territories was made among Chingīz's Khan's sons, the Dasht-i Qipchāq was divided among the sons of Chingīz Khan's eldest son, Jochi. The eastern territories of the Ulus which can be called Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq or the Left Wing (Sol qol) of Jochid's Ulus, were originally allotted to Jochi's eldest son Orda or Orda Ichen, while the Western half or the Right Wing (Ong Qol) of the Dasht-i Qipchāq formed an integral part of the patrimony of the Jochi's second son Batu. In contemporary Persian, Armenian and Muslim writings, and in the records of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries such as the *Jami' u' t-tawarikh*, the khanate was called the 'ulūs-i Jūchī' ('realm of Jochi' in Mongolian), Dasht-i Qipchāq (Qipchāq Steppe in Persian) or Qipchāq Bashi (Head of Qipchāq in Turkic).⁷ The designation Jochid Ulus (ulūs-i Jūchī), which literally means the people of Jochi, encompassed the nomadic population of Central Eurasia that had been brought under the Jochid governance in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The Turkic historians and the early Ming China historians used the term Sarāy or Salai to refer to the Golden Horde. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq ruled by Orda was formally subjected to the khans Sarāy or Ulus of Batu but practically enjoyed total independence in matters in inner affairs.

The *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān* or *Chingīz-nāma*, written by Ūtamīsh Ḥājī b. Mawlānā Dūstī in Khwārazim in ca. 1555 and dedicated to Dūst Muḥammad Khān of Khwārazimian Ōzbek "Arabshāhid" dynasty, Batu's Ulus was officially known as the Sarāy Wilāyati.⁸

At the time, since the lineage of Batu had come to an end, according to the *yasa* (Mongol customary law) and the law of inheritance, the ultimate rule was passed on to the descendants of Shiban Khan, Jochi's fifth son. According to Z. V. Togan (1890-1970), the Bashkurt Turkish professor, many Ōzbek uruks in today's Turgay province, in the vicinity of "Ak Göl" (White Lake), raised to the throne as *Khīḍr Khān*, who was a descendant of the Shiban.⁹

The fourteenth century Ming China chroniclers employed the term Salai for the

⁷ Rashiduddin Fazlullah. *Jami' u' t-tawarikh* (Compendium of Chronicles): A History of the Mongols. Trans. by W. M. Thackston. 3 pts. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 45. [Cambridge, MA]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998-1999, pp. 513, 521.

⁸ Ūtamīsh Ḥājī, *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān*, ed. and trans. V. P. Yudin, with M. Kh. Abuseitova, as Chingiz-Name. Almaty: Ghilym, 1992 Ūtap. 38b-39a; Ōtemis qazhy, Shyngyys-name, ed. and trans. by M. Q. Abuseitova. Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türki derektmeleri (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources), Vol. 5, Almaty: Dayk, 2006 Ōtep. 183, p. 225. The usage the term of *āyat* by Central Asian authors is notoriously diffuse, because – to employ a rather awkward distinction – it can be used as an element of either 'political' or 'territorial' vocabulary.

⁹ Togan, Z. V., The Origins of the Kazaks and the Ōzbeks, *The Central Asia Reader: The Rediscovery of History*, ed. H. B. Paskov. New York/London, M. E. Sharpe, 1994, p. 31

Jochid Ulus. For instance, the *MSL* refers to Jochid Ulus as Salai 撒來.¹⁰ The *MSL* entry for day *gengchen* of the fourth month of the twenty seventh year of the reign of Hongwu (11 May 1394), reads as follows: “the seven realms of the Xiyu (Western Region) are Nepal of India, Duogan, Shazhou, Wusizang, Sali-Weiwu’er (Sariy Uiyur), Salai (Saray), and Sama’erhan (Samarqand).¹¹

Salai also occurs in the *MSL* entry for the day *kuisi* of the fifth month of the seventh year of the reign of Yongle (4 July 1409):

“Saray, Sali huihui (Sariy Uiyur), Niebek (Özbek?) and others came to Court and offered tribute of horses. Paper money and variegated silks, were conferred upon them”.¹²

1.2.2 Özbek and Yuezubo 月祖伯

The Turkic people of the entire Dasht-i Qipchāq (Qipchāq steppe), from the Syr Darya River, and Khwārazim to the Idil (Volga) basin and Saqlab, were termed “Özbek” during the reign of the Özbek Khan (1282–1341, r. 1313–1341), the ninth ruler of the Jochid Ulus.

Özbeks are first mentioned in the work of Ilkhanid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī (born around 1280) who, in his *Tārīkh-i guzīda* (Selected History), describes the invasion of Özbek Khan into the Ilkhanate in 1335, calling Jochid Ulus armies “Özbeks” (Uzbakiyān), and calls the Jochid Ulus “the kingdom of Özbek” (mamlakat-i Uzbaki).¹³ Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī’s son Zain al-Dīn, who added the description of the events that took place in Iran between 1341 and 1390 to the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, also designates the Jochid Ulus ruled by Jānī Beg Khan (r. 1342–1357), the son of Özbek Khan, as “the Özbek Ulus” (*Ulūs-i Uzbak*).¹⁴ The ethnonym of Özbek is known from the famous Central Asian histories such as Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān’s *Shajara-i Türk va Moghūl* and the *Shajarat al-atrāk* or the *Tārīkh-i arba ‘ulūs* by Ulūgh Beg that traced the origin of the designation *Özbek* to Özbek Khan.¹⁵

In the *Shajara-i Türk va Moghūl*, Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān relates:

¹⁰ Ming Taizu shilu, j. 232, p. 3395.

¹¹ Chinese text: 西域之部七, 西天泥八剌國, 朶甘, 沙州, 烏思藏, 撒立畏兀兒, 撒來, 撒馬兒罕.

¹² Taizong shilu (Veritable records of the Taizong (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 92: p. 1223. Chinese text: 撒來, 撒里回回, 聶亂等來朝, 貢馬賜鈔及襲衣.

¹³ Detailed description on Özbeks in Persian sources, see Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, pp. 121-124; also see Zain al-Dīn b. Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, “Tārīkh-i guzīda,” in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. Izvlecheniya iz Persidskih sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiyā nauk SSSR (Extracts from Persian compositions collected by V. G. Tiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, pp. 221-223 (text), p. 93 (trans.).

¹⁴ Tārīkh-i guzīda, *ibid*, p. 226 (text), p. 97 (trans.).

¹⁵ *Shajarat al-atrāk*, in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. Izvlecheniya iz Persidskih sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiyā nauk SSSR (Extracts from Persian compositions collected by V. G. Tiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, pp. 206-207 (trans.), p. 266 (text); Mirzo Ulughbek, 1994, p. 138; Col. Miles, *The Shajrat ul Atrak or Genealogical Tree of the Turks and Tatars*. London, 1838, pp. 231-232; DeWeese, D., *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994, p. 101, n. 75; Joo-Yup Lee, 2015, pp. 121-124.

“He (Özbek Khan) brought the *il* and *Ulus* to the faith of Islam. Thanks to this possessor of good fortune, all the people had the honor of receiving the glory of Islam. It is after him that all the *il* of Jochi were called the *il* of Özbek (*el ulusni dīn-i islāmga körküzdi barča halq ol šāhib-i davlatning sababindin šaraf-i islāmga mušarraf boldilar andin song barča Jochi elini Özbäk eli tedilär*).”¹⁶

It is clear that, whether these accounts reflect historical events or not, the designation Özbek began to be used as a term denoting the nomadic people of the Jochid Ulus during the reign of Özbek Khan. Therefore, it may be assumed that the Jochid Ulus also became known as the Özbek Ulus after Özbek Khan’s reign. The designation Yuezubo (Özbek) was also used in the Chinese sources and the Chinese maps to refer to the Jochid Ulus of the fourteenth century.

This name can be found on the Chinese map entitled *Yuan Jingshi dadian xibei dili tu* 元經世大典西北地理圖 (Map from the *Jingshi dadian* of the Yuan, representing countries to the northwest) of the year 1331, as *Yuezubo* 月祖伯, also called *Yuejibie* 月即別 or Yuezubo in the *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of the Yuan).¹⁷ According to the Yuan chronicle, Yuezubo is the name of the horde or *Ulus* of the Dasht-i Qipchāq. In *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* this country is mentioned as *Uzbek Ulus* or *Uzbekstan*.¹⁸

At the end of the geographical section, the *Yuan shi* (History of the Yuan) offers an appendix entitled ‘Xibei di fulu 西北地附錄 (countries to the northwest of the Yuan Dynasty)’. It consists of an enumeration of countries and places; almost all of which can be easily identified with place names found in the *Yuan jingshi dadian dili tu* 元經世大典西北地理圖 (The geographical map from the *Encyclopedia of Yuan dynasty Institutions*), published in 1331, which describes the Mongol dominions in Central and Western Asia.¹⁹ According to the “Yuan shi”,²⁰ the realm of the Yuezubo includes Sa’erkesi 撒耳柯思 (Circasia or Shirkasia/Cherkess), Alan 阿蘭 (Alans or Alania), Asi 阿思 (Asi/Osi, modern Ossetians), Qincha 欽察 (Qipchāq), Aluosi 阿羅思 (Rus), Buli’a’er 不里阿耳 (Bulghar), Sajila 撒吉刺 (Saqlab), Hualazimo 花刺子模 (Khwārazim), Sailan 賽蘭 (Sayram), Ba’erchihan 巴耳赤邗 (Bārchīnlīy-kand, Ba’erchili 巴耳赤利 in *Jingshi dadian dili tu*), Zhande 氈的 (Jend or Jand, Zhande 毡的 in *Jingshi dadian dili tu*). The last two cities appear on the famous Kangnido map, as Balichiyān 八里赤岩 (Bārchīnlīy-kand) and Chande 塵的 (Jend).²¹

¹⁶ The English translation and the Turkic transcriptions are quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, See Joo-Yup Lee, 2015, pp. 121-122. Also see Aboul-Ghāzi Béhādur Khān, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, trans. Petr I. Demaisons. St. Petersburg: 1871–1874; repr., Amsterdam: Philo, 1970, p. 178 (text), pp. 183-184 (trans.).

¹⁷ *Yuan shi* 元史 (The History of the Yuan), comp. by Song Lian 宋廉 (1310–1381). Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976, j. 117: p. 2906; Bretschneider, 1910, II, p. 6.

¹⁸ Elias, N. (ed.), and E. D. Ross (trans.), *The Tārīh-i Rasīdī of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, Dughlāt: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*. London: Sampson Low, 1895 (repr. Leipzig 2005), pp. 272, 366, 374.

¹⁹ Bretschneider, Emil, 1910, II, pp. 133-136.

²⁰ *Yuan shi* 元史, j. 63, p. 1570.

²¹ Kenzheakhmet, N., The Place Names of Central Asia in the Kangnido. *Journal of Asian History* (49) 2015, 1/2, pp. 141-160: 148-149.

As mentioned above, the first half of sixteenth century Ming Chinese chroniclers refer to the Qazaq Khanate as 額即亂, or 額即亂-哈辛(卒), and the name in the *MSL* must be pronounced *Ejibie*, or *Ejibie-Haxin*, a Chinese transcription of “Özbek-Qazaq” or “Özbek-Qasym” (see below).

1.2.3 The Tūqmāq and the Tuohuma

The Timurid historians, Mongolian chroniclers and Ming China historians used the term Tūqmāq and Tuohema to refer to the whole Dasht-i Qipchāq in post Mongol Central Eurasia.²² Quoting Persian-Turkic-Mongolian sources, Joo-Yup Lee discussed briefly the correlation between the Jochid Ulus and the Tūqmāq.²³ For instance, in the *Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Mu'īnī* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, written in Persian in 1413-14 for Shākhrukh, Naṭanzī refers to the Golden Horde as the Tūqmāq Ulus (ūlūs-i Tūqmāq).²⁴ Naṭanzī also employs the term Tūqmāq to refer to the armies of both Temūr Malik, the son of Urus Khan and Toqtamīsh. He calls the army of the former ‘the Tūqmāq troublemakers’ (būlghāūlān-i Tūqmāq) and the army of latter ‘the Tūqmāq army (lashkar-i Tūqmāq).²⁵ Likewise, the realm of Abū'l-Khayr Khan (1412-1469, r. 1428-1469), the ancestor of the Shībānīd Uzbeks, are identified with the Jochid Ulus or Tūqmāq in the sources. Khvāndamīr refers to Abū'l-Khayr Khan as “the pādshāh of the Ulus of Jochi Khan” (pādshāh-i ulūs-i Jūchī Khān).²⁶ Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī calls the army that gathered around Abū'l-Khayr Khan “the Tūqmāq army” (*sipāh-i Tūqmāq*).²⁷

The designation Tuohuma was a term used by the Ming chroniclers to refer to the Jochid Ulus in 1415.²⁸ In his *Xiyu fan'guozhi* (A Record of the Barbarian Countries in the Western Region), a report of the Ming dynasty written in 1414-1415 for the Yongle emperor, Chen Cheng (1365-1457) provided a slightly different version of the account about the border of the Beshbalyq, and mentioned the country of Tuohuma.²⁹ In the *MSL*, a report under the first year of the Zhengtong reign (1436), Tūqmāq also called as Tuohuoma 脱火

²² For a concise explanation of the name Togmak, see Bretschneider 1910, II, p. 161.

²³ Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, pp. 136-137; also see Joo-Yup Lee, *The Socio-Political Phenomenon of Qazaqliq in the Eurasian Steppe and the Formation of the Qazaq People*. A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Degree, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, 2013, pp. 186-187.

²⁴ Naṭanzī, Mu'īn al-Dīn. *Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Mu'īnī*, in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. Izvlecheniya iz Persidskih sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiiyā nauk SSSR, (Extracts from Persian compositions collected by V. G. Thiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, p. 138 (trans.), p. 242 (text); Naṭanzī, Mu'īn al-Dīn. *Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Mu'īnī*. ed. by Jean Aubin. Tehran: Khayyam, 1336/1957, p. 435.

²⁵ Naṭanzī, 425, 336; quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, *ibid*, 2013, p. 186.

²⁶ Khvāndamīr, Ghiyās al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn. *Tārikh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār-i afrād-i bashar*. Ed. by Jalāl al-Dīn Humānī. 4 vols. Tehran: Kitābfürūshī-i Khayyām, 1333/1954–1955. 3rd repr. ed., 1362/1984, v: p. 50; quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, *ibid*, 2013, p. 186.

²⁷ Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Bahr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār*, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1375, fol. 140b. This trans. page is quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, *ibid*, 2013, p. 186.

²⁸ Ming Taizong shilu, j. 169: p. 1890.

²⁹ *Xiyu fan'guo zhi* 西域番國誌 (A Record of the Barbarian Countries in the Western Region), by Chen Cheng 陳誠 (jinshi 1394). Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000, p. 102.

麻.³⁰ The *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty), in the 1587 edition, also mentions Tuohuma together with the names of other countries.³¹ *Ming shi* lists twenty-nine names of dimian 地面 (territories/realms) including Tuohuma that used to present tribute through Qumul.³²

According to Joo-Yup Lee, the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries Buddhist Mongolian chroniclers refer to the Jochid Ulus as *Toymay*.³³ For instance, in his *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, Ssanang Ssetsen refers to the nomads of the Jochid Ulus during the reigns of Esen Taishi (r. 1439–55) and the Qazaq khan Ḥaqq Nazar (r. 1538–1580) as *Toymay* without distinction.³⁴ In mentioning the names of the Jochid khans, Lubsangdanjin, the author of the *Altan Tobči*, also designates both the Uzbek khan Muḥammad Shībānī and the Qazaq khan Ḥaqq Nazar as *Toymay*.³⁵ The Mongolian anonymous *Čayan Teüke* (White History), written during the reign of Qubilay Khan between 1260 and 1280, revised and edited by Qutugtu Sečen Qong Tayijii (1540–1586), mentioned the conquest of the *Toymay*'s Mang Kulig Sultan qaγan and the Sartayul's Jalildin Sultan by Chingiz Khan.³⁶ Another Mongolian work on the subject known as *Bolur Toli* (The Crystal Mirror), compiled by Jimbadorji, a noble from Urad banner, circa 1834–1847, mentioned Jeliledun Sultan of Sartagul and Manulan Sultan khan of Tomog. In his *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (The Precious Button), Saγang Sečen Qong Tayijii (1604–?) called *Toymay*'s king as Mengülig sultan qaγan.³⁷ Mongolian chronicle's usage of Sultan qaγan or Sultan khan was identical with that of *Yuan shi*. The biography of Guo Baoyu, a Han Chinese from Shanxi who had been serving with the Mongol at the time of the early Mongol conquests in the Central Asia, in the official history of the Yuan dynasty contains much that is of interest. In the *Yuan shi*, Mang Kulig Sultan qaγan or Manulan Sultan khan briefly called as Suandan Han 算端罕 (Sultan Khan). According to the *Yuan shi*, in 1214, Guo Baoyu 郭寶玉 accompanied Chingiz Khan in his campaigns against the Qipchāq and Naiman. The Suandan Han (Sultan Khan) of Kefucha 可弗叉 (Qipchāq) was obeyed, the Naiman country was defeated, and Guo Baoyu was involved in the taking of Xiansigan 擣思干 (Semizkend, i.e. Samarqand).³⁸ Saγang Sečen refers to the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq or Jochid

³⁰ Yingzong shilu (Veritable records of the Yingzong (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 24: p. 489.

³¹ *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming Dynasty), by Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447–1516). Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988, j. 107: Chaogong 3.

³² *Ming shi* 明史 (History of the Ming), by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1762–1755). Taipei: Guofang yanjiuyuan *Ming shi biancuan weiyuanhui*, 1962, j. 332: p. 8626.

³³ Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, p. 137.

³⁴ Ssanang Ssetsen, *Erdeni-yin Tobci* ('Precious Summary'): *A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*, ed. M. Gō, I. de Rachewiltz, J. R. Krueger, and B. Ulaan, Vol. 1, *The Urga Text* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990), pp. 113, 141, 142; quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, *ibid*, 2013, p. 187.

³⁵ Lubsangdanjin, *Altan Tobči: eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzang bstan 'jin*, ed. Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992), 90; quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, *ibid*, 2013, p. 187.

³⁶ *Belaya Istoriya. Mongol'skiy istoriko-pravovoy pamyatnik XIII-XIV vv.* (White History. Mongolian historical and legal monument) Ulan-Ude, 2001, p. 123.

³⁷ Wulan, "Menggu yuanliu" yanjiu (The studies of "Erdeni-yin Tobči"), Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2000, pp. 163, 231 (trans), 584 (text).

³⁸ *Yuan shi* 元史 (The History of the Yuan), comp. by Song Lian 宋廉 (1310–1381). Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976, j. 149: p. 3522. Chinese text: (郭寶玉) 辛巳, 可弗叉國唯算端罕破乃滿國, 引兵擣擣思干.

Ulusas *Toymay Ulus*.³⁹ In mentioning the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq, Lubsan Danzan, the author of the *Altan Tobči* (The Golden Button) also designates Jochid Ulus as *Toymay*.⁴⁰

According to Z. V. Togan, ‘among the Khiva Özbeks, the term (in Ebūlgazi) known as “Togma”; Baskurts “Tuvma”; Nogay (according to the *Cevdet Pasha history*) “Tokma” designated individuals without a known lineage, or fugitives to be sold as slaves, being offenders of the law.’⁴¹

Naṭanzī also employs the term Tūqmāq to refer to the armies of both Temūr Malik, the son of Urus Khan and Toqtamīsh.⁴²

The designation *Toymay* also seems to have been in use in the Ming dynasty in the early fifteenth century. The Ming historian calls Abū’l-Khayr Khan “the king of the territory of Tuohema” (脱忽麻地面卜刺孩王).⁴³

Modern Kazakhstan, which corresponds roughly to the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq, belonged to the left wing or eastern wing of the Jochid Ulus. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq ruled by Orda Ichen was formally subjected to the khans Sarāy or Ulus of Batu but practically enjoyed total independence in matters in inner affairs. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq ruled by Orda Ichen and his successors was called Āq Ūrda (White Horde), centred on Sighnaq (in Kazakhstan) in the Persian sources of the Timurid and later periods.⁴⁴ In the first half of the XV. century Āq Ūrda, the predecessor of the Qazaq Khanate, whose possessions included lands of the Dasht-i-Qipchāq, modern Central Kazakhstan and some parts of Western Kazakhstan, was one of the most powerful states in Central Asia. *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (“Complete Geographical Map of Ten Thousand Countries”, 1602) by Matteo Ricci, show a place called Baiying 白營 in Central Asia. Baiying means “White Camp” in Chinese, which is the Chinese translation of Āq Ūrda (White Horde).

³⁹ Wulan, “2000, pp. 163, 231 [trans], 584 [text].

⁴⁰ Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, pp. 136-137; Lubsan Danzan, *Altan Tobči* (Zolotoe Skazanie), trans. N. P. Shastina, Moscow, 1973, pp. 90, 293.

⁴¹ Togan, Z. V., 1942-1947, p. 31; Togan, Z. V., 1994, p. 27.

⁴² Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, pp. 136-137; Naṭanzī, Mu’īn al-Dīn. Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Mu’īnī. ed. by Jean Aubin. Tehran: Khayyam, 1336/1957, pp. 336, 425.

⁴³ Yingzong shilu (Veritable records of the Yingzong (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 224: p. 4851.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that in the modern Jochid Ulus and his descendants historiography a problem caused particularly fierce disputes: what was the name of the Jochid’s Ulus in the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq – Āq Orda or Kōk Orda? For instance, in the *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sultān* or *Shyngyys-name* by Ötemis qazhy in Khorezm in the 1550s, Batu’s Ulus was officially known as the Āq Orda (White Horde) of the Golden Threshold, Orda’s the Kōk Orda (Blue Horde) of the Silver Threshold and Shīban’s the Boz Orda (Grey Horde) of the Steel Threshold. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq ruled by Orda and his successors was called Синяя Орда (Sinyaya Orda) in the Russian and Kōk Orda in some native sources and Āq Orda. It is noteworthy that Russian sources are completely unaware know the second term — Āq Orda (White Horde). For detailed analyses of the Āq Orda and Kōk Orda, see Mingulov, N.N., K nekotorym voprosam izucheniya istorii Ak-Ordy. Kazakhstan v epohu feodalizma (Problemy etnopoliticheskoi istorii) (Various questions on research regarding history of Ak-Ordy (Problems of ethno-political history)). Alma-ata, 1981; Mingulov, N.N., Pishulina K.A., Ak-Orda v XIV veke. Istoriya Kazakhstana (s drevneishih vremen do nashih dnei) (Ak-Orda v XIV century. History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to present)). Vol. 2, Alma-Ata, 1997; Uskenbay, K., Ulusy pervykh Juchidov: Problema terminov Ak-Orda i Kok-Orda. *Tyurkologicheskiy sbornik*. (First Jochid Ulus: The problem of the terms of Ak-Horde and Kok-Horde. Turkology collection). 2005, p. 377.

1.3 Relations between the Tūqmāq and the Ming dynasty

As we see from the above passage, the Jochid Ulus was recorded in the *MSL* as *Salai*, on the day *gengchen* of the fourth month of the twenty seventh year of the reign of Hongwu (11 May 1394).⁴⁵

Another record containing the name *Salai* appears in the *MSL* entry for the day *kuisi* of the fifth month of the seventh year of the reign of Yongle (4 July 1409).

The first record of Tūqmāq was recorded in the *MSL* as *Tuohuma*, on the day of *kuisi* 癸巳 in the tenth Chinese lunar month in the thirteenth year of Yongle 永樂 (30 November 1415). This is a report of the Li Da 李達 and Chen Cheng (1365-1457) written in 1414-1415 for the Yongle emperor.⁴⁶

“The country (of Beshbalyq) is bounded on the east by Qumul, on the west by Samarqand. After Temür Kuragan subjugated Samarqand, now (this country) bounded on the west by the Tuohuma, on the north by the Oyirat⁴⁷ and on the south-east by the Khotan and Aduan.”⁴⁸

In his *Xiyu fan'guozhi* (A Record of the Barbarian Countries in the Western Region), Chen Cheng provided a slightly different version of the account about the Tuohuma: “(the country (of Beshbalyq)) is bounded on the east by Qumul, on the west by Samarqand. After Temür fuma (Kuragan) subjugated Samarqand, now (this country) bounded on the west by the Yangyi,⁴⁹ on the north-west by the Tuohuma, on the north by the Oyirat and on the south-east by the Khotan and Aduan”.⁵⁰

This pattern appears in the appendix in the *Guangyutu* (Broad terrestrial map) entitled *Huayi jianzhi* 華夷建置 (Chinese and Non-Chinese administrative division), a geographic compilation of maps and texts compiled by Luo Hongxian (1504-64) in 1541.⁵¹

Another record containing the name Tuohuoma 脫火麻 appears in the first year of the reign of Zhengtong (6 January 1437) of *Ming Yingyong shilu*:

“The envoys that had been sent by the three places of Oyirat, Qumul and Tuohuoma, and...all came to Court and offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet as well as paper money and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them”.⁵²

⁴⁵ Taizu shilu (Veritable records of the Taizu (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 232: p. 3395.

⁴⁶ Li Da is the eunuch who went on the diplomatic mission with Chen Cheng.

⁴⁷ Oyirat is the Qalmaqs as they were known in Central Asia.

⁴⁸ Taizong shilu (Veritable records of the Taizong (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 169: p. 1890. Chinese text: 詢其國人，云：故疆東連哈密，西至撒馬兒罕，後為帖木兒駙馬侵奪。今西至脫忽麻，北與瓦剌相接，東南抵于闐，阿端。

⁴⁹ Yangi, modern Taraz in southern Kazakhstan.

⁵⁰ *Xiyu fan'guo zhi* 西域番國誌 (A Record of the Barbarian Countries in the Western Region), by Chen Cheng 陳誠 (jinshi 1394). Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000, p. 102.

⁵¹ Luo Hongxian, *Guang yutu* (Broad Terrestrial Map), Taibei, 1969, p. 427.

⁵² Yingzong shilu, j. 24: p. 489. Chinese text: 辛酉，瓦剌、哈蜜、脫火麻三地...等俱來朝貢馬及方物，賜宴并賜綵幣等有差。

The King of Tuohuma was recorded in the *MSL* as Maheima 馬黑麻, on the day *renxu* of the fourth month of the eleventh year of the reign of Zhengtong (22 May 1447):

“The envoy Tumintu Maheima 禿敏禿馬黑麻 (Tümäntu Muḥammad) who had been sent by King Maheima (Muḥammad Khan) of Tuohuma (Tūqmāq) and other places... all came to Court and offered tribute of camels and horses and other products. A banquet as well as variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them”.⁵³

The name Maheima can easily be recognized as the name (Kuchuk or *Kīčīk*) Muḥammad (1391-1459), the khan of the Jochid Ulus.⁵⁴

The King of Tuohuma was recorded in *MSL* as wangzi (prince), on the day *xinmao* of the fifth month of the eleventh year of the reign of Zhengtong (10 July 1447):

“It was ordered that the chief envoy Huozhi Maheima Tumintu 火只馬黑麻 禿敏禿 (Khwāja Muḥammad Tūmāntu) take on the post of Vice Chiliarch, that the deputy envoy Dawu (Dawud?) take on the post Commander, and that Zhemaluding (Jamal ad-Din) take on the post Battalion Prison, who had been sent by prince of Tuohuma”.⁵⁵

The envoy Huozhi Maheima Tumintu is mentioned again in subsequent years as the name of Tumintu Maheima 禿敏禿馬黑麻:

“The envoy Tumintu Maheima and others who had been sent by Maheima, the king of the country Tuohuma, took leave of the Court. It was ordered that they carry Imperial orders, paper money and biao-li of variegated silks, and other goods to confer, on their return, upon their king”.⁵⁶

Who was Tumintu Maheima? An envoy from Samarqand, mentioned at least three times between 1437-1448, bore the names of Maheima Tumintu 馬黑麻 禿敏禿,⁵⁷ Shehei Maheima 捨黑馬黑麻 (Sheikh Maḥmūd)⁵⁸ or Shehei Maheima Tumaitu 捨黑馬黑麻禿買禿 (Sheikh Maḥmūd Tūmāntu).⁵⁹ One of the envoys of Yemili Huozhe also called as Maheima Tumiantu 馬黑麻禿免禿 (30 May 1435).⁶⁰ The first part of his Arabic title, *shehei*, sheikh, to designate a learned person, as an Arabic word is essentially independent of religion. As

⁵³ Yingzong shilu, j. 153: p. 2994. Chinese text: 脫忽麻等處馬黑麻王遣使臣禿敏禿馬黑麻...等來朝貢駝馬, 玉石, 諸物; 賜宴及綺絲襲衣綵幣表裏絹布等物有差。

⁵⁴ In the *MSL*, the name of Muḥammad trans. into Chinese as Maheima 馬黑麻, while the name of Maḥmūd trans. as Maheimu 馬黑木. In the Uighur documents *Gaochang guan ke* of Ming dynasty Sutan Maheima 達壇馬黑麻 (Sultān Muḥammad) was trans. into Turkic as Sultan Maqemat (Gaochang guan ke, p. 62).

⁵⁵ Yingzong shilu, j. 154: p. 3020. Chinese text: 命脫忽麻王子遣來朝貢正使火只馬黑麻禿敏禿為副千戶, 副使答兀為百戶, 者馬魯丁等俱為所鎮撫。

⁵⁶ Yingzong shilu, j. 154: p. 3020. Chinese text: 脫忽麻等處馬黑麻王使臣禿敏禿馬黑麻等陸辭命賚敕及綵幣表裏歸賜其王。

⁵⁷ Xuanzong shilu, j. p. 82.

⁵⁸ Yingzong shilu, j. 160: p. 3119.

⁵⁹ Yingzong shilu, j. 167: p. 3232.

⁶⁰ Yingzong shilu, j. 129: p. 2566.

for the last part of his ‘Mongol-Turkic’ title, *tumintu* or *tumaitu*, obviously both expressions are the transcription of the same words: *tümāntu*, which marked a high rank among the nobility; military unit of ten thousand.⁶¹ The unit of ten thousand is used throughout the *Jami’u’l-tawarikh* for the Turkish *tümān*. The subdivisions of the *tümān* were the *ming*, *yüz*, *on*. It was one component of the *tümān*, the ‘division’ of ten thousand.

In the *MSL* also mentioned an envoy from Taolaisi (Tabriz) called Dalahan shehei Maheima minhatu 打刺罕舍黑馬黑麻闕哈禿 (Tarkhān sheikh Muḥammad Mingyatu)⁶²:

(On the day *wuwu* of the eighth month of the sixth year of the reign of Xuande (2 October 1431)) the envoy Dalahan shehei Maheima minhatu and others who had been sent by wanhu Yisimayin of Taolaisi all came to Court and offered tribute and other products (25, Xuanzong shilu, j. 82: pp. 1906-1907).⁶³

The last part of his “Mongol-Turkic” title, *minhatu*, is transcription of the word *mingyatu* (Chiliarch). *Minghan* is the Mongolian for thousand.

As for “*tumintu*,” or “*tumaitu*,” the title of the Maheima, I do not know whether this was a title conferred by the Tūqmāq or by the Samarqand (Timurid). Unfortunately, my efforts are confined by the limits of these few materials, and I cannot ascertain who this person was, or ascertain the situation of the administration relationship between Tūqmāq and the Samarqand.

During the Ming dynasty, many foreign states from Western and Central Asia sent tribute bearing missions to the Chinese court. It is striking that some of these tributary missions included common official representatives—head envoys or accompanying interpreters—who were native Turkic or Persian from Central or Western Asia then residing in China. Perhaps Maheima minhatu was such person who served as a common official representative of Central Asian countries.

The ruler of Tuohuma is referred to as king (*wang*) in the *MSL* (10 January 1453: day *yichou* of the twelfth month of the third year Jingtai), where record that the king of Bulahai (Abū’l-Khayr Khan) sent envoys to the Ming court and his name occurs together with Janibek, a king of Asibie (Özbek):⁶⁴

“The rulers (in Central Asia) all sent envoys to pay horses as tribute to (the Ming) court. They were Zhongshun wang (Loyalty and Obedience King)

⁶¹ Mongolian title *tümāntu*, in Chinese wanhu 萬戶.

⁶² Mongolian title *mingyatu*, in Chinese qianhu 千戶 (chiliarch).

⁶³ Chinese text: 宣德六年八月戊午，討來思萬戶亦思馬因遣使臣打刺罕舍黑馬黑麻·闕哈禿等來朝貢方物。

⁶⁴ Chinese text: 哈密忠順王倒瓦答失里，頭目脫脫不花；亦力把里地面也先卜花王并妃虎都速旦，頭目捨刺；土魯番地面也密力虎者王并妃右瓦兒速攢等，頭目馬麻米兒咱等；察力失地面也密力虎者王姊打刺悶等，頭目打刺亂兒的；脫忽麻地面卜刺孩王；賽蘭地面頭目革來壇；把丹沙地面頭目速魯壇馬黑木；速魯壇牙地面頭目速兒卜撒溫；阿思亂地面札尼亂王；捨力灣乃丁地面速壇阿力王等；阿刺毋刺地面賽你阿卜丁，王子阿的罕沙；并克失迷兒，哈刺火州，帖力蠻，掃蘭等一百二十一處地面頭目俱遣使來朝，貢馬；賜宴并綵幣表裏綺絲襲衣等物。

Daowadashili (Dawadasiri/Dawadaširi)⁶⁵ and headman Tuotuo buhua (Toqto Buqa or Toytō Buqa) from Hami (Qamul); King Yexian Buhua (Isān Bughā or Esān Buqā Khān)⁶⁶ and his wife Hudū sudan (Qut Sultān?), and headman Shela (Shela) from the Ilibali dimian (the territory of Moghūlistan);⁶⁷ King Emili Huzhe (Emil Khwāja)⁶⁸ and his wife Guwa'er Sutan (Gawhar Sultān?),⁶⁹ and headman Mama mi'erza (Mamay Mirza?) et al., from Tulufan dimian (the territory of Turfan); princess Dalamen et al., who is the elder sister of Emili Huzhe (Emil Khwāja), and headman Dalabie'erde (Dawlat Berdi?) from the Chalishi dimian (the territory of Chalish); King Bulahai (Abū'l-Khayr Khan) from Tuohuma dimian (the territory of Tūqmāq); headman Gelaitan (Kerey Sultān?) from Sailan dimian (the territory of Sayram);⁷⁰ headman Sulutan Maheimu (Sultān Maḥmūd) from Badansha (the territory of Badakhshan);⁷¹ headman Su'er Busawen (Sultān Abū Sa'īd?) from Sulutanya dimian (the territory of Sultānīya);⁷² King Zhanibie (Janibek) from Asibie dimian (the territory of Özbek);⁷³ King Sultan Ali (Sultān Ali) from Sheliwan-naiding

⁶⁵ Daowadashili is a descendant of Chagatay Khan, the ruler of Qamul. According to the Ming shi, Daowadashili died in 1457 and his brother Buliege was elected as zhongshun wang, see Ming shi, j. 329, Xiyu I, Hami wei. Daowadashili is also known as Hali Suolutan (哈力锁鲁檀), see MSL, Yingzong shilu, j. 62. About the person Dawadasiri/Dawadaširi, see Pelliot, P. *Le Hōja Et Le Sayyid Husain de L'histoire Des Ming*. Leiden, 1948, pp. 136, 198.

⁶⁶ Isān Bughā or Esān Buqa II (d. 1462) is the khan of Moghūlistan.

⁶⁷ According to the Uighur documents *Gaochang guan ke* of Ming dynasty, Shela 捨刺 was trans. into Turkic as Shela, this full name is Shela Mahamushe 捨刺馬哈木捨 (Shela Maqamutsha), see *Gaochang guan ke* 1980, p. 46.

⁶⁸ Emil Khwāja (1445-1459), the khan of the Moghūlistan. He reigned over the eastern part (Turfan and Chalish), along with Esān Buqā Khān, see Oda Juten, Uighuristan. *Acta Asiatica*, 1978, p. 25.

According to the *Ming shi*, after the death of Yexian Buhua, Yemili huzhe succeeded to the throne, see *Ming shi*, j. 332, p. 8606. Chinese text: 宣德十年, 也先不花卒, 也密力虎者嗣。明年貢馬駝方物, 命以綵幣賜王及王母。

⁶⁹ The *Mu'izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb* (The Book in Praise of Genealogies) which is a genealogy of the Chingizid and the Timūrid families written in Persian in 1426-1427, mentioned Gawhar Sultān, the daughter of Shah-Jahan, see *Mu'izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb*, facsimile ed., trans. Sh. Kh. Vohidova and others, *Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* (History of Kazakhstan in Persian Sources) 3. Almaty: Dayk, 2006, p. 52.

⁷⁰ The Chinese form Gelaitan most likely a copyist error for Gelai sutan 革來速壇, a Turkic name that would be written Girāy Sultān, great-grandsons of Urūs Khan, a central figure of the formation of the Qazaq Khanate. The name itself appears in the Persian sources as Gadāy in the *Majma' al-ansāb wa-l-ashjār*, which is a genealogy of the Islamic rulers and the Central Asian dynasties written in Persian in the end of nineteenth century. Read Girāy for Gadāy. Gadāy is a typical Persian typographical error, see 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad-Amīn, *Majma' al-ansāb wa-l-ashjār*, trans. and ed. Sh. H. Vohidov. A. K. Muminov, B. B. Aminov. *Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* II (History of Kazakhstan in Persian Sources), Almaty, Dayk, 2005 fol. 347 (text), p. 275 (trans.). Sailan is today Sayram in Southern Kazakhstan, see Bretschneider 1910, II, 94f.

⁷¹ During the reign of Timur's great-grandson Abū Sa'īd, the local ruler Badakhshan is Sultān Muḥammad, about Sultān Muḥammad see Ralph, K., 2005, 200, n. 830. Sultān Muḥammad was executed in 1467, later Badakhshan passed under Mirzā Sultān Mahmūd's (the son of Abū Sa'īd, d.1495) control. In the Uighur documents *Gaochang guan ke* of Ming dynasty Sutan Maheimu 速壇馬黑麻 (Sultān Muḥammad) was trans. into Turkic as Sultān Maqemat, see *Gaochang guan ke*, 1980, p. 62. After the death of (1510), Muḥammad Shībānī, Badakhshan evidently remained under the Timūrid rule for several years. The Timūrid dynast Mirzā Khān re-established for himself the authority previously enjoyed by his father, Sultan Mahmūd b. Abū Sa'īd, prior to the Uzbek invasion. Mirzā Khān would continue to rule Badakhshan until his death in 1520/1. See *Elias and Ross 1895* pp. 220–221

⁷² Ralph, K., 2005, 200, n. 830. Timur's great-grandson Abū Sa'īd (son of Mīrānshah, 1424-1469), also known as Mirzā Sa'īd.

⁷³ Kim Hodong suggests that 阿思兀 should be understood as Aspara, Kazakhstan, See Kim Hodong, "15–16 segi Jungang asia sin yumogijbdan deul-ui donghyang – jeongi Mogulhangug ui bungeoe wa gwanlyeonhayeo (The new nomadic groups of Central Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – in relation to the collapse of the early Moghul Khanate)", *Russia Yeongu* 3, no. 1 (Seoul: 1993): 15. Also see Joo-Yup Lee, The Political Vagabondage of the Chinggisid and Timurid Contenders to the Throne and Others in Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Qipchaq Steppe: A Comprehensive Study of *Qazaqliq*, or the *Qazaq* Way of Life. Central Asiatic Journal, 60 (2017) 1/2, pp. 59-95: 82.

dimian (the territory of Shirwan?);⁷⁴ Prince Adehansha, the son of King Saini Abuding, from Alamula dimian (the territory of Varahamula);⁷⁵ and headmen from 121 territories such as Keshimi'er (Kashmir), Hala Huozhou (Qara Qoja), Tieliman (Termez?), Saolan (Sawran);⁷⁶ and so on.⁷⁷

To my knowledge, this is the only passage in the Yingzong section of the *MSL* where Bulahai is mentioned as the king of the Tuohuma.

Bulahai is the Chinese form of Abū'l-Khayr. In medieval Chinese sources, the Arabic personal name 'Abū' is translated into Chinese as 'bu'.⁷⁸ For instance, Abū Sa'īd, the last Ilkhanid ruler (1316-1335), is mentioned in the *Yuan shi* as Busaiyin 不賽因. Abū'said, a timurid ruler in Transoxiana, is mentioned in the *MSL* as Busayin 卜撒因.⁷⁹ According to Usmanov, in the late-seventeenth century *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā*, Abū'l-Khayr Khan is called Bolyar Khan.⁸⁰ Jalayyr Qadyr-Ŷali bi, a later Qazaq historian, who wrote the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* in the Kasimov Khanate in the early seventeenth-century, called Abū'l-Khayr Khan as Bulkhayr Khan.⁸¹

The *MSL* entry for day *guisi* of the ninth month of the seventh year of the reign of Jingtai, reads as follows:

(On the day *guisi* of the ninth month of the seventh year of the reign of Jingtai (25 October 1456) the envoy-commander Shanxiding (Shams ad-Din or Shamshidin) who had been sent by the countries of Hami and Tuohuma (Tüqmāq) and...all came to Court and offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet as well as variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate,

⁷⁴ Perhaps Shirwan is a historical region in the eastern Caucasus. Barhold (2003, 273) believes that the region stretches between the Western shores of the Caspian Sea and the Kura River. The name *Sheliwan* 'aiding sounds like *Shirwan-i Ajam* (which means Persian Shirwan). Alternatively, the name *Sheliwan* 'aiding sounds like *Sirvanad*, a town to the west of Hamadan. In *MSL* ("Taizong shilu", j. 162.3) it is mentioned as *Shiliwan* 失里灣. In *MSL* ("Taizong shilu", j. 103) and *Ming shi* (j. 326) the country of *Shaliwanni* 沙里灣泥 is also mentioned, but situated on the coast of the Indian Ocean. Ras Sharwayn is a promontory located in the Gulf of Aden south of Yemen.

⁷⁵ Alamula refers to Varahamula or Baramula, a city in Baramula district of Kashmir state in northern India, located to the west of Srinagar. This ruler there is Zainu Abuding 宰奴阿卜丁 or Saini Abuding 赛你阿卜丁; cf. *MSL*, "Xuanzong shilu", j. 94, p. 95; "Yingzong shilu", j. 84, p. 224. The full name of Zain-ul-Abidin (1423–1474) is Ghiyas-ud-Din Zain-ul-Abidin, the sultan of Kashmir. Prince Adehansha is Haji Khan shah, son of Zain-ul-Abidin, who took the title of Haidar Khan Shah; cf. Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 428, 433.

⁷⁶ For the countries' names, mentioned in this account, see Samarqandī, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq, "Matla'-i sa' dain va majma'-i bahrain," in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. Izvlecheniya iz Persidskih sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiiya nauk SSSR, (Extracts from Persian compositions collected by V. G. Tiesenhausem. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁷ *Yingzong shilu*, j. 224: p. 4851.

⁷⁸ *Yuan shi*, j.63. 1571; see also Bretschneider (1910), pp. 129–130.

⁷⁹ *MSL*, *Yingzong shilu*, j.267. also see Ralph, K., 2005, p. 211.

⁸⁰ Usmanov, M. A. *Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII– XVIII vv.* Kazan: Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1972, (Tatar historical sources of the XVII - XVIII centuries. Kazan: Kazan University Publishing House) p. 116; *Dāftār-e Čingiz-nāmā* (Дафтаре Чыңгыз-намә), Kazan, 2000, p. 37.

⁸¹ Jalayyr Qadyr-Ŷali bi, *Jami' at-tavarikh*, in *Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türki derektemeleri* (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources), Vol. 5, XV–XIX Gasyrlar syğarmalarynan üzindiler, trans. and ed. M. Q. Äbuseyitova, Almaty: Dayk, 2006.

were conferred upon them.⁸²

Table 1. Jochid Ulus tribute to the Ming dynasty

Year (reign year)	Name of Khanate	Name of Khan or Envoy	Sources
1394 (Hongwu 27)	Salai 撒來		Taizu shilu, j. 232
1409 (Yongle 7)	Salai		Taizong shilu, j. 92
1415 (Yongle 13)	Tuohuma 脫忽麻		Yingzong shilu, j. 224
1437 (Zhengtong 1)	Tuohuoma 脫火麻		Yingzong shilu, j. 24
1447 (Zhengtong 12)	Tuohuma 脫忽麻	Khan: Maheima wang (Muḥammad Khan) Envoy: Tumintu Maheima (Tümentu Muḥammad)	Yingzong shilu, j. 153
1447 (Zhengtong 12)	Tuohuma	Wangzi (Prince) Envoy: Huozhi Maheima Tumintu (Khwāja Muḥammad Tümentu)	Yingzong shilu, j. 154
1453 (Jingtai 3)	Tuohuma	Bulhai wang (Abū'l-Khayr Khan)	Yingzong shilu, j. 224
1456 (Jingtai 7)	Tuohuma	Shanxiding (Shams ad-Din)	Yingzong shilu, j. 270

Source: Ming shilu.

After 1456, Tuohuma disappeared from the *MSL*. The Eastern Tūqmāq began to split into three parts: “Özbek Shībān”, “Özbek Qazaq”, and “Özbek Manghit”. According to Z. V. Togan, the division of the Özbeks into “Özbek”, “Qazaq”, and “Manghit-Nogay” took place not in the Idil basin but while they were living in the Syr Darya basin.⁸³ At that time, the Western regions of today’s Kazakhstan, as well as Bashkurt and Tura lands, became subjected to Manghit-Nogay in their entirety. In 1486, Muḥammad Shībānī, the real founder of Shībānīd power, took control of some fortresses of Khwārazim. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Muḥammad Shībānī led the invasion of his fellow Shībānīds and their non-Chingīzīd tribal supporters into Tīmūrid-governed Māwarā al-nahr and conquered Samarqand from Babur in 1500.

1.4 Conclusion

The *MSL* suggests that at least by the end of the fourteenth and the early years of the fifteenth century Salai (Saray) had become an integral (and possibly the most important) element in the name that the Ming court used for the country of

⁸² Yingzong shilu, j. 270: p. 5732. Chinese text: 癸巳哈密并脱忽麻等處使臣指揮陝西丁…等來朝貢馬及方物; 賜宴并綵假表裏等物有差.

⁸³ Togan, Z. V., 1994, p. 30.

the Jochid Ulus. The Persian and the Mongol historians used the term Tūqmāq and Togmog to refer to the Jochid Ulus, while the Ming China historians used the term Tuohema to refer to the Jochid Ulus or the whole Dasht-i Qipchāq in post Mongol Central Eurasia. The diplomatic contact between Ming China and the Tuohuma occurred through the Chinese system of tribute trade during the mid-fifteenth century. Under the reign of Yongle (1402-1424), Zhengtong (1435-1449) and Jingtai (1449-1457), the foundations for a flourishing relationship between Ming China and the Jochid Ulus were established. At that time, the Chinese knew the Jochid Ulus by the name Salai (Saray) and Tuohuma (Tūqmāq). Despite the political turmoil that erupted after the fall of the Jochid Ulus, Chinese gleaned new information about the Jochid Ulus from envoys who arrived from Central Asia.

Chapter II

The Qazaq Khanate and the Ming Dynasty

2.1 Introduction

The Qazaqs are the ancestors of modern Kazakhs. The Russian spelling Kazax (Kazakh) is used only when referring to the people of Kazakhstan after the creation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925.

Let us pause briefly and look at the state of affairs in the beginning of the 1430s-40s. Together with other Shībānids, Abū'l-Khayr Khan's ancestors had lived for most of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the region of Western Siberia. After the reign of Jumaduq Khan, in 1428 Abū'l-Khayr Khan established himself in khalal authority at Tura, in the region Ibir-Sibir. According to the *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khayr Khānī*, another general history up to Abū'l-Khayr Khan and his descendants, written in Persian by Mas'ūd Kūhīstānī, before the conquest of the Syr Darya region, Abū'l-Khayr Khan ruled only the region Ibir-Sibir until 1446.

With the help of Edigū's grandson Vaqqāş Bīy and other followers, Abū'l-Khayr Khan was now about to finish his southward expansion into Khwārazim. In 1431/1432 Abū'l-Khayr Khan attacked brothers Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan, the sons of Kuchuk Muḥammad, and they met Abū'l-Khayr Khan's army at Ikri-Tup.⁸⁴ Abū'l-Khayr Khan beat the two brothers and captured Orda-Bazar, although Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan were able to flee.⁸⁵ According to the *Baḥr al-āsār fī manāqib al- akhyār*, after the battle, Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan had returned and ruled their realm.⁸⁶

Until recently, it has been thought that Janibek and Kerey's escape from Abū'l-Khayr Khan took place in the fifties or sixties of the fifteenth century, when a large group of Özbek nomads fled from Abū'l-Khayr Khan's oppressive rule and became *Qazaqs*. I am inclined to think that when Sighnaq was occupied by Abū'l-Khayr Khan in 1446, Janibek and Kerey fled to somewhere in Qazaq Steppe. Thus Janibek and Kerey's escape from the Syr Darya region coincided with the occupation of Sighnaq by Abū'l-Khayr Khan in 1446. Then after ten years of vagrancy, these

⁸⁴ Zaicev, I. V. *Astrahanskoe Hanstvo*, Moscow, 2004, p. 36.

⁸⁵ Mas'ūd Kūhīstānī, "*Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khayr Khānī*," in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov* (Materials on History of Kazakh Khanate XV–XVIII centuries), comp. and trans. C. K. Ibragimov and others. Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR (Science of Kazakh USSR), 1969, pp. 154-155; Zaicev, I. V. 2004, pp. 36-37.

⁸⁶ *Qazaqstan Tarihi* (History of Kazakhstan), Vol. 2: Qazaqstan Songghy Orta Ghasyrlar Dawirinde (Kazakhstan in the late medieval period), comp. by Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Margulan Institute of Archaeology of Kazakhstan. Almaty: Atamura, 1998, p. 157.

Qazaq fugitives settled down in the Moghūlistan region seizing Qūzī Bāshī from Isān Bughā Khan. As K. Akishev put it, the date of the founding (1428) of the Abū'l-Khayr Khanate should be considered as the beginning of the Özbek and the Qazaq statehood.⁸⁷

This chapter analyzes the *MSL* in order to understand the character of Chinese knowledge about the Qazaq Khanate during their years of contact between 1453 and 1547. Additional sources like geographic accounts and maps will help define the extent of Chinese knowledge about the khanate, clarify the kinds of information that the Chinese sought and why, and measure the influence of cross-cultural contacts on Ming Chinese understanding of the Qazaq Khanate.

2.2 Özbek (*Uzbek*) and Asibie

It should be noted that the two countries ruled by Abū'l-Khayr Khan and Janibek Khan, respectively, were called Tuohema and Asibie in the *MSL*.

As we see from the above passage, the ruler of Asibie dimian (the territory of Asibie) was recorded in the *MSL* as Zhanibie, on the day of jichou in the twelfth Chinese lunar month in the year of Jingtai (10 January 1453). The name Zhanibie can easily be recognized as the name of the first Qazaq khan Janibek (?-1480), son of Barāq Khan (r. 1425-1428) of the Āq Orda (White Horde). Asibie, Özbek appears to represent the title “Özbek Janibek Khan.”

However, as the record in the *MSL* does not provide any direct evidence regarding the year of Janibek and Kerey's separation from Abū'l-Khayr Khan, it may be that by 1453 Janibek and Kerey were acting as independence kings with their own diplomatic initiatives. For long it was thought that with Barāq Khan's death Urūs Khan's line had extinguished, and Abū'l-Khayr Khan eventually conquered the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq and ruled over the whole Urūs Khan's house since 1428. Janibek, himself associated with the Asibie dimian (Chinese version of Ulus-i Uzbaki), suggests that the Qazaq Khanate should be understood as emerging as a separate political entity, centered in the Syr Darya region. After Barāq Khan's death, the Āq Orda splitted into several parts: the Abū'l-Khayr Khanate, the Noghay Horde and the Qazaq Khanate.

Thus, the Qazaq Khanate should be regarded as a successor state to the Barāq branch of the Urūsīd lineage, rather than as a new *Qazaq* state.

To our surprise, the *MSL* mentions a Sayram chief called Gelai 革來壇 (see above). The Chinese form Gelaitan is most likely a copyist error for Gelai sutan 革來速壇, a Turkic name that would be written Kerey Sultān, great-grandsons of Urūs Khan, a central figure in the formation of the Qazaq Khanate. The name itself appears

⁸⁷ Akishev, K., Khabdulina, M., Kazakhskoe gosudarstvo XV-XVI vv.: etnicheskaya territoriya, pamyatniki kultury. Euraziyskoe soobshestvo: obshestvo, politika, kultura. (Kazakh Government XV-XVI vv.: ethnical territory and cultural monuments) №1 (21), 1998, p. 132.

in the Persian sources as Gadāy in the *Majma' al-ansāb wa-l-ashjār*, which is a genealogy of the Islamic rulers and the Central Asian dynasties written in Persian in the end of the nineteenth century. Read Girāy for Gadāy. Gadāy is a typical Persian typographical error.⁸⁸ Sailan is Sayram in Southern Kazakhstan.

As seen above, the ruler of Asibie (Özbek) is referred to as king (wang) in the *MSL* (10 January 1453: day *yichou* of the twelfth month of the third year Jingtai), in the record that the king of Zhanibie (Janibek) sent envoys to the Ming court and his name occurs together with Abū'l-Khayr Khan, a king of Tuohuma (Tūqmāq), Kerey Sultan from Sayram territory, Chagatayid Khan Isān Bughā Khan, when accounts of diplomatic exchange between the Ming court and the Qazaq Khanate began to appear in the *MSL*.⁸⁹ Based on this information, Kim Hodong argues that Janibek Khan and Kerey Khan's flight to Moghūlistan took place in the early 1450s.⁹⁰

This date also corresponds with the establishment of the Qazaq Khanate in Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq.

Once diplomatic relations were established, the Ming court began to keep a record of its relationship with the Qazaqs that lasted until 1547, and which later became part of the *MSL*.⁹¹ Researchers have not yet studied the *MSL* for the information about the Qazaq-Ming relationship that it yields, which could shed light on the most important interactions that took place between the Qazaq Khanate and the Ming.

2.3 The Qazaq Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i Qazāq*) in Turko-Persian sources and Ejjibie-Haxin in Ming sources

2.3.1 The Qazaq Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i Qazāq*)⁹²

In Turko-Persian sources, the term *Uzbek-i Qazāq* first appeared during the middle of the fifteenth century, in the *Matla'ī sa'dain va majma'ī bahrain*, the Timurid history covering the period from 1304 to 1470, written in Persian by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (1413-1482). Narrating the events that took place in 1440–1441, Samarqandī states that: “Sometimes a group of Uzbek troops, who became *Qazāq*, came to the Māzandarān province and wherever they wanted, they attacked and returned again” (*gāhī jam'ī az lashkar-i Uzbek qazāq shuda bi-vilāyat-i Māzandarān mī-āmadand va har jā*

⁸⁸ 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad-Amīn, *Majma' al-ansāb wa-l-ashjār*, trans. and ed. Sh. H. Vohidov. A. K. Muminov, B. B. Aminov. *Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh II* (History of Kazakhstan in Persian Sources), Almaty, Dayk, 2005 fol. 347 [text], p. 275 [trans.].

⁸⁹ Yingzong shilu, j. 224: p. 4851.

⁹⁰ See Kim Hodong, “15–16 segi Jungang asia sin yumogijbdan deul-ui donghyang – jeongi Mogulhangug ui bunggoe wa gwanlyeonhayeo (The new nomadic groups of Central Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – in relation to the collapse of the early Moghul Khanate)”, *Russia Yeongu* 3, no. 1 (Seoul: 1993): p. 105.

⁹¹ After 1537, Ejjibie-Haxin disappeared from *MSL*. However, the Qazaq Khanate lasted until 1847; cf. Adle and Habib 2003, pp. 90-100.

⁹² On the ethnonym Qazaq Uzbeks, see Joo-Yup Lee, 2013; 2016, pp. 97-158; also see Joo-Yup Lee, *The Political Vagabondage of the Chinggisid and Timurid Contenders to the Throne and Others in Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Qipchaq Steppe: A Comprehensive Study of Qazaqliq, or the Qazaq Way of Life*. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 60 (2017) 1/2, pp. 59-95.

dast andāzī karda bāz- mīraftand).⁹³ Samarqandī also mentioned Shāhrukh's (1404-1447) order in the year of 851/1447-1448, that every year some *amīrs* "should be informed about the armies from the direction of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and the *Qazaq* Uzbeks" (*az lashkar-i ʔaraf-i Dasht-i Qibchāq va ūzbakān-i qazāq bar khabar bāshand*).⁹⁴

The term *Uzbek-i Qazāq* also appeared in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the single most important source for the early history of the Qazaqs, which was written in Persian by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt from 1541 to 1546 in two volumes. In this text, the author mentions the Shībānid dynasty of Mā warā al-nahr, more commonly known as *Uzbek-i Shībān* (Shībānid Uzbeks), which he also describes as the Qazaq Khanate, also known as *Uzbek-i Qazāq* (Qazaq Uzbeks), and locates it in the eastern part of Dasht-i Qipchāq.

The *Uzbek-i Shībān* and *Uzbek-i Qazāq* were related Turkic clans that descended from the Qipchāq and played an important role in the formation of the nomadic Uzbek (or more correctly Özbek) people of Dasht-i Qipchāq. After they separated from the Abū'l-Khayr Khanate, they called themselves *Uzbek-i Shībān* and *Uzbek-i Qazāq*, respectively. Regarding the Uzbek ethnic group, Faḏlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī (1457–1530), the court historian of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, the author of a historical work entitled *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, reported that there were three tribes (*tāyifa*) that "belong to the Uzbeks" (*mansūb bi-Uzbek*). The first group, the Shībānids (*Shībānīyān*), were a part of the Qipchāq tribes or a lesser division of them under Muḥammad Shībānī. The second group, the Qazaqs, which Faḏlullāh referred to as the subjects of the first Qazaq khans, wandered over the vast expanse that lay between the Itil (Volga) and the Syr Darya. The third scattered group, is the one that rules in Ḥājījī Tarḥān (Astrakhan), i.e. the Manghits, included a portion of the population of the Noghay Horde (in Astrakhan).⁹⁵ Abū'l-Khayr Khan's Uzbek confederation included many Manghit tribal groups, and at least some prominent descendants of Edigū, the powerful amīr in the Golden Horde during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries who came to be regarded as the founder of the Noghay Horde following the fragmentation of the Jochid Ulus. Edigū himself was associated with the 'Ulus-i Ūzbaki' already in the work of Mu 'īn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī.

⁹³ Samarqandī, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq, "Maṭla'-i sa'dain va majma'-i baḥrain," in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), Vol. 2, *izvlecheniya iz persidskikh sochineniy* (Extracts from Persian compositions), trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiyā nauk SSSR, (Moscow and Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences of the USSR) 1941, 258 (text), 199 (trans.). Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 48.

⁹⁴ Samarqandī, *ibid*, p. 259 (text), p. 199 (trans.). Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 48.

⁹⁵ Ccf. Dzhaliłova 1976, p. 35; Adle and Habib 2003, p. 91; Yudin 2001, p. 264. *Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḥārā*. Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḥārā des Faḏlullāh b. Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī. Übersetzung und Kommentar von Ursula Ott. Klaus Schwarz Verlag. Freiburg IM Breisgau, 1974, pp. 61-62. Also see *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, Faḏlullāh b. Rūzbihān [Isfahānī] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā: Tārīkh-i pādshāhī-i Muhammad Shībānī*, ed. Manūchīhr Suttūda (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1341/1962), p. 41, quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 170.

Like Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Rūzbihān refers to the Shībānīds and the Qazaqs as “Shībānīd Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Shībānī) and “Qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Qazzāq), respectively.⁹⁶ Jalayyr Qadyr-Ḥali bi, who was himself from the Qazaq Jalayyr tribe, refers to the Qazaq *Ulus* as *Özbākya* in the *dastans* of Urus Khan and Oraz Muḥammad Khan that provide a brief account of the Qazaq khans.⁹⁷

2.3.2 Ejibie-Haxin 額即訖哈辛

The Chinese name for modern Qazaqs is *Hasake* 哈薩克, which has been in use since at least the eighteenth century, according to Qing dynastic sources. Among previous researchers, Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) has already analyzed the name in detail using these Qing court sources.⁹⁸ Strangely, historians of the Ming dynasty, who collected historical information about Central Asia and used it to compile official documents relating to the Western Regions (*Xiyu* 西域), did not mention the Qazaq Khanate at all.

In fact, references to the Qazaq did exist in Ming sources, albeit under alternative names. For example, the *MSL* describes a country it calls Ejibie Haxin (zu) 額即訖哈辛 (卒). Before giving the transcription and translation of this name, it is important to mention here briefly the character 訖. Interpreting this character is difficult. The *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典), first published in 1716, gives the pronunciation *jia* 伽 for this character.⁹⁹ Additionally, the online *Dictionary of Chinese Characters* (*Handian* 漢典) gives the Mandarin romanization for 訖 as *qie*.¹⁰⁰ Two other sources, the chapters on foreign countries of *Ming shi* and the “Renwu lüe” provide some particulars about the city and country of Xiyu 西域, which include the character 訖. Emil Bretschneider, having analyzed a number of Central Asian places’ names that use this word, pronounced the character as *kia*: these names include *K’o-kia-shi* 克訖計; *K’o-t’o-kia* 可脫訖, *Kia-shi-hu-du* 訖失虎都, *Ha-la-t’ie-kia* 哈刺帖訖, *T’ie kia lie sze* 帖訖列思, and *Mi-kia-le* 迷訖力.¹⁰¹ Ding Qian 丁謙 (1843–1919), a scholar of the late Qing period, claimed that 克訖 was the city of *Hazha-er* 哈札爾, which belonged to Turkey.¹⁰² It seems that Ding Qian pronounced 訖 as *jia* or *qie*, which is closer to the standard pronunciation of the character than the ones given by Paul Pelliot and Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1885–1961). Pelliot read this character as *pai* (*bai*) in his transliteration of the name 添哥訖兒的 (*T’ien-ko-pai-eul-ti*).¹⁰³ Cen Zhongmian declared that 訖 is a popular version of the character *po* 魄, and from this interpretation concluded that the name

⁹⁶ Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān (Isfahānī) Khunjī, *ibid*, p. 211, quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 170.

⁹⁷ Jalayyr Qadyr-Ḥali bi, *Jamiy at-tavarikh*, 2006, pp. 165, 166, 168, 172.

⁹⁸ For a detailed analysis of *Hasake* 哈薩克 (Kazakh) in the Qing period, during the eighteenth century, cf. Pelliot 1960.

⁹⁹ *Kangxi zidian*, p. 785.

¹⁰⁰ www.zdic.net/zd/zi/ZdicE7Zdic99ZdicBF.htm.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Bretschneider 1910, II: 315; (1877), pp. 230, 231, 239, 240.

¹⁰² Cf. Ding Qian 2008, II: 772.

¹⁰³ Cf. Pelliot 1948, p. 146.

虬失虎都 in the *Renwu lüe* referred to Bašquduq.¹⁰⁴

In fact, the character 虬, although frequently given as *qie*, should be read *bie* when used as the name of a country, place, or ethnic group. Few dictionaries record this alternative reading. However, in the Middle Ages this character appears in many non-Chinese personal names, toponyms, and ethnonyms of the Ming period, and could be pronounced either *qie* or *bie*. When read as *bie*, the character commonly indicated the Turkic morpheme *bek* and the Persian-Arabic morpheme *be*. For example, the “Wuzong shilu” (Veritable records of the Wuzong (Emperor) of the Ming) transliterated the name of the first Qazaq khan, Janibek, as *Zhanibie* 札尼虬, and the name of Muḥammad Shaybaq (or Shībānī), the first ruler of the Shībānid Khanate, as *Shayibie* 沙亦虬. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* refers to Muḥammad Shaybaq as Shāhi Beg Khān.¹⁰⁵ The *MSL* refers to Shaybānī as *fanwang Shayibie* 番王沙亦虬, the “foreign king Shaybaq” of Samarqand:

“In the third year of the reign of Zhengde (1508), King Shayibie of Sama’erhan (Samarqand) sent the envoy Maheima Huozhe 馬黑麻火者 (Muḥammad Khwāja) and presented camels and horses as tribute.”¹⁰⁶

Even today, the character 虬 occurs in many place names like Gansu, where it is pronounced *bie*. This includes the present-day town of Biezang zhen 虬藏鎮; the Biezang 虬藏 River in the province’s Jishishan 積石山 Autonomous Prefecture; the town of Bieyangkou 虬羊口 of Longxi 隴西; and Biejiali 虬家里 of Zhangxian 漳縣. Thus, the correct reading for 虬 should be *bie*.

Based on the above argument, the name 額即虬 in the *MSL* must be pronounced *Ejibie*, a Chinese transcription of “Özbek/Uzbek.”

It is important to mention here briefly the ethnonym of Haxin. Interpreting this character is difficult. In the *MSL* the name *Ejibie-Haxin* (額即虬) 哈辛 also written as *Ejibie-Hazu* (額即虬) 哈卒.¹⁰⁷

Regarding *Ejibie-Haxin*, the *MSL* reports that:

“As for *Ejibie-Haxin*, according to a report by the Libu 禮部 (Ministry of Rites), (his state) is a Dada huiyi 韃靼回夷 (a foreign state of Tatar Muslims).”¹⁰⁸

Lun *Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu* 論額即虬夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute) is a memorial on *Ejibie* (i.e. Uzbeks), written by Ming Chinese officials in 1530s.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1885–1961), *Zhongwai shidi kaozheng* 中外史地考證 [Researches on Sino-foreign history and geography]. Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004 [2 vols.] Cen: p. 649. Baš in Turkish means “head.”

¹⁰⁵ Jānibek was the first Qazaq khan and upon Jānibek’s death in 1480, Kirai’s son Burūndūq (as in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, cf. Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 56, 82) was elected his successor. Muhammed Shaybaq’s native Turkish name was Shabaq, Shebaq, or Shah Baht, from which Shaybaq derived, followed by Shaybānī, a pseudo-authentication of a common Turkish name into the more prestigious Arabic tribal name of Shayban. Cf. Ibragimov 1969, p. 98.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *MSL*, “Wuzong shilu”, j. 44.

¹⁰⁷ *MSL*, Shizong shilu, j. 196: p. 4148.

¹⁰⁸ *MSL*, “Shizong shilu”, j. 134.

This memorial provides the important most detailed account of the early history of the Ejibie-Haxin.¹⁰⁹

2.3.3 Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu 論額即乧夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute)

According to the *Ejibie jingong shu*, envoy Huozhe Pilie (Khwāja Bilal) who had been sent by the king of Haxin says that, “we were formerly from Samarqand, living (hosting) separately in the Northern Mountains called Ejibie territory. This mountain is 20 days distance from Samarqand. There is a barbarian king of Haxin ruled the people living in the mountains. They look like Dazi (Tatar). Formerly never paid tribute (to Court). In the thirteenth year of Zhengde (1518), because Turfan attacked the border (of China), the king of Haxin sent my brother Tursun and other ten persons as envoys. They carried local products and came through Ganzhou and Suzhou and reported border situation, came to Beijing and tribute to court, the rewards and the money that they took were delivered to Haxin. The year before the king of Haxin and senior-small chieftains (toumu) said that, ‘we used to send the envoy Tursun and offered to tribute. In the past few years, we have never been sending an envoy.’ So, the chieftains wrote a foreign letter and sent me as an envoy. I led 58 people, carried tribute of horses, camels and local products, and came to Qamul. We met (Maheima Huli) Naiweng and others in Qamul, they came back on tribute. They said that, ‘please do not go ahead. I will send the reward to the Prince of Sultan, waiting for me to come back and then we go together.’ We stayed there for a year, during this time, the tribute’s horses and camels were either stolen or died. In October of the old year, Naiweng led other people from all over the world who came to pay tribute, and we went to Suzhou with them. There Chen Gang, a company commander Who Pacifies the Barbarians, and Ma Ji, an interpreter, interrogated us and we have not said that we are living in Samarqand. They (Chen Gang and Ma Ji) only follow the foreign letter of Haxin and sent us to Ganzhou in order the official Who Pacifies the Barbarians ascertains the pre-existence.”¹¹⁰

Here Samarqand refers to Shibani Khan’s country, not a city. It is not clear whether or not the people from Samarqand mentioned in this account were made up of deserters from Muhammad Shibani Khan’s Uzbeks. However, in the fifties or

¹⁰⁹ Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo Fu Simian tushuguan cang weikangao chaoben. Shi bu. Liu Zhengyun (ed.), 36 vols. 中央研究院歷史語言研究所傅斯年圖書館藏未刊稿抄本. 史部, 36冊, 劉錦雲主編, 27 Vol.: Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu 論額即乧夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (27 Vol.) (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute, Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2005, pp. 546-560 (hereafter *Ejibie jingong shu*).

¹¹⁰ *Ejibie jingong shu*, 2005, pp. 548-549. Chinese text: 哈辛王差來正、副使火者皮列等供稱: “我們原係撒馬兒罕人, 分在北山地名額即乧寄住, 離撒馬兒罕二十日遠的路, 有番王哈辛管束裏頭順山住的人, 都像達子模樣, 不通進貢。正德拾叁年, 有哈辛王因土魯番犯邊, 差着我哥哥土魯孫等一十名, 隨帶方物前來甘肅州通路, 奏報邊情, 赴京進貢, 掣去的賞賜錢糧都交付哈辛收了。前年有哈辛王并大小頭目說, 先前差着土魯孫通路進貢去了, 這幾年不曾差人去, 眾頭目寫子番本, 差着我火者皮列帶領伍拾捌箇人, 進着馬、駝、方物到了哈密, 遇見奶翁等進貢回來。他們說: ‘且不要去。我把賞賜送饋速壇王子, 等我回來一答裏去。’ 我們在那裏住了一年, 把進貢的馬駝偷的偷了, 死的死了。舊年十月裏, 奶翁等領着各國土人都來進貢, 我們一答裏纔來到了肅州。有撫夷百戶陳剛、通事馬驥審驗, 我們把額即乧寄住撒馬兒罕的話不曾說, 只照哈辛王番本起送甘州, 令撫夷官通審出前情等。”

sixties of the fifteenth century, a group of Uzbek nomads fled from Abū'l-Khayr Khan's (Muhammad Shibani Khan's grandfather) oppressive rule and became *Qazaqs*. On the other hand, *Ejibie jingong shu* further states, former envoys sent by the king of Haxin were recorded by Ming court in “the Cases of Samarqand” (Sama'erhan shili 《撒馬兒罕事例》). This is a reason for which they came to be called Samarqands.

Table 2. *Ejibie jingong shu* lists the names of countries and rulers, including Haxin on the day of fifteenth of the twelfth month in the tenth year of Jiajing (January 21, 1532):

Country	Rulers	Envoys	Letter	Notes
Tulufan 土魯番	Sutan Mansu'er 速壇滿速兒	Maheima hulinaiweng 馬黑麻虎力奶翁 ¹ (Muhammad Qul Na'ib or Nawān, ² 149 envoys	75	Sultān Mansur Khan (1482/3–1543), a khan of Turfan (eastern Moghūlistan) from 1503 until his death.
Tianfang guo 天方國	Sutan Zhalading 速壇剗刺丁 (Sultān Jalal ad-Din)	Huo zhe Akeli 火者阿克力 (Khwāja Akhrar), 54 envoys	27	
Sama'erhan 撒馬兒罕	Sutan Abuxieyi 速壇阿卜窩亦	Huo zhe Maheima 火者馬黑麻 (Khwāja Muhammad), 106 envoys	53	Abū Sa'īd-Khān Muzaffar al-Din (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of Shībānid dynasty.
Ejibie Haxin 額即亂哈辛	Maheima Haxin (Muhammad Qasym)	Huo zhe Pilie 火者皮列 (Khwāja Bilal), 58 envoys	20	The MSL called this envoy as <i>jianyi Huo zhe Pilie</i> 姦夷火者皮列 (Traitor Huo zhe Pilie), see Shizong shilu, j. 239: 4853
Hami wei 哈密衛	Xizhi dudu Mi'er Maheimu 襲職都督米兒馬黑木 The hereditary tutuq (Chief Military Commissioner) Mir Mahmud	Manla Yisimayin 滿刺亦思馬因 (Molla Ismayl), 47 envoys	3	The hereditary tutuq (Chief Military Commissioner) Mir Muhammad, ³ perhaps the son of the Chief Military Commissioner (Dudu mil) of Hami, Sayyid Husain (Xieyi Huxian 寫亦虎仙).

Source: Ming shilu.

According to the *Ejibie jingongshu*, the envoys of Haxin met with Sultān Mansur Khan in Turfan and a diplomatic agreement was concluded between them. The memorials are written in Chagatay (Arabic script). In the memorials, the king of Haxin was recorded as Maheima Haxin. Three memorials was translated in Chinese by the Like 禮科 (the Office of Scrutiny for Rites) of the Ming court in August 1518:¹¹

¹¹ Chinese text: 正德拾叁年柒月內，禮科譯出馬黑麻哈辛王等高昌話回字奏文三道，“上天命大位洪福大明皇帝前，馬黑麻哈辛王頂上具奏：‘因路途遙遠，弟兄會不齊的上，不曾差人進貢。中間不會有使臣往來。近日間，有兄弟們每會在一處了，有約赤王，要我與他做頭領那一件事，我全依從來。有察哈台王眾人會，固要速壇滿速兒王做了王子，其餘有名的王子都順了他。速壇滿速兒王，我兩要親厚的上，說要相換兒女，這箇約會定了。我來行察哈台王子的禮，既來的近了，就來問安，兒女上相應用的稀罕的物件，王子家裏應用的家火，來朝廷前奏討。我這裏平安，奏報朝廷有。朝廷的安示將來。進貢西馬四疋、遼馬九疋，專差使臣馬黑麻打刺罕做使臣。該用的求討的快些打發回來等。

“To the glorious ruler, the magnificent King of Great Ming, I am the king of Maheima Haxin, give you a memorial as following:

‘Because the road is far away, the brothers don’t meet often, don’t send tribute, there are no envoys between us. Recently, the brothers met together. There is the king of Yuechi,¹¹² I had always acted in compliance with the law of I am he (Yuechi) became head (king)’s things. There is the king of Chagatay,¹¹³ the people elected Sultān Mansur Khan as a king, other famous princes obey him. Sultān Mansur Khan, the two of us are very kind and close, and we would like to exchange the sons and daughters (for marriage). This appointment (agreement) is scheduled. I am going to visit the prince of Chagatay, since come close to your (country) and greeting to your majesty king. We ask (your) the rare local products applied by the children and the mates applied by the prince’s family as gift. I am safe here, I have reported to the court and I wish the courts peace in future. I sent Maheima Dalahan (Muhammad Darqan)¹¹⁴ as a special envoy, presented 4 xima 西馬horses,¹¹⁵ 9 dama 達馬 (tatar) horses as tribute. We wait for your court gift sent us as soon as possible.”

These words underline some important aspects of the political understanding of this period. As seen in the table above, the Maheima Haxin or Haxin was a genuine Chingizid, a direct descendant of Chingiz Khan. His grandfather, Yochi, perhaps refers to Jochi (ca. 1181-1227), the founder of the Jochid Ulus in the Qipchāq steppe, was the eldest son of Chingiz Khan. Jochi, also spelt as Yochi or Yoji in the Persian-Turkic chronicle. The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* is a history of the Chingizids down to the formation of the Shībānīd Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, called Jochi as Yochi.¹¹⁶

In the previous article, I mention that Haxin refers to Qazaq.¹¹⁷ Alternatively, Haxin may be a corruption of Hazu 哈卒, i.e. Qazaq. It is difficult to provide Haxin as an ethnonym of Qazaq both ethnonymical and phonological background. New evidence such as *Ejibie jingong shu* provided it is personal names rather than ethnonyms. The name of Haxin perhaps refers to Arabic Qasym, a common name among the Turkic Muslims. After the death of Kerey Khan’s son Burunduq (also Burūndūq) Khan, the descendants of Janibek became the only Jochi lineage to

¹¹² That is Jochi (ca. 1181-1227), the eldest son of Chingiz Khan, also spelt as Yochi or Yoji in the Persian-Turkic chronicle, see *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma. Qazaqstan tarihy turali turki derekemeleri (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources)*. Almaty, 2006, Vol. 5. p. 46. The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* is a history of the Chingizids down to the formation of the Shībānīd Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan.

¹¹³ Chagatay, the second son of Chingiz Khan, was allocated Eastern Turkestan and Transoxiana within the lifetime of Chingiz Khan.

¹¹⁴ The Turkic title, the ‘commander’ Tarqan was borrowed by the Mongolian as Darqan.

¹¹⁵ *Xima* 西馬, literally means ‘Western horses.’ According to the *Huihui guan zazi*, *Xima = taji* 塔即. *Xima* is the Chinese name for the Persian *tāzi*, which means ‘Arabian horses’ see (Li Yingsheng 劉迎勝, “Huihuiguan zazi” yu “Huihuiguan ziyu” yanjiu 《回回館雜字》與《回回館譯語》研究, Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 2008, p. 448).

¹¹⁶ *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-yi nūsrat-name, Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türki derekemeleri (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources)*, Vol. 5, *XV–XIX Ghasyrlar shygharmalarynan üzindiler* (Excerpts from XV–XIX Centuries Compositions), trans. and ed. M. Q. Äbuseytova, Almaty: Dayk, 2006, p. 46.

¹¹⁷ Kenzheakhmet, N., The Qazaq Khanate as Documented in Ming Dynasty Sources. *Crossroads - Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World*. 2014, Vol. 8, pp. 131-156.

retain the throne of the Qazaq Khanate. In the Qipchāq steppe, by 1511 Qasym Khan, son of Janibek Khan succeeded Burūndūq Khan as the new ruler of the Qazaq Khanate.¹¹⁸ During his reign, the Qazaq Khanate developed into a nomadic empire that stretched from the Altay Mountains in the east to the Zhayīq (also Yayīq modern Ural) River in the west.

Alternatively, Ejibie-Haxin could be a reference to Özbek- Qasym. Ming Chinese historians employed the term Ejibie-Haxin only for the Qasym Khan's Qazaq Khanate and called other Central Asian countries such as Tulufan, Sama'erhan, and Tuohuma by their own names or by their capital city in the official Chinese dynastic histories. Similarly, the Shībānids, the former member of the Özbek tribal union, are not called *Özbek* in the official Ming Chinese dynastic histories.

According to the *Ejibie jingong shu*, the king of Haxin ruled the people living in the mountains. According to the *Zubdat al-āsār*, the Chaghatay Turkic history from sixteenth century Mā warā al-nahr, Qasym Khan's orda was situated in Uluq-Tau (means Great Mountain in Turkic) in the edge of Dasht-i Qipchāq.¹¹⁹ According to the *Tavarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name* and the *Shaybani-name*, the Burunduq Khan and Qasym Khan's orda, written as Alatau, was not far from Sayram.¹²⁰ Perhaps Alatau (Alaq-tau) is a corruption of Uluq-Tau, modern Uly-Tau in the Central Kazakhstan. Jalayyr Qadyr-Ḃali bi, in his *Jamiy at-tavarikh*, states that "Urus Khan¹²¹ migrating to Alatau area. Here is vast, surrounded by mountains. There are grasslands, springs and rivers. There is Shahar Talash-qary (the city of Talash-qary), not far from Utrar and Sayram. There are the regions of Shu, Talas, Issyk köl, and Teklik."¹²² Talash-qary means "the Old Talas" in Turkic, must be the medieval Tarāz, or Talās, known in Soviet times as Jambyl and now renamed Taraz. Alternatively, Alatau must be modern Talas-Alatau, the mountain range in the border of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The name Teklik as a place name has not been found in the recorded sources, though Teklik or Tekelik are mentioned in oral traditions of Qazaqs. Here Teklik either refers to modern Tekeli in the vicinity of Taldyqorghān in southeastern Kazakhstan, or refers to the Tekes valley in the border of Kazakhstan and China.¹²³

The *Badāyi' al-vaqāyi'* written by Zain al-Dīn MaḂmūd VāḂifī (1485-1566) in the early sixteenth century also provides an account of Shībānid khan's (Kūchūm Sultan, 1510-1535, Kechong sudan 可重速壇 in MSL) campaign against the Qazaqs in 1516/1517, which is included in the section titled "the Book of Conquest

¹¹⁸ There is some doubt about the year of Qasym Khan's death. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Qasym Khan died in the year 924 H. (A. D. 1518); cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 273. Another Persian author reports that he died in the year 930 H. (A. D. 1523–1524); cf. *Qazaqstan Tarihi*, II, p. 376; According to the *Shajara-i Chinggiziya*, Qasym Khan died in hijri 930 (1524) in Saraychik. *Shajara-i Chinggiziya*. Qazaq zhazbalarindaghi khandar shezhiresi. Almaty: Ghylым Ordasy (Family Tree of Khans in Kazakh Scripts), 2015, p. 118.

¹¹⁹ *Zubdat al-āsār*. *Qazaqstan tarihi turaly türkii derektemeleri* (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources), Vol. 5, XV–XIX *Ghasyrlar shygharmalarynan üzindiler* (Excerpts from XV–XIX Centuries Compositions), trans. and ed. M. Q. Äbuseytova, Almaty: Dayk, 2006, p. 116.

¹²⁰ *Tavarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name*, 2006, p. 97.

¹²¹ Urus Khan (r. ca. 1368-1378), the ancestor of the Qazaq khans Janibek and Kerey.

¹²² Jalayyr Qadyr-Ḃali bi, *Jamiy at-tavarikh*, 2006, p. 160.

¹²³ Mirzā MuḂammad Ḃaidar called Tekes river as Tikā River, see Elias and Ross 1895, p. 365.

of the Qazaqs” (*Faḥnāma-i qazāq*).¹²⁴ In this section, he uses the designation Qazāqstān to designate the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan, including Issyk Kōl. The place names in the section of “the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs” provide clear evidence that the battle between Shībānīds and Qazaqs took place in modern Kyrgyzstan. From Sayram eastward, nine place names appear: Uzun Ahmad (Uzun Ahmad River still exists, west of the Toktogul reservoir, a right tributary of the Naryn in Kyrgyzstan), Sugun Sumur (mod. Suusamy, a valley in Kyrgyzstan), Sungak (possibly a corruption of Song Kōl, a lake in Central Kyrgyzstan), Kochkor-Ata (perhaps mod. Kochkor; alternatively, Kochkor-Ata, a place on the confines of Andijan), Jatan (perhaps a corruption of Yetikent. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Yatikand is a place on the confines of Andijan, whose Persian name is *Haft-deh*, meaning “Seven towns”),¹²⁵ Burkachha (modern Buguchu in Naryn), Uzunkuluk (unknown), San-Tash (the mountain San Tash is located to the west of the lake of Song Kōl; San Tash, a place east of Issyk Kōl), Issyk Kōl and Ak-boguz (a right tributary of the Oytal in Osh; also a pass to the east of Osh). All these place names are located in modern Kyrgyzstan. Thus, the Western Moghūlistān became known as Qazaqstān after the reign of Qazaq khans.

After 1518, the relations between Ejibie and Turfan changed for the better. As emphasized by *Ejibie jingong shu*, the interrelations between two states improved, and they exchanged ambassadors. These political relations were enhanced on the base of dynastic marriage agreements and these agreements opened the way for the states to establish other relations, including diplomatic collaborations.¹²⁶ In particular, as a result of these diplomatic agreements, the king of Haxin participated in the diplomatic mission of Sulḥān Mansur Khan and envoys sent by Haxin together with the Mansur Khan’s envoys went to the Ming court. The political relations between Ejibie and Ming China were also carried out by letters. In the *Ejibie jingong shu* informs us of about 20 messages that arrived from Haxin.

The *Ejibie jingongshu* also mentioned that according to Wang Feng, an interpreter of Huitongguan, (the state of) Ejibie-Haxin is Dada huiyi 韃靼回夷 (Tatar Muslim). (Ejibie) never came to pay tribute before, but (it) now also sent 58 people (to China), they like Turfan tribes, whose counterfeit king’s name, presented tribute and want to

¹²⁴ Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāsiḥī, *Badā’ī al-vaqā’ī* (Badāyī’ al-vaqāyī’). ed. A. N. Boldyrev, 2 vols, Pamiatniki literaturny narodov Vostoka: Teksty, Bol’shaya seriya (Literature of Monuments of the Peoples of the East: Texts of Big Series), Vol. 5 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo vostochnoy literatury (Excerpt from Eastern Literature), 1961), 2:1314; Ibragimov, S. K., H. H. Mingulov, K. A. Pishchulina, and V. P. Yudin, comp. and trans. *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv 15–18 vekov* (Materials on History of Kazakh Khanate 15-18 Centuries). Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969, 180; also see Yudin 2001, 255; also see Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, p. 128.

¹²⁵ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 180.

¹²⁶ The *Khronika* of Churās offers some information on the Qazaqs, who were in alliance with the Moghul Khans. According to Churās, the honourable wife of ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khan (a khan of Moghūlistān, r. 1533-1560) was named Chūchūk Khanim. This Chūchūk Khanim was the daughter of Sultan Adik, the son of Jani Bek the Kazakh, Muhammad Khan sent Mirza Shah to Chalish and Turfan as sultan of that region. In that region at this time Khudabanda Sultan, son of Quraysh Sultan, had seized Chalish and Turfan with the help of Tūkā Khan (Tauke Khan) the Kazakh. See Churās, Shāh-Maḥmūd b. Mīrẓā Fāzīl, *Khronika*, trans. and ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Sankt-Peterburg Peterburgskoe Lingvistič. Obščestvo (Chronicle, trans. and ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Sankt-Peterburg Petersburg Linguistic Community), 2010, pp. 139, 160.

get reward, set up a secret, but it is not known.¹²⁷

In the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, Khunjī identifies the Qazaqs with the Tatars, i.e., the Mongols. His description of the Qazaqs runs as follows:

The terrible ferocity and violence of the army of the Qazaqs, who, previously, at the time of the appearance of Chingiz Khan, were called the army of the Tatars (laškar-i tatar), are well known and mentioned by the Arabs and the Persians.¹²⁸ Consequently, Khunjī argues that “the Qazaqs are a branch of the Uzbeks.”¹²⁹

The sheikhs, sayyids and khwājas who had significant status in the khanates of Central Asia, played an important role in both the internal and external trade of the region, and they had a strong influence on the development of tribute trade relations between Central Asia and Ming China. They used all three languages of the Muslim world—Arab, Persian and Turkic, the latter becoming their mother tongue. It is striking that some of these tributary missions included common official representatives—head envoys or accompanying interpreters—who were native Turkic or Persian from Central or Western Asia then residing in China. Perhaps Khwāja Bilal was such person who was a common official representative of Central Asian countries. Evidence of this found in the MSL references that the rulers of the Western Region (including Rūm, Mecca, Turfan, Samarqand and Ejibie) sent the envoys to the Ming court, mostly led by shaikhs or khwajas. In the autumn of 1524, sultan Mansur (Sudan Mansu-er) and his general Khwāja Taj-ud-din (*Huoze Tazhiding* 火者他只丁 in the MSL) led 20,000 troops to the border city of Jiayuguan, to attack cities of Suzhou 肅州 and Ganzhou 甘州. The Chinese destroyed the Moghuls in this operation, and Khwāja Taj-ud-din was captured and killed.¹³⁰ Also the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* provides information about one of the great traders Khwāja Taj-ud-din, originally from Yarkand, who played an important role in trade relations between Turfan and Tashkent.¹³¹ Perhaps they controlled the caravan sarays in the major cities, such as Turfan, Qumul (also Qamul/Qāmūl), Yarkand, Bukhara, etc.¹³²

Xia Yan 夏言 (1482–1548), courtesy name Gongjin (公謹), pseudonym Guizhou

¹²⁷ Chinese text: 據本館通事王鳳，查稱額即訶哈辛，係韃靼回夷，素未入貢，今亦差來使伍拾捌名，想是土魯番部落，假稱國王名色，冒貢(圖)賞，設謀詭秘，抑未可知。Also see Yi chu Tulufan deng yiren rugong shiyi shu 議處土魯番等夷人入貢事宜疏 [*Xiyu rugong* 西域入貢], in *Ming jingshi wenbian* 明經世文編 “Collected writings about statecraft from the Ming dynasty”, original title *Huang-Ming jingshi wenbian* 皇明經世文編, j. 203, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002. This is a collection of political essays compiled by the late Ming period scholars Chen Zilong 陳子龍 (1608-1647), Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠 (1599-1665), Song Zhengbi 宋徵璧 (jinshi degree 1642), and others, in total 24 papers.

¹²⁸ Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 184; also see *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, 1974, p. 217.

¹²⁹ See Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 170; 2016, p. 125.

¹³⁰ MSL, *Ming Shizong shilu*, j. 43; Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉. *Ming shi* 明史 (The History of Ming, Taipei, Guofang yanjiuyuan Ming shi biancuan weiyuanhui, 1962), j. 329, Xiyu-1: 8524. Suzhou 肅州 today is Jiuquan 酒泉, and Ganzhou is today Zhangye 張掖, Gansu province. About the death of Khwaja Taj-ud-Din, also see *Tarikh-i Kashyar, Qazaqstan Taryhy Turaly Turki Derektemelere* (The Turkic Accounts on the Kazakhstan History), Vol. 5, Almaty: Dayk-Press, 2006, p. 229.

¹³¹ About Khwāja Taj-ud-Din, also see *Tarikh-i Kashyar*, 2006, p. 229.

¹³² Sultonova Gulchekhra, The Dynamics of Interrelations Bukhara and Yarkand Khanates: Inter and External Factors. *Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future*. Maltepe University, 2011, pp. 351-356: 353.

(桂洲), a Chinese politician of the Ming dynasty, in his *Guizhou zouyi* (Guizhou memorials) mentioned the name of Ejibie.¹³³

Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480–1567), a prime minister of the Ming dynasty, in his *Nangong zouyi* 南宮奏議 (The South Palace memorials) reported:

(In the twelfth year of the reign of Jiajing (1533),) Ejibie-Haxin, which had never come to pay tribute before, now also sent fifty-eight envoys (to China).¹³⁴

Another Ming source, *Shuyu Zhouzi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (Informative records on countries far away), completed by Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 in 1574, contains an account of Ejibie-Haxin that includes the following:

The king of Haxin, formerly living in the Northern Mountains of Samarqand in Ejibie territory, was also known as being half Dazi (half Tatar).¹³⁵ Earlier, he had sent an envoy, Tursun, to present tribute and check (information) with the archives. So, Haxin of today is the Haxin of before, which was at that time known as a niche of the Northern Mountains which now has the place name of Ejibie.¹³⁶

Based on the above, it seems reasonable to guess that the ethnonym *Uzbeks* found among Central Asian writers was the name of the nomads of the Āq Orda (White Horde).

The Ming court began to recognize the Qazaqs only when they began sending tribute delegations to the court. Thereafter, the group appears in the *MSL*, in five references to a country known alternately as Asibie, Ejibie-Haxin, Ejibie, or Haxin. The Ming chronicle's first reference to Asibie appears to be located in j. 224 (in the third year of the reign of Jingtai (1453)) of the section about the Yingzong reign in the *MSL* ("Yingzong shilu" 英宗實錄). *Uzbek*, the ethnonym by which the historical polity is best known, appears in the *MSL* only in the middle of the fifteenth century, where a reference dated about 1453 first uses the term *Asibie* as the name of the Uzbek (-i Qazāq) Khanate. Subsequent references to Uzbek-i Qasym between 1518 to 1537 use Ejibie-Haxin, or simply either Ejibie (Uzbek) or Haxin (Qasym). The *MSL* thus suggests that at least by the early years of the sixteenth century Ejibie-Haxin had become an integral (and possibly the most important) element in the name that the Ming court used for the country of the Qazaq Khanate.

The *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty), in 1587 edition, also mentions Ejibie-Haxin together with the names of other countries in a passage reporting that, in the reign of Jiajing era (1522–1566), Ejibie-Haxin began to present tribute.¹³⁷ *Ming shi* lists twenty-nine names of dimian 地面 (territories)

¹³³ Xia Yan, *Guizhou Zouyi*, j.6: 論額即亂夷人不得稱王進貢疏 (The memorial on Ejibie foreigner is not to be called Wang (King) when it to tribute to Court).

¹³⁴ Yan Song, *Nangong zouyi*, 29: *Yichu Gansu yigong* 議處甘肅夷貢.

¹³⁵ Dazi 達子, the other name for Tatars (Mongols), partly survived in the popular language as Dazi.

¹³⁶ *Shuyu Zhouzi lu* 15.492f.

¹³⁷ Cf. *DaMing huidian*, j. 107, "Chaogong san" 朝貢三 (Tribute, j. 3).

including Western Region (Xiyu), as well as eleven countries, including Haxin, that used to present tribute but did not send it through Qumul (see Table 3).¹³⁸

Table 3. The Eleven Countries within Xiyu that did not send tribute through Qumul

1. Qi'erma 乞兒麻 ⁴	2. Mi'erhalan 米兒哈蘭 ⁵	3. Ketuobie 可脫亂 ⁶
4. Lazhu 蠟燭 ⁷	5. Yedegan 也的干 ⁸	6. Lazhu 刺竹 ⁹
7. Yibulayin 亦不刺因 ¹⁰	8. Geshimi 格失迷 ¹¹	9. Qi'erjisi 乞兒吉思 ¹²
10. Yunusi 羽奴思 ¹³	11. Haxin 哈辛 ¹⁴	

Source: Ming shi.

While this is how the Chinese state referred to this polity, the name by which residents themselves knew their state is not so obvious.

The earliest depictions of the Qazaq Khanate in Late Ming and Early Qing Chinese cartography is found on the map *Kunyu wanguo quan tu* (“Complete Geographical Map of Ten Thousand Countries”, 1602) by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and the map of Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), the author of *Kunyu quan tu* 坤輿全圖 (“Complete Map of the World,” 1674).¹³⁹ The maps show the Āq Orda (White Horde) as Baiying 白營 (White Camp, *Kunyu wanguo quan tu*) and Qazaqs as Jiasaji Da'erda 加撒基鞑而鞑 (Qazaq Tatars, *Kunyu quan tu*). Sanjiadai Da'erda 散加帶鞑而鞑 (Chagatay Tatars), Yasidalagan 亞私大蠟甘 (Astrakhan) also appears in the map. There is no doubt to determine the amount of information gained by the Chinese from Russian or Western maps. The term of *Da'erda* refers to Tartary, a Western term for the post Mongol Central Eurasia. For example, in several maps of the atlas based on maps sent to d’Anville by the Jesuits (Lake Baikal and parts of Transbaikalia and Amuria) he includes the notation to the effect that the Russian knowledge of the places and routes to the north is superior.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Cf. *Ming shi*, j. 332, “Xiyu”, j. 4. The twenty-nine names of these *dimian* given in *Ming shi* was trans. by Bretschneider 1910, II, 314f.

¹³⁹ The earliest Jesuit work that presented such a new world vision to the Chinese is Matteo Ricci’s (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610) world map entitled “*Kunyu wanguo quan tu*”, which was first printed in 1602. The first edition of Ricci’s world map, “Yudi shanhai quantu” (輿地山海全圖 A Complete Geographical Map of Mountains and Seas), appeared in 1584 and is now lost. The second edition, “Shanhai yudi quantu” (山海輿地全圖 A Complete Geographical Map of Mountains and Seas), was printed in 1600. As stated above, the third edition, “*Kunyu wanguo quantu*,” was printed in 1602. The fourth edition, known as “Liangyi xuanlan tu” (兩儀玄覽圖 A Mysterious Visual Map of the Two Forms), was printed in 1603. In 1608, a court eunuch presented a copy of the 1602 edition to the Wanli Emperor, who took a great interest in it and demanded that twelve copies of it be made as gifts for the royal princes. Court eunuchs accordingly made twelve copies based on that 1602 edition. About various editions of these maps see Qiong Zhang, *Making the New World Their Own: Chinese Encounters with Jesuit Science in the Age of Discovery*, Brill: Leiden/Boston, 2015, p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ D’Anville J. B. B., *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet* (La Haye: Scheurleer, 1737).

2.4 The relationships between the Ming dynasty and the Qazaq Khanate

As we see from the above passage, the first ruler of Asibie dimian (the territory of Asibie) was recorded in the *MSL* as *Zhanibie*, on the day of *jichou* 己丑 in the twelfth Chinese lunar month in the year of Jingtai 景泰 (1453). The name *Zhanibie* can easily be recognized as the name of the first Qazaq Khan Janibek (?-1480), son of Barāq Khan (r. 1425-1428) of the Āq Orda (White Horde). Asibie, Uzbek appears to represent the title “Uzbek Janibek Khan.” However, it should be noted that the *Uzbek-i Qazāq* (Qazaq Uzbeks) led by Janibek and Kerey and their descendants were still viewed as *Uzbeks* by the following Central Asian writers without being differentiated from the Shībānīd Uzbeks.¹⁴¹ As mentioned earlier, Ming historians refer to the Uzbeks led by Abū'l-Khayr Khan as Tuohuma 脱忽麻 (Tūqmāq).

As for Ejibie-Haxin, the *MSL* reports that, in the eleventh year of the reign of Jiajing (1532), the country sent envoys with tribute to the Ming court:

The envoys (from the territories outside China), totaling more than four hundred, have paid tribute and shown gratitude (to the Ming court). They were respectively sent by Sutan Mansu'er 速壇滿速爾 (Sultān Mansur) of Tulufan 吐魯番 (Turfan), Sutan Zhalading 速壇札刺丁 (Sultān Jalal ad-Din) of Tianfang 天方 (Arabia), et al.; Sutan Abuxieyi 速壇阿卜寫亦 (Sultān Abū Sa'īd) of Sama'erhan 撒馬爾罕 (Sarmaqand) et al.;¹⁴² Hami Wei xizhi dudu 哈密衛襲職都督 (hereditary tutuq of Qumul garrison) Mi'er Maheimu 米兒馬黑木 (Mir Maḥmud?) et al.; and Ejibie-Haxin, et al. According to a report by the Libu (Ministry of Rites), (the state of) Ejibie-Haxin is Dada huiyi 韃靼回夷 (Tatar Muslim). (Ejibie) never came to pay tribute before, but (it) now also sent over fifty people (to China).¹⁴³

Another record containing the name Ejibie-Haxin appears in the same section of the *MSL*:

The envoys, sent by the rulers of the Western Region, like King Ejibie Haxin, et al., carried twenty-nine official papers dedicated to China written in *fanwen* 番文 (foreign languages), asking for silk, coins, and barter. By edict, the emperor gave them cloth, silk, tea, medicines, etc.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Persian sources writes Girāy. There are several spellings of his name: Garāy, Karāy.

¹⁴² Abū Sa'īd-Khān Muzaffar al-Din (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of the Shībānīd dynasty.

¹⁴³ *MSL*, “Shizong shilu”, j. 134.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, j. 157. Cf. Table 2. Fanwen refers to the Chagatay alphabet, based on the Perso-Arabic alphabet and known as *Tōie zhazu* (old script) in Kazakh.

Table 4. Envoys to the Ming court from the Qazaq Khanate as recorded in the MSL and Eǰībie jingong shu

Year (reign year)	Name of Khanate	Name of Khan or Envoy	Sources
1453 (Jingtai 3)	Asibie dimian 阿思亂地面	King of Zhanibie	“Yingzong shilu”, j. 224
1518 (Zhengde 13)	Eǰībie-Haxin額即亂哈辛	Tulusun 土魯孫 (Tursun); Huozhe Pilie	Eǰībie jingong shu
1532 (Jiajing 11)	Eǰībie-Haxin額即亂哈辛	Envoy of Tursun	“Shizong shilu”, j. 135 (<i>The envoy of Tursun from Eǰībie is also found in Shuyu Zhouzi lu 15.492f.</i>)
1533 (Jiajing 12)	Eǰībie 額即亂		“Shizong shilu”, j. 154
1533 (Jiajing 12)	Eǰībie-Hazu額即亂哈卒		“Shizong shilu”, j. 157
1537 (Jiajing 16)	Eǰībie-Haxin額即亂哈辛		“Shizong shilu”, j. 196

Source: Ming shilu.

2.5 The date of the foundation of the Qazaq Khanate reconsidered

The date of the foundation of the Qazaq Khanate is rather obscure. In his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, completed in 1546, Bābur’s cousin Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt states that the first indigenous Qazaq union was born in 807 by the Hijri calendar – 1465 or 1466 according to the Western calendar, and came to be known as the Qazaq Khanate. The state was formed by nomads who settled along the border of Moghūlistān, and was called the *Uzbek-i Qazaq*.¹⁴⁵ During the second half of the fifteenth century, Janibek and Kerey, descendants of Urūs Khan, the eighth khan of the Āq Orda (also the White Horde), possessed a legitimate claim to his legacy, but lacked the strength needed to oppose Abū’l-Khayr Khan, so they moved with their people to the Western border of Moghūlistān and established the Qazaq Khanate. Their influence grew rapidly and flourished under Qasym Khan (also Qāsīm Khan, 1445–1524?), an accomplished military leader and wise politician.¹⁴⁶ Regarding the whereabouts of Janibek and Kerey after the assassination of Barāq Khan, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* reports:

At that time, Abū’l-Khayr Khān exercised full power in Dasht-i-Qipchāq. He had been at war with the Sultānis of Juji; while Jāni Beg Khān and Karāy Khān fled before him into Moghulistān. Isān Bughā Khān received them with great honor, and delivered over to them Kuzi Bāshi, which is near Chu, on the Western limit of Moghulistān, where they dwelt in peace and content. On the death of Abū’l-Khayr Khān the Ulus of the Uzbeks fell into confusion, and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karāy Khān and Jāni Beg Khān. They numbered about 200,000 persons, and received the name of Uzbek-Kazāk (Qazaq).

¹⁴⁵ Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 82, 146.

¹⁴⁶ There is some doubt about the year of Qasym Khan’s death. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Qasym Khan died in the year 924 H. (A. D. 1518); cf. Elias and Ross 1895, 273. Another Persian author reports that he died in the year 930 H. (A. D. 1523–1524); cf. *Qazaqstan Tarihi*, II, 376.

The Kazāk Sultāns began to reign in the year 870 (1465–1466) (but God knows best), and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Uzbekistān, till the year 940 (1533–1534 A.D.).¹⁴⁷

Most scholars consider the Qazaq Khanate to have been founded in 1465 around one of, or some combination of, two major events: Janibek Khan and Kerey Khan fled from Abū'l-Khayr Khan with a few of his men and went to Moghūlistan, where Isān Bughā Khan (?-1462) gave them land along the Chu River, allowing them to take residence in the Kuzi Bāshi (Qozi Bashi) region.

The *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR*, published in Almaty in 1979, the *Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, published by the Kazakh Academy of Sciences in 1993, and some Kazakh scholars considered the date of the formation of the Qazaq Khanate as 1465–1466 and Kuzi Bashi (Qozi Basi) in Zhetisu (Semirechiye) as its political center.¹⁴⁸

As mentioned above, as late as in the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruler of Qazaq is referred to as king (wang) in the Chinese sources mentioned in the *MSL* (10 January 1453: day *yichou* of the twelfth month of the third year Jingtai), where there is a record that the king of Janibek sent envoys to the Ming court and his name occurs together with Bulahai (Abū'l-Khayr Khan), the king of Tuohuma (Tūqmāq).

The status of the Uzbek-Qazaq tribe is obscure in the first half of the fifteenth century, but its leaders, Janibek and Kerey among them, appear in Persian sources on several sides of the conflicts within the Timurid dynasty. Barāq had three sons, one of them is Abū Sa'īd, i.e. Janibek. Janibek and Kerey himself, indeed, first appear under their Islamic names of Abū Sa'īd or Bū Sa'īd and Aḥmad in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb* which is a genealogy of the families of Temūr and Chingiz Khan, written in Persian in 1426–1427, and the *Tauarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name*, written by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan.¹⁴⁹

As mentioned above, the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq ruled by Orda Ichen and his successors was called Āq Ūrda, centered on Sighnaq (Siynāq in the Persian sources) of the Timurid and later periods. It may be useful at this moment briefly to look back in time. Since 1368, the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq was held

¹⁴⁷ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 82.

¹⁴⁸ Nusupbekov, A. N., ed. *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR: S drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei v pyati tomakh* (History of the Kazakh SSR: From Ancient Times to the Present in Five Volumes). Vol. 2, *Razvitiye feodal'nykh otnosheniy: Obrazovaniye kazakhskoy narodnosti I Kazakhskogo khanstva* (The Development of Feudal Relations: The Formation of the Kazakh People and the Kazakh Khanate). Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1979; Kozybaev, A., ed. *Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei* (History of the Kazakh USSR: From Ancient Times to the Present). Almaty: Izdatel'stvo Dāuīr, 1993. *Qazaqstan Tarihiy*, II, pp. 336-344; Kumekov, B. E., *The History of the Kazak Statehood and the Kazakh Khanate*, Almaty: Qazaq Universiteti, 2015, p. 18.

¹⁴⁹ *Sbornik materialov otnosyashihsvya k istorii Zolotoy Ordyy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. *Iz vlecheniya iz Persidskih sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom*. Moscow-Leningrad (Extracts from Persian compositions collected by V. G. Thiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, pp. 62-63.

by Urūs Khan's (1361–1377) house seated in Sighnaq.¹⁵⁰ After the death of Chimtāy (1344-1360), the Tūqāy Tīmūrid Noghay or Qara-Noghay became the khan in the Āq Orda in Sighnaq in 1361. Qara-Noghay is the first Tūqāy Tīmūrid to seize power after more than one hundred years of the domination of the Ordaid line. After Qara-Noghay, his brothers Tuyluq-Temūr, Qutluq-Khwāja, and their cousin Mubārak-Khwāja followed them on the throne. After a short eight-year reign of Tūqāy Tīmūrids, Urūs Khan, the father of Chimtāy, took over power in Sighnaq 1368/1369.¹⁵¹

Through the paternal line, Janibek and Kerey were related to Urūs Khan. Qazaq historians differ in their view about the ancestry of Urūs Khan. The basic difficulty derives from the paucity and contradictory character of the various source groups, but suffice it to state here that in the following I will use the term Urūsid for denoting the common ancestor of Janibek and Kerey.

During the fourteenth century, Urūs had established himself in khal authority (1368-1377) at Sighnaq, in the southern Dasht-i Qipchāq.¹⁵² After ascending the throne of the Ulus of Orda in 1361, Urūs Khan led a major expedition through the Idil (Volga) region and by 1374 united the right and left wings of the Jochid Ulus, becoming the first Jochid prince from the left wing to occupy the throne of the whole Jochid Ulus. Ūtamīsh Ḥājī b. Mawlānā Dūstī in his *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān* (or *Chingiz-Name*) informed that Urūs Khan was the great sovereign, and “governed the vilayets of all Turkistan.”¹⁵³ According to Johann Schiltberger, a German captive who was in the Qipchāq steppe, serving a Jochid contender to the throne, Machmet (Uluḡ Muḥammad) overcame Warach (Barāq Khan), a grandson of Urūs Khan, the son of Qūyūrchūq, the father of Janibek, and again became king.¹⁵⁴ In 1420–1421, Barāq Khan went to Timur's grandson Ulūy Beg, who was then the governor of Mā warā al-nahr, and asked for his help in defeating his rivals. By 1425-1426, Barāq Khan claimed authority over the towns along the Syr Darya (including Sighnaq), alleging that before Timur's time these areas had belonged to Urūsid descendants. Hence in 1427 Ulugh Beg, having consulted with his father and received his support in the person of his brother Muḥammad Jūqī (1404-1444/1445), embarked on a campaign to the north. However, at Sighnaq his army was crushed.¹⁵⁵ When negotiations faltered with Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrukh, Barāq embarked upon successive booty

¹⁵⁰ The Urūsid clan remained as the dynasts of the Qazaq Khanate until the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁵¹ Detailed description of Urūs Khan, see Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, pp. 100-101. Also see Mu'izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb, trans. and eds. M. Kh. Abuseitova and others, *Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh 3* (History of Kazakhstan in Persian Sources, 3) (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), p. 44; “Taurih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name,” pp. 47–49; and Aboul-Ghāzi Bēhādour Khān, p. 178 (text), p. 187 (trans.); Tomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia: The Tūqāy Tīmūrid takeover of Greater Mā warā al-nahr, 1598-1605*. Brill: Leiden. Boston, 2013, p. 53.

¹⁵² Samarqandī, “Maṭla'-'i sa' dain,” 257 (text), 196 (trans.).

¹⁵³ *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān*, (Almaty, Ghylym, 1992), 38b-39a.

¹⁵⁴ P. Bruun identified Machmet with the Ulugh Muḥammad (ca.1437-1445), the founder of the Kazan Khanate, see Johann Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger: a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London: 1879), pp. 37, 142.

¹⁵⁵ Samarqandī, “Maṭla'-'i sa' dain,” p. 258 (text), p. 198 (trans.).

raids against Samarqand. Barāq Khan was killed by Sultān Maḥmud (oylan) in Moghūlistan in 1428-1429 and this led to further Āq Orda fragmentation.¹⁵⁶ One of the most obscure periods in the history of the Āq Orda, the predecessor of the Qazaq Khanate, is the near twenty years period after Barāq Khan's death in 1428–1429, lasting until 1446, the establishment of Shībānid Abū'l-Khayr Khan's rule on the throne of Sighnaq. It seems probably that Barāq Khan left his post to immature sons. But even after these Abū'l-Khayr expansions, the Qazaq Khanate itself was unincorporated. The Qazaq Khanate still existed. After the death of Barāq Khan, Janibek and Kerey probably became the rulers in Sighnaq, who had acquired the new name Uzbek-Qazaq in the first half of the fifteenth century. According to Uskenbay, Barāq Khan minted his own coins in Sighnaq, called as “Sighnaq al-Jadid.”¹⁵⁷

Starting from 1440s, the word *Uzbek-i Qazāq* began appearing in the *Matla 'i sa 'dain va majma 'i bahrain*.¹⁵⁸ The Uzbeks defeated Shahrukh's forces, killing another one of Shahrukh's important commanders, Hajji Yusuf Jalil. Samarqandī also mentioned Shāhrukh's (1404-1447) order in the year of 851/1447-1478, that every year some *amīrs* “should be informed about the armies from the direction of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and the Qazaq Uzbeks”.¹⁵⁹ Janibek and Kerey and their Qazaq followers united the nomads of the Urusid Ulus after the death of Barāq Khan. It is clear that the Qazaq Uzbeks Samarqandī mentions in his work were troops from Barāq Khan's Uzbek polity.

The Qazaq Khanate appears as late as in 1440s, according to the Latin *Treatise on the Two Sarmatias* by Polish historian Matthias of Miechow (d. 1523). This account specifies that the sons of Occass (Vaqqāṣ), the founder of the Noghay Tatars, who is called ‘servant and officer’ to the khan of the principal “Zawolhensian” (i.e., “Trans-Volga”) Tatar Horde, split from that horde following their father's death; this split is dated by Matthias to some seventy years before he was writing (1517, hence the late 1440s).¹⁶⁰ Matthias divides the “Tatars” into “Zauolhenses” (i.e., beyond the Volga), Przepowenses (i.e., Perekop=Crimean), “Cosanenses” (i.e., Kazan) and “Nochacenses” (i.e., Noghay); these four hordes have “emperors,” while the fifth, which he says lacks an emperor, is called “Kazacka” (i.e., Qazaq).¹⁶¹

Let us pause briefly and look at the state of affairs in the beginning of the

¹⁵⁶ Samarqandī, “*Matla 'i sa 'dain*,” p. 258 (text), p. 198 (trans.).

¹⁵⁷ Uskenbay, K., *Vostochniy Dasht-i Kipchak v XIII-nachale XV veka: Problemy etnopoliticheskoy istorii Ulusa Juchi* (Eastern Dasht-i Kipchak at the beginning of the 13th and 15th century: Problems of the ethno-political history of Ulus Jochi), pp. 210-1, 246 (Kazan, 2013).

¹⁵⁸ Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, p. 35; Samarqandī, p. 258 (text), p. 199 (trans.).

¹⁵⁹ Samarqandī, *ibid*, p. 259 (text), p. 199 (trans.).

¹⁶⁰ Vaqqāṣ, also known as Waqqāṣ (1428-1447), a son of Nūr-al-Dīn Bahādur, son of Idikū (Edige, r. 1392-1412, d. 1419).

¹⁶¹ Mekhovskii, M., *Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiakh*, ed. and trans. S. A. Anninskii (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1936), p. 63 (trans.), p. 144 (text). Also see Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. (The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. 348-349.

1430s-40s. Together with other Shībānīds, Abū'l-Khayr Khan's ancestors had lived for most of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the region of Western Siberia. After the reign of Jumaduq Khan, in 1428, Abū'l-Khayr Khan established himself in khalal authority at Tura, in the Ibir-Sibir region. According to the *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khayr Khānī*, another general history up to Abū'l-Khayr Khan and his descendants, written in Persian by Mas'ūd Kūhistānī, before the conquest of the Syr Darya region, Abū'l-Khayr Khan ruled only the Ibir-Sibir region until 1446.

In 1431/1432, Abū'l-Khayr Khan attacked the brothers Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan, the sons of Kuchuk Muḥammad, and they met Abū'l-Khayr Khan's army at Ikri-Tup.¹⁶² Abū'l-Khayr Khan beat the two brothers and captured Orda-Bazar, although Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan were able to flee.¹⁶³ According to the *Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār*, after the battle, Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan returned and ruled their realm.¹⁶⁴ The *MSL* refers to Maḥmūd Khan as “the king of the Tuohuma” (Tuohema deng chu Maheima wang 脱忽麻等處馬黑麻王).¹⁶⁵

In 1446, Abū'l-Khayr Khan annexed the Syr Darya region, with the towns of Suzaq, Arquq, Uzgand, and Aq-quryān, and attacked Sighnaq, which became his capital.¹⁶⁶

Janibek and Kerey now turned their attention east. By 1864, V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (1830-1904) published his second book on the history of the Kasimov Khanate. According to V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov's viewpoint, Janibek and Kerey's escape from Abū'l-Khayr Khan took place in 1456.¹⁶⁷ The author derives the exact date relying on the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The major weakness of Vel'yaminov-Zernov's viewpoint is his assumption that “at that time (860=1456) Abū'l-Khayr Khan exercised full power in Dasht-i-Qipchāq” as such. Sources such as the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* or the *Baḥr al-asrār* do not explain when Janibek and Kerey's separation from Abū'l-Khayr Khan took place – in fact it's purely a construction of Vel'yaminov-Zernov. The best known and also the most detailed contemporary source is the *MSL*. To our surprise, the *MSL* mentions two Ilibali (Moghūlistān) chiefs called Gelai 革來 and Busayi 卜撒亦. Their names were written together according to manuscripts: Gelaibusayi.

¹⁶² Also known as Aikri-Tub, see I. Zaicev V., p. 36. Ikri-Tup or Aikri-Tub refers to Āgri-Tuv, modern Ayr-Tau, which is located twenty kilometres southeast of Ulu-Tau (the Great Mountain), the Turkic name of both a mountain and a town. The name of Āgri-Tup, wa originally written Āgri-Tuv, which meant ‘curved mountain.’ However, the first and last words in the name, Āgri and Tuv, could easily have been exchanged for Ayr-Tau. For example, Āgri (curve in ancient Turkic) – iyir (curve in modern Qazaq), and finally exchanged for Ayr-Tau.

¹⁶³ Mas'ūd Kūhistānī, 1969, pp. 154-155. According to Zaicev, Orda-Bazar stands on the bank of the Yayik (Ural) river, see *ibid*, pp. 36-37. According to the *Tārīkh-i Abū'l-Khayr Khānī*, Orda-Bazar lies in the Dasht-i Qipchāq steppe and is the capital city of Dasht-i Qipchāq.

¹⁶⁴ Qazaqstan taryhy, II, p. 157.

¹⁶⁵ *MSL*, Yingzong shilu, j.153.

¹⁶⁶ Mas'ūd Kūhistānī, 1969, pp. 158–159.

¹⁶⁷ Velyaminov-Zernov V. V., *Issledovanie o Kasimovikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh* (The study of the Kasimov kings and princes) Vol. 2 Sankt-Peterburg, 1864, p. 139.

In spite of these variations, there is no doubt that the names try to render the names of Gelai (Kerey) and Busaiyi (Abū Sa‘īd, i.e. Janibek). The *MSL* entry for the day bingxu 丙戌 of the tenth month of the twelfth year Zhengtong (October, 1447), reads as follows:¹⁶⁸

“The Zhongshun wang (Loyalty and Obedience King) Daowadashili (Dawadaširi) of Hami (Qāmul/Qumul) sent Maheima (Maḥmud) with the rank of qianhu (mingbegi) etc., and the chieftains (toumu)¹⁶⁹ Gelai and Busaiyi of Yilibali dimian sent Ali with the rank of qianhu (mingbegi) etc., and presented horses as tribute.”

To my knowledge, this is the only passage in the Yingzong section of the *MSL* where Gelai and Busaiyi are mentioned as chieftains of the Moghūlistan. Gelai, as his name is spelled now, served as toumu of Tuoxin (Toqsun). In an entry in the *MSL* under the date of May 28, 1448, chieftains of Gelai from Tuoxin (脫辛地面頭目革來) sent an ambassador to Ming.¹⁷⁰

Bahr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār, written by Maḥmūd b. Amīr WalīBalkhī in the mid-1630s,¹⁷¹ describes Janibek and Kerey’s migration as follows: “Left the circle of obedience and subordination and chose to leave their homeland. They took their hearts away from their inherited land and set foot on the path of exile. With a group of people who recognized their fate, they set out for Moghūlistan.” Regarding the same event, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī explains: “Because, at the beginning of their arrival in Moghūlistan, they spent their time plundering the Qalmaq and Qirghiz tribes and in the border regions engaged in stealing like wolves, the name *Qazaq* was applied to that group” (*chūn dar ibtidā-yi vušūl bi- Mughūlistān rūzgār bi-tākht va tārāj-i aqvām-i Qalīmāq va Qirghīz mīguzarānīdand va dar ḥavāshī-i mamālik bi-gurg-rubāyī mashghūl būdand ism-i qazāq bar ān ṭayīfa iṭlāq yāft*).¹⁷²

Their choice of destination and Isān Bughā Khan’s amicable reception reflected a long-standing political relationship that had existed between the Āq Orda, the Timurid state, and Moghūlistan throughout the previous century. Along with the enmity between Moghūlistan and Transoxiana, there existed a kind of loose family alliance between the Abū’l-Khayrids and the Timurids, as well as a hostile relationship between the Timurids and Barāq Khan’s family.

Moghūlistan depended highly upon the Qazaqs not just in a cultural sense (their language and ideology) but also in a very material sense (as soldiers

¹⁶⁸ *MSL*, Yingzong shilu, j. 159. Chinese text: 哈密忠順王倒瓦荅失里遣千戶馬黑麻的等亦力把力地面頭目革來卜撒亦等遣千戶阿力等貢馬。

¹⁶⁹ Qianhu means “head of thousand”, in the *Gaochang guan ke* of Ming dynasty, qianhu was trans. into Turkic as samqu, see *Gaochang guan ke*, 166. According to the term of the toumu is trans. into Mongol as darqan, see Henry, *Foreigners in the Metropolitan Police. The Mongols and Ming China: Customs and History* (London, 1987), VII, 64.

¹⁷⁰ *MSL*, Yingzong shilu, j. 165.

¹⁷¹ Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 17.

¹⁷² Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 49.

and suppliers). The Moghūlistan rulers also knew that they needed to control Zhetisu in order to keep Yūnus Khan at bay. Yūnus Khan, by being so close to the Timurid-Persian world while at the same time being independent, could appeal to Moghūlistan in a way that made them extremely dangerous. According to Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, Isān Bughā Khan regarded Janibek and Girāy's arrival as a benefit (khayr) because his brother Yūnus Khan, a counterclaimant to the throne of Moghūlistan, had just established himself near his Western border with the support of the Timurid ruler Sultān-Abū Sa'īd. The pastureland Isān Bughā Khan gave Janibek and Kerey in Western Moghūlistan served as a buffer zone (vāsīṭa) between his domain and that of Yūnus Khan.¹⁷³ Therefore, the formation of a new alliance between Janibek, Kerey, and Isān Bughā Khan in the face of a common enemy, the Timurids and Abū'l-Khayrids, should be viewed as a logical consequence of the political dynamics in fourteenth-century Central Asia.

In sum, the formation of the Qazaq Khanate began as early as in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, i.e., long before Abū'l-Khayr Khan's invasion of the Syr Darya region. Janibek and Kerey re-established their authority in Western Moghūlistan, which corresponds roughly to modern Kyrgyzstan, after Abū'l-Khayr Khan's invasion of the Syr Darya region in 1447. The *Badāyi' al-vaqāyi'* written by Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī (1485-1566) in the early sixteenth century also provides an account of Shībānid khan's (Kuchum Khan, 1510-1535) campaign against the Qazaqs in 1516/1517, which is included in the section titled "the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs" (*Faḥnāma-i qazāq*). In this section, he uses the designation Qazāqstān to designate the territory of the modern Kyrgyzstan, including Issyk köl.¹⁷⁴ Thus, Western Moghūlistan became known as Qazaqstan after the reign of the Qazaq khans.

By the end of 1468, most of territories that had been conquered by Abū'l-Khayr Khan fell to Janibek and Kerey.

2.6 The cities of the Early Qazaq Khanate

Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt wrote in his Tārīkh-i Rashīdī that 'Qasym Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchák. His army numbered more than

¹⁷³ Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, fol. 132a. Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 141.

¹⁷⁴ Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī, *Badā'i' al-vaqā'i'* (Badāyi' al-vaqāyi'). ed. A. N. Boldyrev, 2 vols, Pamiatniki literaturny narodov Vostoka: Teksty, Bol'shaya seriya (Literature of Monuments of the Peoples of the East: Texts of Big Series), Vol. 5 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury (Moscow: Excerpt Eastern Literature), 1961), 2:1314; Ibragimov, S. K., H. H. Mingulov, K. A. Pishchulina, and V. P. Yudin, comp. and trans. *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv 15–18 vekov* (Materials on History of Kazakh Khanate 15–18 centuries). Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969, p. 180; also see Yudin 2001, p. 255; *Badā'i' al-vaqā'i'*, 2007, pp. 229-233. The place names in the section of "the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs" provide clear evidence that the battle between Shībānids and Qazaqs took place in modern Kyrgyzstan. From Sayram eastward, nine place names appear: Uzun Ahmad (Uzun Ahmad River still exists, west of the Tokotgul reservoir, a right tributary of the Naryn), Sugun Sumur (a valley of Suusamy), Sungak, Kochkor-Ata, Jatan, Burkachha (modern Buguchu?) (river), Uzunkuluk (Uzun Bulaq?), San-Tash (The mountain Tash mountain is located to the west of the lake of Song Kul), Issyk Kkul nd Ak-boguz. All these place names are located in modern Kyrgyzstan.

a million (a thousand thousand) men. Except for Juji Khán, there had never reigned a greater Khan than he in that country.¹⁷⁵

Babur also writes in his *Bābur-nāma* that “they say that among the Qazakh khans and sultāns no one kept order within the nation like Qasim Khan. His army was counted at close to three hundred thousand.¹⁷⁶

In his early days, the young Qazaq Khan led the fight to all the Qazaq tribes. With the death of Abū'l-Khayr Khan, the majority of people in Dasht-i Qipchāq joined the Qazaq Khanate. Under Qasym Khan's rule, significant steps were taken to centralize state power, which strengthened the positions of the khanate in the Western and northern regions of Kazakhstan. It was the first time that almost all Qazaq tribes and clans were united in one state. During Qasym Khan's reign, the Qazaq Khanate attained the highest point of its significance. Its territory expanded from the basins of the Ural and Syr Darya rivers toward northeast to Lake Balkhash. Diplomatic contacts with Ming China initiated at that time allowed the Eastern World to know about the Qazaq Khanate under the name Uzbek-Qazaq or Uzbek-Qasym. During his reign, the Qazaq Khanate developed into a nomadic empire that stretched from the Altay Mountains in the east to the Yayıq (Ural) River in the west.

I will introduce several different versions of the capital and cities of Qasym Khan that were collected in the course of the sixteenth century.

Qaratal

After the reign of Kerey's son Burūndūq Khan (1480–1511), Qasym Khan, Janibek Khan's son, became a ruler of the Qazaq Khanate. He made Karatal (Qaratal) his winter residence. N. Elias located Karatal on the modern Qaratal (Black) River, south of the modern city of Taldyqorghān in Kazakhstan. Other insignificant spots called Karatal also exist, he added.¹⁷⁷ In my opinion, Qaratal lay west or northwest of Kukcha-Tangiz (modern Balqash Lake).

It is perhaps to be identified with Karatal River on the Remezoff's “Map of All the Waterless and Difficult Country of the Mountain Steppe” (1696-1697).¹⁷⁸ According to Remezoff's map, there are two river called Upper Karatal and Lower Karatal, two tributes of Great Turgay River in Ulutau (Central Kazakhstan).

¹⁷⁵ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 82.

¹⁷⁶ Baburnama. *Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*. Trans., ed., and annot. by Wbeeler M. Thackston. New York-Oxford, 1996, 1:a.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 274.

¹⁷⁸ Baddeley, John Frederick (1854–1940). “The Remezoff maps: Map of All the Waterless and Difficult Country of the Mountain Steppe”, in: Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China, Being some Record of the Relations between Them from the Beginning of the XVIIth century to the Death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, A.D. 1602-1676, Rendered Mainly in the Form of Narratives Dictated or Written by the Envoys Sent by the Russian Tsars, or Their Voevodas in Siberia to the Kalmuk and Mongol Khans and Princes; and to the Emperors of China*. 2 vols. New York: Franklin, Vol. 1, 1919, pp. cliii-clxv.

According to the *Muntakhab al-tavārikh-i Mu 'īnī* by Mu 'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, Qaratal is situated in the territory of the Āq Orda:

After this, the Jūchīd Ulus was divided into two parts. Those, which relate to the left wing, i.e., the limits of Uluḡ-tay, Sekiz-yayach¹⁷⁹ and Qaratal to the limits of Tuysen,¹⁸⁰ neighborhoods of Jend and Barchkend, were affirmed after the descendants (Noyai), and they began to be called as the sultans of Āq Orda; however, the right wing, which includes Ibir-Sibir, Rus, Libka, Ukek,¹⁸¹ Majar,¹⁸² Bulyar,¹⁸³ Bashyird and Sarai-Berke, was given to descendants (Tokhta), and they named them the sultans of Kūk Orda.¹⁸⁴

Qara Abdāl

Qara Abdāl, near Sighnaq (or Segnakh) (Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān [Isfahānī] Khunjī, Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā), meaning the winter quarters of the Qazaq Khanate.¹⁸⁵ Rūzbihān wrote that Shībānī Khan marched with a great army from Samarqand to Turkestan. When he reached the border of the Qazaqs, and passed Sighnaq, he approached Qara Abdāl, which lay at the center of their winter camps.¹⁸⁶

Jend

Jand or Jend is situated along the lower currents of Syr Darya. Arab geographers have provided details about this place, whose ruins are now known as Janqala on the river Janadarya, to the west of Kyzylorda.

Barchkend

Also known as Barchin or Bārchinlighkent. The ruins of Bārchinlighkent are known today as Kyzkala or Kyshkala, and lie southwest of Qyzylorda.¹⁸⁷

Sarai chuq

According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Baranduk Khan (Burūndūq Khan) lived at Sarai Chuk (Saraychuq, modern Sarayshyq of Western Kazakhstan). Qasym Khan, in order to be far away from him, went to the confines of Moghūlistan,

¹⁷⁹ Perhaps refers to Saghyz, a river of Central Kazakhstan, see Levshin A. I., *Opisanie kirgiz-kazachikh ili kirgiz-kaysatskikh ord iy stepey* (Description of the Kyrgyz Cossack or Kyrgyz Kaisat Hordes and Steppes) (St. Petersburg: Tipografii Karla Krayya, 1832), p. 109.

¹⁸⁰ Perhaps an error for Kōk-Kesene (Kuk Kashanah, or Kōk Kašane), a famous mausoleum 7 km to the South of Sighnaq.

¹⁸¹ Ukek, on the Volga, between Bulghar and Saray, 10 km south of modern Saratov.

¹⁸² Majar, the former capital of the Alans on the left bank of the Kuma River east of modern Stavropol, between the Black and Caspian Seas.

¹⁸³ Bulghar, on the left bank of the Volga some 80 km north of modern Simbirsk.

¹⁸⁴ See *Sbornik materialov otnosyashisya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy* (Collection of chronicles on the history of the Golden Horde), II. Izvlecheniya iz Persidskikh sochineniy sobranniye V. G. Tiesenhausenom. Moscow-Leningrad (Extracts from Persian Compositions Collected by V. G. Thiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing House Academy of Sciences, USSR), 1941, pp. 127.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Dzhalilova 1976, p. 132. *Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḡārā*, 1974, p. 209. Sighnaq is located to the east of the city of Qyzylorda of Kazakhstan, on the east bank of Syr Darya, about Sighnaq (Segnakh), see Bretschneider 1910, I, p. 170.

¹⁸⁶ *Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḡārā*, 1974, p. 209.

¹⁸⁷ See Bretschneider, I, 170; II, p. 95. Also see Barthold, Turkestan, p. 179.

where he made Qaratal his winter quarters, with the intention to return to his original capital early in the spring. According to the *Shajara-i Chinggiziya*, Qasym Khan died in hijri 930 (1524) in Saraychuq (in Western Kazakhstan near the Caspian Sea).¹⁸⁸

Ubaira-Subaira

Muḥammad Haidar Dughlāt explains that Qasym Khan traveled to Ubaira-Subaira, in order to look after his kingdom. In commentators' notes to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, N. Elias identifies Ubaira-Subaira with the Ibir-Sibir.¹⁸⁹ Called *Yibi'er Shibi'er* 亦必兒失必兒 in the *Yuanshi*, Ibir-Sibir lies in Western Siberia, centered east of the Urals in the vicinity of Tyumen and Tura. According to Akimushkin, Elias' identification is a mistake copied from the nineteenth century edition of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. All earlier editions give Aspara.¹⁹⁰

Aspara

Aspara sat between the modern cities of Chu and Merke in southern Kazakhstan. Chavannes identifies this city, mentioned as Ashibulai 阿史不來 in *Xin Tangshu*, with Ashpara~Asbara of Ibn Khurdādhbih.¹⁹¹

According to the *Xin Tangshu*, 'from Suyab westward ten li is the city of Miguo, further thirty li is the city of Xin cheng (the New City), further sixty li is the city of Dunjian, further fifty li is the city of Ashibulai, further seventy li is the city of Julan, further ten li is the city of Shuijian, further fifty li is the city of Daluosi.'¹⁹²

Miguo 米國 (Maimargh): in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Mimohe* (弭秣賀).¹⁹³ *Mimohe*, or *Mimo* (彌末), as it is written in the *Tang History*, is a transliteration of Maimargh, and *Mi* (米) is its abbreviation. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, *Mi*, also called as *Mimo* or *Mimohe*, was hundred li from north to Samarqand, and their king lived in the city of Boxide.¹⁹⁴

Boxide refers to Penzhikent, a famous ancient Sogdian city, located south of Samarqand, which lies next to the Zeravshan River. There is a city between Nawākit and Sūyāb in the Chu Valley, named Banjkit according to Arab geographers. Qudāma (d. before 337/948) lists the cities from Ṭarāz to Sūyāb

¹⁸⁸ Shajara-i Chinggiziya. *Qazaq zhazbalarindaghi khandar shezhiresi* (Family Tree of Khans in Kazakh Scripts). Almaty: Ghylym Ordasy, 2015, p. 118.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 282. Idil-Jaiyiq.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Akimushkin 2010, p. 92.

¹⁹¹ See *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 289; E. Chavannes, Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Tures) occidentaux, Saint Petersburg, 1903, p. 10; Ibn Khuradādhbih. *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (BGA, VI), Leiden, 1889, p. 29.

¹⁹² Ouyang Xiu. *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang). Beijing, 1975, j. 43b. Chinese text: 自碎葉西十里至米國城, 又三十里至新城, 又六十里至頓建城, 又五十里至阿史不來城, 又七十里至俱蘭城, 又十里至稅建城, 又五十里至怛羅斯城。

¹⁹³ Xuanzang, Da Tang Xiyu ji (*Record of the Western Regions*), j. 1: 871, see <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihpc/hanjiquery/?@3^2094674242^807^^703120010030000300030013^2@@1370499893>

¹⁹⁴ *Xin Tangshu*, j. 221b: 6247. Chinese text: 米, 或曰彌末, 曰弭秣賀。北百里距康。其君治鉢息德城

as follows: Nushajān al-Asfal (=Barskhān al-Suffla); Kaṣrī Bās; Qumm;¹⁹⁵ Kūlān; Kūl Shawb; Barkī; Asbarah; Nūzkat; Khuranjawān; Jūl; Sārigh; Qaryatu Khāqān al-Turkiyyi; Kayrmibrāw; Nawākit; Banjīkit; Sūyāb.¹⁹⁶

Miguo cheng in the *Xin Tangshu*, perhaps in reference to Banjīkit or Penzhikent (Five Cities in Persian), named for its country by Chinese. The Miguo cheng in actual practice was a Chinese version of the name – Penzhikent. Qūdama called it Banjīkit (Penzhikent). We can identify from Chinese sources that the rest of these stops are Sūyāb=Suiye; Nawākit (means the New City in Persian)=Xin cheng (means the New City in Chinese); Asbarah=Ashibulai; Kūlān=Julan. It should be noted that in the V century a part of the Penzhikents from Maimargh together with the Sogdian migrated to the Chu valley, where they became one of ethno-forming components.

Later in the XV century, the Turkic population of the Chu valley called Penzhikent as ‘Bishket,’ ‘Bishkek,’ ‘Pishkek,’ ‘Pishpek’ or ‘Bishpek’. Thus, the place names ‘Bishkek,’ ‘Pishkek,’ ‘Pishpek’ or ‘Bishpek’ are phonetic variants of the Penzhikent. They consist of the same Sogdian elements: pyanzh or penzh—“five” and ket or kent—“city, town.” It should be stressed that the history of the use and interpretation of the toponym Bishkek may illustrate a formation process of the stereotypes connected with misapprehensions in the scientific community. They associated the Kyrgyz or Qazaq word ‘bishkek/ biskek’ with the name of the city Bishkek. The city known under that name had nothing to do with this language.¹⁹⁷

Otrar

The nomadic king’s seat of government, according to the “Renwu lüe”, lay in Tula. Following a description of the city, a passage reads:

To the northwest is the city of Sailan 赛兰, and five hundred li further west, Tula 土刺. This city has a roundish form, with houses roundabout, and is ruled by a king. The Muslims in that country do not wear turbans but (instead) caps made of sheep’s wool. Nor do they till the ground. They eat fish, mutton and *kumis* (mare’s milk). Seven hundred li further west is the city of Yasi 牙思. The Muslims there wear turbans. Among the country’s products mentioned are *lingyangjiao*¹⁹⁸ and *tiejiaopi* 帖角皮.¹⁹⁹ Four hundred li west of Yasi is Yeshibu

¹⁹⁵ Qūdama describes Qum as situated between Ṭarāz and Kūlān to the north and lying two *farsakhs* from the border (*hadd*) of the Kīmāk.

¹⁹⁶ Qūdama, *BGA* IV (1889): p. 158.

¹⁹⁷ The following legendary rationale for the name of the city is given on the official website of the Bishkek City Hall: the pregnant wife of one batyr (bogatyr) lost a whisk (kyrgyz. bishkek/qazaq. pisek) for beating koumiss, she suddenly gave birth and gave birth to a boy who was given the name Bishkek. He became a batyr, after his death he was buried on a hillock on the bank of the Alamedin River, where a gravestone was built in Bishkek. This structure was seen and described by travelers of the XVII-XI centuries. See https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%91%D0%B8%D1%88%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%BA#cite_note-8

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *Lingyang* 羚羊 refers to *lingyang* 羚羊, antelope horns.

¹⁹⁹ *Da Min huidian* (j. 107) mentions an envoy from Samarqand who presented *Tiejiaopi* 鐵角皮 to the Ming court. According to *Huihui guan yiyu*, 197: 忒革 = 鐵角皮, which in Persian is *tuqah*. In *Gaochang guan zazi*, 65, it appears as *tako*: 鐵角.

也失卜. South of the place are Basu'er 巴速兒, and Daxiani-andesu 打下你俺的速; to the north, the city of Tashigan 他失干.²⁰⁰

Many of the distances stipulated in the “Renwu lüe” account are noticeably incomplete or incorrect, indicating that the city of Tula should be sought somewhere in the Dasht-i Qipchāq. As for the text’s other toponyms, those along the northern route are obvious, such as Sailan 賽蘭 (Saiyram, a town east of Shymkent in Kazakhstan), Sailan 賽蘭城兒 (Sawran, a town northwest of the city of Turkestan),²⁰¹ and Yasi (an old name for the city of Turkestan or Hazret-e Turkestan in Kazakhstan). The map places the city of Tula between Sawran and Sayram.

Tula possibly a transcription of *Tura*. *Tura* means “city, stone or wood city, fort” in Turkic. There are, and have been at all times, many towns that incorporate the name *Tura*, either alone or combined with *Chimgi*, *Kenggir*, *Qizil*, etc. For example, *Chimgi-Tura*, or simply *Tura*, was a medieval city of Siberia and Abū'l-Khayr Khan’s initial capital back around 1428-1430. *Chimgi-Tura* is situated near modern Tyumen.²⁰² It is equally possible—and indeed perhaps more probable—that *Tula* is a corruption of *Otrar* or *Utrar*, a famous medieval city in Southern Kazakhstan. According to the Persian-Turkic sources, such as *Tavarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name*, *Shaybani-name* and *Jamiy at-tavarikh*, *Otrar/Utrar* was the political center of both Shībānīds and the Qazaq Khanate.²⁰³ Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan gave Muḥammad Shībānī Khan the town of *Utrar* after he captured it from the Timurids. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan also sent a relief army to Muḥammad Shībānī Khan when the Qazaqs, led by Burunduq Khan and the sons of Janibek, attacked *Utrar*. Burunduq Khan and Qasym Khan fought for decades against Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān and succeeded in establishing a foothold in the Syr Darya region, including Sayram, Sighnaq and *Otrar*.²⁰⁴

Yangi

Yangi, the fifteenth century’s name for *Taraz*, means “new” in the Turkic.

²⁰⁰ Tashig is Tashkent, the capital of modern Uzbekistan.

²⁰¹ On the “Renwu tu” map, two cities named *Sailan* are marked, lying both east and west of the city of *Tula*. To the east lies *Sairam*, to the west *Sawran* or *Sabran*. According to the chapter on “The countries of the Western Region” of Zhang Yu’s 張雨 *Bianzheng kao* 邊政考 (j. 8 p. 604, “Xiyu zhuguo” 西域諸國), printed in 1547, the second *Sailan* is called the *cheng'er* (little city) of *Sailan*. *MSL* (“Xuanzong shilu”, j. 7, 8) records either *Salan* 撒藍, or *Sailan*.

²⁰² Also known as *Chimgi-Tura*, it was a medieval city that belonged to the Abū'l-Khayr Khanate, and served as the first capital of Abū'l-Khayr Khan. The Asia map of Abraham Ortelius, based on his early wall map printed in 1567, displays a city called *Teron*, situated southwest of the city of *Sibir*. In 1586, Russians built the fort of *Tyumen* on the ruins of *Chimgi-Tura*. It can also be found in Gerard Mercator’s *Atlas*, which very clearly marked a place called *Tyumen*, here named *Weliki Tumen* (Great *Tyumen*), located in *Hondius Tartary*. However, some centuries later, inhabitants of *Sibir* also referred to *Tyumen* as *Chimgi-Tura*. According to Gerhard Friedrich Müller, who visited the city in 1741, the Tatars there called the city *Chimgi-Tura*, not *Tyumen*, but an eighteenth-century map of the river system flowing into Lake *Zaisang* in the *Xiyu shuidao ji* 西域水道記 (Waterways of the Western Regions), completed by Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848), the city of *Tura* is named as *Dola* 多拉.

²⁰³ *Tavarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name*, 2006, pp. 34-35, 37-38; *Shaybani-name*, 2006, pp. 88, 91, 94, 97; *Jalayyr Qadyr-Yali bi*, *Jamiy at-tavarikh*, 2006, p. 160

²⁰⁴ *Utrar* has had many names: *Tarban*, *Turaband*, *Turar* and *Farab* as well as *Otrar*.

Muhammad Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar called it Yāngi.²⁰⁵ Yangni cheng'er was identified by Sunao Hori as the Qazaq city of Yangi, modern-day Taraz.²⁰⁶ Cen Zhongmian identified it with Yangī-Hissar, south of Kahsghar (2004: 670).²⁰⁷ According to the *Renwu lüe*, Yangni cheng'er lies on the northern route, however, the *Renwu tu* atlas marks it on the bottom, i.e. south, of the map. According to Petrov P.N. and Kamishev A.M., the study of numismatic finds from the territory of the Talas valley in Kyrgyzstan made it possible to locate a cluster of coins originating from the cities of Taraz, Yangi Taraz and Ordu Bazar. Ulugh Taraz is situated near modern Taraz in Kazakhstan, while Yangi Taraz is situated south of Ulugh Taraz, near the medieval site of Pokrovsk II in Kyrgyzstan.²⁰⁸

Sayram

The *Renwu lüe* states that Sailan is located northwest of Oqsalar. There can be no doubt that this is Sayram of southern Kazakhstan. Modern Sayram is less than 50 kilometers east of Shymkent. In the *MSL* it is called *Sailan*.²⁰⁹

Yassi

Yassi is an old name for the city of Turkestan or Hazrat-e Turkestan near the Syr Darya River in southern Kazakhstan. Turkestan or Turkistan, known as Shawgar in medieval times, was situated 160 kilometers northwest of Shymkent on the caravan route between Otrar to the north and Tahskent to the south. *Yasi cheng* 牙思城 in the *Renwulüe*. The *Ming shi* called it *Yaxi* 牙昔.²¹⁰ It is not to be confounded with the *Yassi*, west of Kashgar, situated between Ulughchat and Oqsalar. Pelliot called it *Yasi Kichik*.²¹¹

Sawran

Modern city of Sawran in Kazakhstan, north of Sayram, was situated on the caravan route from Tashkend to Otrar. In the *MSL*, Sawran is written as *Saolang* 掃郎. In the 'Xiyu zhuguo' of the *Bianzheng kao*, the name is written as *Sailan cheng'er* 賽蘭城兒. In the *Renwulüe* there is also a city called Sailan east of Shymkent, whose name likewise bears some resemblance to *Sailan*.

Qūzī Bāshī (Qozy Bashi)

Qūzī Bāshī, also known as Jūd Qūzī Bāshī, is explicitly named as the capital of the early Qazaq Khanate.²¹² Its location, a long-debated issue in Qazaq history,

²⁰⁵ *Elias and Ross 1895*, pp. 63, 274.

²⁰⁶ Hori Sunao, 1978, pp. 46-47

²⁰⁷ Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉. 2004, p. 670.

²⁰⁸ Petrov P.N. and Kamishev A.M., Yangi Taraz in the 13th–14th Centuries and the Discovery of its Geographical Location on the Basis of Numismatic Data. *Golden Horde Review*. 2019, 7 (2), pp. 266-282: 278-279.

²⁰⁹ 'Ming Xuanzong shilu,' j. 35.

²¹⁰ MS j.332 Xiyu-4

²¹¹ Pelliot, 2008, 17.

²¹² *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 2004, p. 108.

is now generally accepted as Qozi Basy of Qorday Mountain, which sits along the borders of modern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.²¹³ Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar clearly indicated that Jūd is a district of Moghūlistan. In it, there are many cities like Minara.²¹⁴ This information is not repeated in the account of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar and the multi-location of Qozi Bashi led researches to look for other Qozi Basy as well. The evidence from *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is overwhelming. According to N. Elias, another reading of this name is *Jud Kuzi Bāshi*.²¹⁵ Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar clearly indicated that Kuzi Bāshi or Jud Kuzi Bāshi was located on the Western edge of Moghūlistan.

Table 5. Five Countries in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe”

Capital	King's title	Account in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe”	Notes
Tula 土剌	Wangzi 王子 ¹⁵	500 li further west of Tula 土剌. This city has a roundish form of house and is ruled by a king. The Muslims in that country do not wear turbans but (instead wear) caps made of sheep's wool.	Otrar/Turar
Puhala 普哈剌	Samahanke 撒馬罕 克 ¹⁶	500 li west of Zamin 雜民 ¹⁷ is the city of Puha. The people of the country are Muslims. They till the ground, cultivate sundry fruits, and breed silkworms. Samahanke live in the city of Puha 普哈.	Puha is Buhara, mentioned in the Xiyu zhuguo of Bianzheng kao as Puhala 普哈剌.
Qiemi 怯迷 ¹⁸ (Sunao Hori (1978, p. 50) identifies Qiemi with Kabul.)	Wangzi	1500 li west is the city of Qiemi. It is ruled by a king. Outside the city live four families of non-Chinese and Chinese (<i>sizu fanhan</i> 四族番漢) ¹⁹ The country produces gold and diamonds.	Kashmir ²⁰
Tiebieliesi 帖兒列思	Wangzi	Further west is the city of Tiebieliesi. It is ruled by a king. The people of the country wear turbans (Muslims).	Tiebieliesi is Tauriz or Tabriz. ²¹
Feilang 菲郎	Wangzi	Further west is the city of Feiji 菲郎. ²² It is surrounded by two walls and ruled by a king. The inhabitants are Ju-han-er-ren 俱漢兒人 (Kuffar).	Bayt Laḥm, Arabic name for Bethlehem. ²³
Lumi 魯迷	Wangzi	Further west is the city of Lumi. It is situated 1200 li west of Boluosa 孛羅撒 and enclosed by two walls. It has an independent king. The inhabitants are Muslims and Han-er ren (Juhan'er ren). ²⁴	Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, which was called Rūm in Middle Eastern texts. ²⁵

Source: Ming shilu.

Table 5 lists five countries that the “Renwu lüe” identifies in the Western Region during the first half of the sixteenth century: the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānīd

²¹³ Kenzheakhmet Nurlan, 2013.

²¹⁴ *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 2004, p. 404. Minara is modern Burana in Chu valley.

²¹⁵ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 82, note 1.

Khanate, the Safavid dynasty, the Ottoman Empire, and Feilang (probably Bayt Laḥm). The King of Tura (Tula) was probably Qasym Khan; we cannot exclude the possibility that the Haxin had contact with him.

Emil, Emel or Imāl

Emil is the name of a city and a river. The Emil's headwaters are two streams, the Sary Emil ("Yellow Emil") and Qara Emil ("Black Emil"), which rise near the Sino-Kazakh border in the Tarbagatai Mountains, near the Tarbagatai's junction with the Saur. According to the *Tarikh-i Kashyār*, the horde of Qazaq Khaqnar khan (r. 1538–1580) was situated in the Emel.²¹⁶ Emil is also a medieval city located in the Emil valley in the Xinjiang (in the border China-Kazakhstan). In the *Yuan shi*, Emil is given as Yemili 葉密立.²¹⁷ There is a mountain with the same name (Emel-tau), situated to the west of Ayagoz in Eastern Kazakhstan. Nearby Emel-tau, there are several mountains containing the names of "Emel": Qotan-emel; Qalmaq-Emel.

Map 1. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



Source: in *Shaanxi tongzhi* 10.15²¹⁸

²¹⁶ *Tarikh-i Kashyār*, 2006, p. 229.

²¹⁷ *Yuan shi* j. 3, p. 45 ("Chronicle of Mōngke qayan"); Kenzheakhmet, Nurlan. The Place Names of Central Asia in the Kangnido. *Journal of Asian History* (49) 2015, 1/2, p. 150.

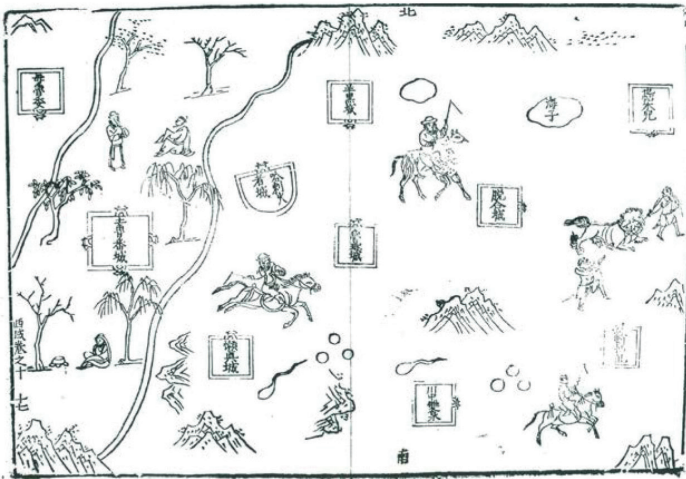
²¹⁸ "Xiyu tudi renwu tu" consists of 10 maps covering *Shaanxi tongzhi* 10.15-24.

Map 2. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



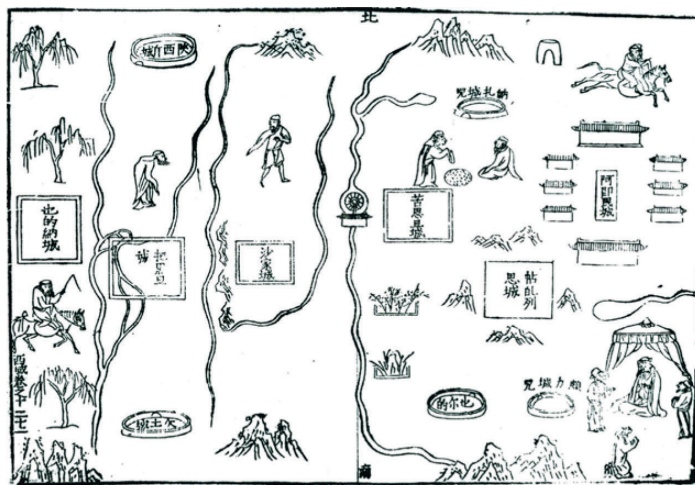
Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.16

Map 3. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



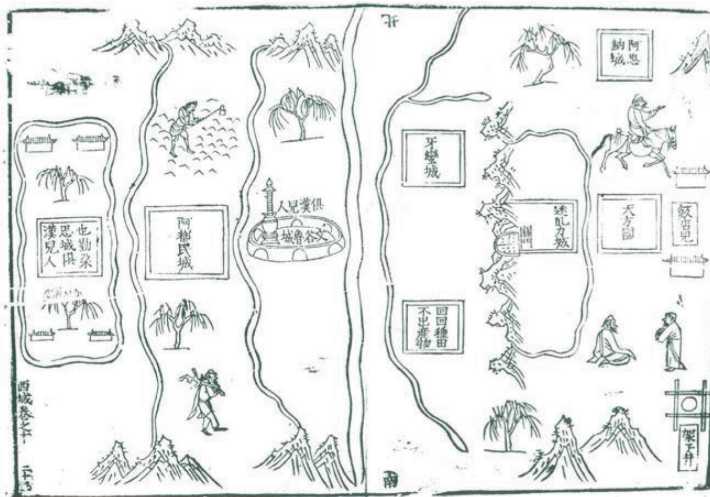
Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.17

Map 8. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



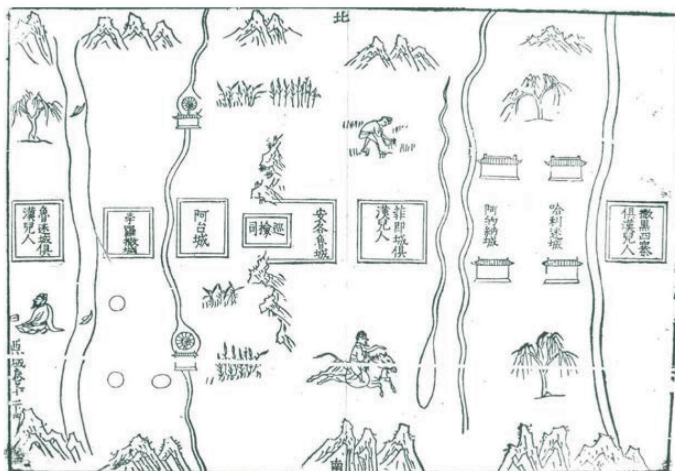
Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.22

Map 9. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.23

Map 10. Xiyu tudi renwu tu



Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.24

2.7 Conclusion

Scholars have often assumed that contacts between China and the Qazaq Khanate formed during the Qing period. However, a careful examination of Chinese sources reveals that contacts between the two countries and geographic knowledge about each other actually reached its historical peak during the first half of the sixteenth century. The first diplomatic contact between Ming China and the Qazaq Khanate occurred through the Chinese system of tribute trade during the mid-fifteenth century. Evidence for this appears in a reference to the arrival of the first group of people claiming to be an embassy sent from Asibie (Özbek) to China, which was recorded in 1453. Under the reign of Jiajing (1522–1566), the foundations for a flourishing relationship between Ming China and the Qazaq Khanate were established. At that time, the Chinese knew the Qazaq Khanate by the name Ejibie-Haxin, in other words, Özbek-Qasym. Despite the political turmoil that erupted after the fall of the White Horde, the Chinese gleaned new information about the Qazaq Khanate from envoys who arrived from Central Asia. From this information, Ming Chinese scholars and geographers drew new works of cartography like the “Menggu shanshui ditu” and “Xiyu tudi renwu tu”. Both maps display fairly accurate representations of the countries of Central and Western Asia and the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century.

The fourth Qazaq ruler, Qasym Khan, made Karatal (Qaratal) his winter residence. Karatal is the name of a valley of the Turgay in Central Kazakhstan. Qaratal is

also the name of a valley of the Syr Darya in Turkestan.²¹⁹ His realm included various cities in Dasht-i Qipchāq, such as Saraichuq and Tura. Unfortunately, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work does not provide much new information about the original capital of Qasym Khan. Nonetheless, the nomadic city of Tula is found on the *Renwutu* map, which shows the major cities of Central Asia using Muslim geographic knowledge about the Qazaqs.

²¹⁹ Ibragimov, 1969, p. 553.

Chapter III

Shībānīd Dynasty-Chinese Relations During the Ming Period (1500-1599)

3.1 Introduction

It should be noted that the house of Shībānīds was descended from Shayban; a grandson of Genghis Khan,²²⁰ note that Muhammad Shaybani was also known as “Shaybaq” or “Shahi Begi”. Muhammed Shaybaq’s native Turkish name was Shabaq, Shebaq, or Shah Baht, from which Shaybaq derived, followed by Shaybānī, a pseudo-authentication of a common Turkish name into the more prestigious Arabic tribal name of Shayban.²²¹

The *Mihmān-nāmah-yi Bukhārā* is a Persian language work composed by Faḍl-Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī in 1509 and largely devoted to Muḥammad Shībānī’s (Shākhī Bīk, 1451-1510) campaign that year into territories north of the Syr Darya. In 1486, Muḥammad Shībānī, the real founder of Shībānīd power, took control of some fortresses of Khwarazm.²²² Muḥammad Shībānī took control of the towns along the Syr Darya region, conquered Samarqand from Babur in 1500, and Balkh and Herat from the sons of Huseyn Bayqara (in 1505 and 1507, respectively), thus putting an end to the rule of the Timurids and taking possession of the regions of Māwarā al-nahr and Khorasan.

The rise of Shībānī Khan was not defined by hereditary, that is, by dynastic connections. Indeed there is no concrete reference in the sources to an official enthronement of Shībānī Khan by his dynastic family as a khan, but the tradition of succession by seniority was followed by his immediate successors.

To form a new tribe or Ulus around a charismatic leader, often bearing the name of its founder, was a common phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. The political and social systems of the Qazaqs in Dasht-i Qipchāq and the Shībānīds in Central Asia had common origins in the Uzbek tradition, although by the end of the fifteenth century they had evolved divergently and each

²²⁰ *Mihmān-nāmah-yi Buḥārā*. Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Mihmān-nāmah-yi Buḥārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḥungī. Übersetzung und Kommentar von Ursula Ott. Klaus Schwarz Verlag. Freiburg IM Breisgau, 1974, p. 61.

²²¹ Cf. Ibragimov 1969, 98; Bregel, Yuri, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003, p. 50.

²²² According to the *Mazhma al-ansāb va-l-ašzhār*, Muḥammad Shībānī’s full name is Muzaffar ad-dīn Abū-l-Fath Muḥamad ibn Shāh-Buday ibn Abī-l-Khāyr-khan ash-Shaybānī. The remaining known copies of this work are at present preserved at the private collections of B.B. Aminova and Sh. H. Vohidova in Tashkent. See *Mihmān-nāmah-yi Buḥārā*. 1974, p. 61; *Mazhma al-ansāb va-l-ašzhār*. Almaty, 2005, p. 278.

had developed its own distinctive characteristics. The Central Asian sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries add yet another dimension to the term. Very rarely, and then only by late-seventeenth and eighteenth century Māwarā al-nahrid sources, was the term used to designate the sovereign line. In almost all cases, Uzbek, Uzbekan, or Uzbekiyah are used to refer to non-Chingizids, members of those Turko-Mongol tribal groupings who served military and administrative functions but were not agnatic descendants of Chingiz Khan.²²³ Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī uses the term “Shībānīd *Ulus* (*Ulus-i Shībānī*)” for the Shībānīds.²²⁴ The definition “Uzbek-i *Shībān*” is used by Ḥaidar Dughlāt. He refers to the Uzbeks led by Janibek and Kerey not only as Qazaqs, but also as “Qazaq Uzbeks” (*Uzbek-i Qazāq*), while he calls the Uzbeks headed by the Abū al-Khairid clan “Shībānīd Uzbeks” (*Uzbek-i Shībān*). Like Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Rūzbihān Khunjī refers to the Shībānīds and the Qazaqs as “Shībānīd Uzbeks” (*Uzbekān-i Shībānī*) and “Qazaq Uzbeks” (*Uzbekān-i Qazzāq*), respectively. Babur refers to Shībānīd as Uzbek.²²⁵ Even so, Shībānīd Uzbeks therefore is the correct name of the dynasty, Muḥammad Shībānī, the son of a petty Uzbek ruler of Dasht-i Qipchāq, never considered himself and his followers anything but Uzbeks, a fact which highlights the difference between the historical and modern usage of the term. In his official chronicle, the *Shībānī-nama*, he says:

Chaghatay il²²⁶ mini Uzbek dimasun,
Beyhuda fikr qilib ʻyam yimasun;
Ger min Uzbek ilidin dur min,
Lik tingriga irur bu revshan,
Kim tilar min bari il aʻshafin,
Bilmasam jam ara durd u ʻshafin²²⁷

(Let Chaghatay people do not call me an Uzbek,
Do not be worried about that I am an Uzbek;
I am from the Uzbek Ulus,
But my light comes from God,
I see no difference among all people who want me.)

²²³ Mcchesney R. D., *Waqf in Central Asia. Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480-1889*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1991, pp. 49-50.

²²⁴ Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 173.

²²⁵ Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 170. Also see *The Baburnama*—1996), pp. 29b, 33b, 83.

²²⁶ Shībānīd sources refer to Babur and his successors as “the Chaghatays”. In the period of struggle between the Timurids and the Shībānīds, the entire population of Mawarā al-nahr was named as *the Chaghatay people*, in contrast to the Shībānīds.

²²⁷ Muḥammad Šālih. *Die Scheibaniade: Ein özbekisches Heldengedicht in 76 Gesängen von Prinz Mohammed Salih aus Charezm*. Trans. by Hermann Vambery. Budapest: K. K. Hof-und Staatsdruckerei in Wien, 1885, p. 148. Cited throughout as Muḥammad Šālih, *Shībānī-nama*.

In fact, he was not an ‘Uzbek’ in the usage of the time; he was a Chingizid or Timurid. The inaccurate application of the term Uzbek to the Shībānīds of Central Asia appears to have arisen from the common usage of the Mā warā al-nahr subject population, who, following the fifteenth century invasions, tended to see all invaders from Dasht-i Qipchāq as ‘Uzbeks’, just as Europeans long persisted in applying the term ‘Tatar’ to all steppe peoples. Furthermore, as the inheritor of the high court culture of Timurid Sultan Husain’s Herat, Shībānī Khan had pretensions of being a highly cultivated man himself. He suggested that he had already risen above his nomadic counterparts. Shībānī Khan sought to strengthen his own connections to the Timurid legitimacy, by marrying Babur’s maternal aunt, two daughters of maternal step uncles, and Babur’s own sister, Khanzada Begim, and arranged to have other members of his own family enter into similar marriages. The main distinguishing features of the Chaghatay were the settled way of life and the absence of general divisions.

Shībānī Khan’s biographer, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1455-1535), in his *Shībānī-namah*, provides very vivid and remarkable passages on the famous struggle between Shībānī Khan and Babur for Samarqand.²²⁸ Shībānī Khan says: “Bū Samarqand hūd öz tāhtīm dūr, Bilgil andin ki netek bahtimdur” (Samarqand hier ist meine Residenz geworden, Daraus magst Du meinen Glückstern kennen lernen/ Samarqand here has become my residence, this is how you will meet my luck).²²⁹

After the death of Shībānī Khan in the battle with Shah Ismail in 1510, there were formed two Uzbek khanates – one in Mā warā al-nahr, with its capital in Samarqand, and the other in Khorezm.

The Ming Chinese sources refer to the Shībānīd dynasty as Sama’erhan (撒馬兒罕, Samarqand) or Sama’erhan dimian (撒馬兒罕地面, the Samarqand realm), for the city of Samarqand was its capital in the reviewed period, another name for the Shībānīd dynasty. The designation Samarqand, as a generic term for the Timūrid-governed Māwarā al-nahr, continued to be used in Shībānīd-governed Māwarā al-nahr in the Ming sources.

In order to clarify this ambiguity, Ming Chinese historians refer to the khans of the Shībānīd dynasty as the Sama’erhan fanwang (Barbarian king of Samarqand).

3.2 The relationships between the Ming dynasty and the Shībānīds

As mentioned above, the term ‘Uzbek’ is the common name for Qazaq Uzbeks and Shaybani Uzbeks in the second half of the fifteenth century. After the death of Abū’l-Khayr Khan, two grandsons of Abū’l-Khayr Khan – Muhammad Shaybani and Mahmud Sultan – went to Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan), which was

²²⁸ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. 1885, p. 148.

²²⁹ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shībānī-nama*, 1885 p. 148; Muhammad Solih, *Shaiboninoma*, Toshkent, 1989, p. 111.

under control of their foster father. The two brothers and their followers then went to the wilayat of Turkistan (in modern Kazakhstan), which was under the Timurids, but had to flee again to Bukhara since Qazaq Kerey Khan came with a large army to drive them out of the region.

According to the *MSL*, on the day of *xinsi* 辛巳 in the fifth Chinese lunar month in the first year of the reign of Hongzhi (June 27, 1488), the Ming court conferred a Pipa, a silver pot and a gold bowl to the West realm King of Suolutan Mahamu Amin Wozibo; conferred variegated silks, porcelain and clothes to the West King of Aheima Qu'ergan and the King of Riluguo Yisikanda'er Lumi-Tieliya.²³⁰

The term 'Wozibo', 斡子伯, perhaps refers to Uzbek, while Suolutan Mahamu Amin is Sultan Mahmud Amin/Imin, the brother of Shībānī Khan; alternatively, Mahmud Sultan, the son of Janibek of (Qazaq). The title of qu'ergan (i.e. kuragan) belongs to Timurid rulers, such as Aheima Qu'ergan Akhmed Kuragan, i.e. Sultan Akhmed, the son of Abū Sa'īd.

As we see from the above passage, the first ruler of Shībānīds was recorded in the *MSL* as *Shayibie*. The "Wuzong shilu" (Veritable records of the Wuzong (Emperor) of the Ming) transliterated the name of Muhammad Shākhī Bīk/Shaybak (or Shībānī), the first ruler of the Shībānīd Khanate, as *Shayibie* 沙亦儿.²³¹ The *MSL* refers to Shībānī as "fanwang Shayibie 番王沙亦儿," the "barbarian king Shākhī Bīk" of Sama'erhan 撒馬兒罕 (Samarqand):

On the day of *guimao* 癸卯 in the eleventh Chinese lunar month in the third year of the reign of Zhengde (December 1, 1508):²³² Envoy Maheima Huozhe 馬黑麻火者 (Muhammad Khwāja?) and others who had been sent by Shayibie (Shākhī Bīk), the barbarian king of Sama'erhan (Samarqand), presented camels and horses, offered tribute of local products. Variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

High-ranking Sufis bear the title Khwāja before their given names. More than one of the Timurid, Shībānīd and Moghūlistan khans was honored with the title of Khwāja. According to Howorth, it is probable that one of the Tartar chiefs married a wife who belonged to the Khwāja family, and thus engrafted his stock on the famous tree which bore Muhammad himself.²³³ Now the first one who bore the name in the Shībānīd Khanate, so far as I know, was Suyūnch

²³⁰ Xiaozong shilu, j. 14, p. 344. Chinese text: 賜迤西地面鎖魯檀馬哈木阿民斡子伯王琵琶銀壺金盃各一事, 迤西阿黑麻曲兒干王, 迤西日落國亦思刊荅兒魯密帖裏牙王紵絲磁器夏布等物從其請也

²³¹ It should be noted that the house of Shībānīds was descended from Shayban; a grandson of Genghis Khan, see; Aboul-Ghāzi Bēhādour Khān, 192. Note that Muhammad Shaybani was also known as "Shaybaq" or "Shahi Begi". Muhammed Shaybaq's native Turkish name was Shabaq, Shebaq, or Shah Baht, from which Shaybaq derived, followed by Shaybānī, a pseudo-authentication of a common Turkish name into the more prestigious Arabic tribal name of Shayban. Cf. Ibragimov 1969, 98; Bregel, Yuri, an Historical Atlas of Central Asia (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 50.

²³² Wuzong shilu, j. 44: p. 1012. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕番王沙亦儿王等各遣使馬黑麻火者等貢馬駝及方物;賜綵段等物有差.

²³³ Henry Hoyle, History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century, Part 2: The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia (New York, 2008), p. 198.

Khawāja, and I believe him to be the same person as the Suyūnch Khawāja Khan (1454-1524), the son of Abī-l-Khāyr-khan.

Shākhī Bīk (or Shībānī) Khan became well aware of the fact that popular sheykhhs who led Sufi orders played important economic, cultural, political and social roles. Samarqand and Bukhara were the centers of the three Sufi movements: the Juybari in Bukhara and the Dahpidi and the Aḥrari in Samarqand. Shākhī Bīk Khan and the Shībānīd sultans of the sixteenth century were very closely allied with all three orders through marriage and discipleship.

The state doctrine of Shākhī Bīk Khan was formed as a synthesis of different traditions in Central Asia. It embodied the continuity, needs and expectations of traditional consciousness of nationals. The recognition of the divine nature of power and Sufism gradually becoming the dominant of the Muslim society's religious life harmonized with the Mongolian traditions. The high importance of the Sayyids in a state concept strengthened the state system, as well as his prestige in the Muslim world.

Termez was a specific city of the Chagatay Ulus, representing a particular type of the urban unit. The Sayyid organization in Termez city was an urban body corporate and a unique form of self-government. The Sayyids accounted for a significant proportion of the Termez urban population. The Termez Sayyid naqibs, as a rule, exercised plenitude of power in the city; this was not common for the other Sayyid cities. The Sayyid control mechanism had been developing for centuries and was the result of a long process.

The representatives of authority often took Prophet's female descendants as wives, trying to preserve family-dynastic ties with them. The rulers of Mā warā al-nahr – Temurids Sultan Abū Sa'īd (1424-1469), Sultan Ahmad (1451-1494), Sultan Mahmud (1453-1495) were married to the women from the Termez *Sayyid* family. The marriage tradition was supported by Babur and his descendants, Muhammad Temur Sultan, the eldest son of Shībānī Khan, and 'Abd al-Rashid Khan, the ruler of distant Kashgar²³⁴.

Maheima Huozhe perhaps is Muḥammad Khawāja (also known as Muḥammad Ibn Khawāja Bahā' al-Dīn), one of the disciples of Khawāja Aḥrar (1404-1490) and the author of *Majmū'a-yi murāsālāt*.²³⁵ This, however, requires further investigation.

Another record containing the name Samarqand appears on the day of *bingzi* in the eleventh month in the fourth year of the reign of Zhengde (December 29, 1509), in the *Ming wuzong shilu*.²³⁶

²³⁴ *Baburnama*, 1996, p. 12; Churās, 1910, pp. 269, 160.

²³⁵ Cross, J. A., Urunbaev, A., *The Letters of Khawāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrar and His Associates*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill, 2002), p. 90.

²³⁶ *Wuzong shilu*, j.57, p. 1273.

(The envoys) and others who had been sent by Sultan Mansur, the chieftain of Turfan and barbarian king of Samarqand, presented camels and horses as tribute. Paper money, variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.²³⁷

All the following contacts between Ming China and the Shībānid dynasty consisted of tribute missions and dispatches of envoys:

On the day of *gengyin* 庚寅 in the second month in the fifth year of the reign of Zhengde (March 13, 1510):²³⁸ Envoy Manla Wendusi (滿刺溫都思, Molla Yultuz or Quddus?) and others who had been sent by Shayibie (Shākhī Btk), the barbarian King and chieftain of Sama'erhan (Samarqand), envoy Manla Fatula (滿刺法禿刺, Molla Fathulla) and others who had been sent by Sultān Mansur, the barbarian king and chieftain of Turfan, envoy Huozhe Hasan (Khwāja Hasan) and others who had been sent by Sutan Maheimu (Sultān Maḥmūd Khan), the barbarian king and chieftain of Yedegan, all came to Court to offer tribute. A banquet as well as award, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.²³⁹

Sutan Maheimu is evidently Sultān Maḥmūd Khan alias Khanika Khan (1462-1509), the eldest son of Yunus Khan of Moghūlistan. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, and Mullā Musā Sayrāmī's *Tārīkh-i Hamīdī*, a well-known yet late Turkic chronicle, Sultān Maḥmūd Khan ruled the cities Tashkent and Yetikent.²⁴⁰ According to the MSL, on the day of yihai 乙亥 in the first month in the sixth year of the reign of Zhengde (February 21, 1511):

Envoy Huosada (火撒答) and others who had been sent by Sutan Maheimu (Sultān Maḥmūd), the barbarian king and chieftain of Tashkent and Qumul, came to Court and offered tribute of camels, horses, and jade as tribute. Variegated silks and clothing, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.²⁴¹

Another tributary mission arrived at the Ming court on the day of bingzi in the eleventh month in the fifth year of the reign of Zhengde (December 24, 1510):²⁴²

²³⁷ Wuzong shilu 57. Chinese text: 土魯番并撒馬兒罕番王頭目速壇滿速兒等來貢馬駝賜鈔錠綵段等物有差.

²³⁸ Wuzong shilu, j.60, p. 1322.

²³⁹ Manla is Mavlana, a form of mawla/mulla, a title of respect accorded to the learned.

Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕等番王頭目沙亦亂王遣使臣滿刺溫都思等土魯番番王頭目速壇滿速兒遣使臣 滿刺法禿刺等也的干番王頭目速壇馬黑木王遣使臣火者哈三等各來朝貢賜宴給賞有差.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 130; The Baburnama, 1996, 11b; Molla Musa Sayrami, *Tarikh-i Hamidi*, Beijing: Millatlar Nashriyati, 2010, p. 110. In fact, Sayrāmī wrote two chronicles: the *Tārīkh-i Amniyya* (ed. by N.N. Pantusov, *Tarikh-i emenie. Istorija Vladetej Kashgarii*, Kazan: Tipografija Imperatorskago Universiteta (History of the Rulers of Kashgar, Kazan: Imperial University Printing House), 1905) and the *Tārīkh-i Hamidi* (Uighur translation by Änvär Baytur, *Tarikh-i hamidi*, Beijing: Millatlar Nashriyati, 1986).

²⁴¹ Ming Wuzong shilu, j. 71, p. 1571. Chinese text: 他失干等并哈密番王頭目速壇馬黑木等遣使臣火撒答等來朝貢馬駝玉石賜宴并賞綵段 絹疋有差.

²⁴² Wuzong shilu, j.69, p. 1539. Chinese text: 土魯番并撒馬兒罕等番王頭目速壇滿速兒等差人貢駝馬方物各賜綵段衣物有差.

(the envoys) and others who had been sent by Sultan Mansur, the chieftain of Turfan and barbarian king of Samarqand, presented camels and horses, local products as tribute. Variegated silks and clothing, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

There is, in the *MSL*, an entry on the day of *guimao* in the twelfth month in the fifth year of the reign of Zhengde (January 20, 1511) which reads:²⁴³ Envoy Halaya and others who had been sent by Sultan Mansur, the chieftain of Turfan and barbarian king of Samarqand, came to Court and offered tribute of camels, horses, and local products. A banquet as well as variegated silks and clothing, thin silks, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

In 1514, the Shībānid dynasty sent an embassy to China, bringing camels, horses and local products. The *MSL* reports that the envoys were sent by Shayibie, not knowing that Shaybani had already died four years ago.

On the day of 庚辰 in the seventh month in the ninth year of the reign of Zhengde (August 9, 1514):²⁴⁴

The envoys who had sent by Shayibie, the chieftain and king of the Samaerhan (Samarqand), came to Court and offered tribute of camels, horses and local products as tribute. A banquet as well as rewards of variegated silks, thin silks, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

Perhaps at that time the Ming court was not well-informed about the political situation in the Shībānid dynasty. In 1515, the *MSL* reports that Sultan Babur, the king of Samarqand, sent an envoy to the Ming court.

On the day of Guiwei癸未 in the fifth month in the tenth year of the reign of Zhengde (February 8, 1515):²⁴⁵

“The envoy of Huozhe Haxin (火者哈辛) and others who had been sent by Hami (Qamul) and Samarqand realm came and offered tribute. A banquet as well as rewards, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.”

Day Jiachen甲辰 in the second month in the tenth year of the reign of Zhengde (March 1, 1515):²⁴⁶

Baiyaji (Bayazid),²⁴⁷ the zhongshunwang (Loyalty and Obedience King) of Hami had sent an envoy to escort the Huozhe Haxin and others who had been sent by Sultan Babu'er,²⁴⁸ the barbarian king and chieftain of Sama'erhan,

²⁴³ Wuzong shilu, j.70, p. 1555. Chinese text: 癸卯土魯番并撒馬兒罕地面番王頭目速壇滿速兒遣哈刺牙的等來朝貢馬駝及方物賜宴并賞綵段衣服絹帛有差.

²⁴⁴ Wuzong shilu, j.114, p. 2316. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕等地面頭目沙亦朮王等來朝貢駝馬方物賜宴并賞綵段絹布有差

²⁴⁵ Wuzong shilu, j. 120, p. 2425. Chinese text: 哈密并撒馬兒罕等地面使臣火者哈辛等來貢賜宴給賞有差.

²⁴⁶ Wuzong shilu, j. 121, p. 2437. Chinese text: 哈密忠順王速壇拜呀即差使臣伴送撒馬兒罕等番王頭目速壇把卜兒等所遣火者哈新等來朝貢馬方物賜宴賞綵段衣物有差.

²⁴⁷ According to the *MSL*, Baiyaji is the son of Shamba, see *MSL*, Shizong shilu, j.8: p. 16.

²⁴⁸ Bābur b. ‘Umar Shaykh. By the end of 1511, most of the territories that had been conquered by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan fell to Shāh Ismā‘īl Safavī, Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, the future founder of the Timurid Mughal dynasty, and the Moghuls.

came to the Court and offered tribute of horses and local products. A banquet as well as rewards of variegated silks, clothing, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.

These blunders throw light upon the fact that the Ming court was not always well-informed about certain political events of Transoxiana.

Kūchūm Sultan, the third khan of the Shybanid dynasty, occurs in the *MSL* as Kechong sudan 可重速壇:

“Day Jiashen 甲申 in the tenth month in the fourteenth year of the reign of Zhengde (November 15, 1519):²⁴⁹ the envoy Bahaoding (Bahāuddin)²⁵⁰ and others who had been sent by Kechong sudan 可重速壇 (Kūchūm Sultan),²⁵¹ the barbarian king of the Sama'erhan realm, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. Rewards of variegated silks, thin silks and others, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.”

It should be noted that it was Juybari sheikhs that played crucial role in the political and economic life of the Bukhara Khanate of the reviewed period and greatly contributed to the development of economic relations between Bukhara and Yarkend. One of the offsprings of Juybar sheikhs – Abul Baka ibn Hodja Baha ad-Din, the author of “Jame al-makamat” written in the second half of the XVI century, informed that he was a big employer and regularly arranged trade caravans to Kashgar and India.²⁵²

Another historical source “Manakib-i Saadiya” by Huseyn al-Sarakhsi reports that merchants from Bukhara frequently visited Turfan during the reign of Shahkhan (1544-1570). The work refers to certain merchant Mavlana Abd al-Vahid who arrived in Turfan from Bukhara with valuable gifts.²⁵³

There is an entry on the day of Yichou 乙丑 of the seventh month in the sixteenth year of Zhengde (August 17, 1521) which reads:²⁵⁴ envoy Shihei

²⁴⁹ Wuzong shilu, j.179, p. 3492. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕地面番王可重速壇等遣使臣把好了等貢馬及方物賜綵段絹匹等物有差.

²⁵⁰ Bahaoding perhaps is Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn (also known as Muḥammad Ibn Khwāja Bahā' al-Dīn), one of the disciples of Khwāja Aḥrār (1404-1490).

²⁵¹ Also called as Kūchūnchī or Kōchūm, See *Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḥārā*, 1974, p. 345. The *Baburnama*, 1996, p. 347. In 1510, when Shaybani-khan was killed at Merv in the battle with Iranian shah Ishmael, his headless body was transported to Samarqand and buried in dahma – the mound, faced by marble and installed in the center of the Shaybani-khan madrasah. Later, this dahma became a dynastical burial place. Another dynastic necropolis of the Shībānid elite – Childuhteran (“Forty maidens”) was placed on the territory of the Abu-Sa'id-khan madrasah. In the 1930s, after archeological excavations, the remains of Childuhteran were dismantled. There was a carved gravestone of Kūūckūnhī-han (1510-1530), the successor of Shaybani-khan (the nephew of Shaybani-khan, and the son of Ulugbeg's daughter Rabiya Sultan-begim) as well as tombs of Kūūckūnhī-han's sons, Abu-Sa'id-khan (1530-1533) and Abdullah – Bahadur-khan (died in 1540). Babajanov, B., Muminov, A., Paul, J., *Schaibanidische Grabinschriften* (Wesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 67–71.

²⁵² Sultonova Gulchekhra, *The Dynamics of Inter relations Bukhara and Yarkand Khanates: Inter and External Factors. Central Eurasian Studies: Past, Present and Future*. Maltepe University, 2011, pp. 351-356: 353.

²⁵³ Sultonova Gulchekhra, p. 352.

²⁵⁴ Shizong shilu, j.4: p. 184. Chinese text: 土魯番使失黑把息兒等,撒馬兒罕使把好了等,烏思藏大乘法王差番僧失勞陸竹等,弘化寺番僧著巴藏卜等,海西塔山前衛女直督速黑忒等,兀思哈里衛女直都督僉事忽荅木等,俱入貢物,詔賜文綺靴襪有差.

Baxi'er (Sheikh Bashir) and others who had been sent by Tulufan (Turfan), envoy Bahaoding (Bahāuddin) and others who had been sent by Sama'erhan... all came to the court and offered tribute of local products. Patterned fine silk, boots and socks, as appropriate, were conferred.

On the day of Dingwei 丁未 of the eighth month in the second year of Jiajing/ September 18, 1523:²⁵⁵

“Envoy Tulusun (Tursūn) and other barbarians who had been sent by Sama'erhan come to the court and celebrated (Jiajing Emperor's birthday). They were banqueted and rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Guiyou 癸酉 of the ninth month in the second year of Jiajing/ October 14, 1523:²⁵⁶

“Envoy Tulusun (Tursūn) and others who had been sent by Zaina, the barbarian king and chieftain of Sama'erhan, Turfan and Mecca, came to the court and offered tribute of horses, camels and local products. A banquet as well as rewards of variegated silks, thin silks, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.”

On the day of Wuyin 戊寅 of the eleventh month in the second year of Jiajing/ December 18, 1523:²⁵⁷

“(1523) Manla Nieshen (Mulla Najim?) and others who had been sent by Kechun,²⁵⁸ the barbarian king and chieftain of Sama'erhan, Turfan and Hami prefecture, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. Variegated silks, suits of clothing made from silks interwoven with gold thread, thin silks, paper money, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.”

On the day of Gengwu 庚午 of the sixth month in the eighth year of Jiajing/ July 11, 1529:²⁵⁹

“Envoy Huozhi Hazhi and others who had been sent by Sulaiman (Suleiman) and others,²⁶⁰ the king of Mecca and Sama'erhan, offered tribute of horses and

²⁵⁵ Shizong shilu, j. 30, p. 802. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕使臣土魯孫等番人等各來賀宴賜如例。

²⁵⁶ Shizong shilu, j. 31, p. 814. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕并土魯番天方等國番王頭目宰納等, 各備馬駝方物差使臣土魯孫等, 來貢賜宴并綵段絹布。

²⁵⁷ Shizong shilu, j. 33, p. 850. Chinese text: 戊寅, 撒馬兒罕并土魯番, 哈密衛番王頭目可春等, 遣滿刺捩慎等來貢馬及方物, 賜彩段金織衣絹紗有差。

²⁵⁸ Another name for Kūchūkūnjī (Kūchūnjī, Kūchūm), who was a ruler of the Shībānīd dynasty.

²⁵⁹ Shizong shilu, j. 102, p. 2402. Chinese text: 天方國, 撒馬兒罕等處速來蠻王等, 各差使臣火者哈只等, 貢馬匹方物賜宴如例。

²⁶⁰ Perhaps Suleiman I (1494-1566, r. 1520-1566), Selim I's son, who was called the *kanuni* (lawgiver) by his Muslim subjects because of a new codification of *shariat* undertaken during his reign., Christians called him Suleiman the Magnificent. He was the Caliph of Islam and the tenth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Suleyman inherited this Islamic empire in the year 1520, at the age of 26. His first order of business as sultan of the Ottoman Empire and caliph of the Muslim world was the removal of several threats that still plagued the Ottoman realm. The long reign of Suleiman I was the Ottoman “golden age”. When he died while on a campaign in Hungary in 1566, the Ottoman Empire was a major world power. In addition, the native rulers of Shībānīd, Moghūlistan (including Turfan), Qumul were vassals of the sultan.

local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”²⁶¹

On the day of Jichou 己丑 of the second month in the eleventh year of Jiajing (March 16, 1532):²⁶²

“The envoys (from the territories outside China), totaling more than four hundred, have offered tribute and shown gratitude (to the Ming court). They were respectively sent by Sutan Mansu’er 速壇滿速爾 (Sulṭān Mansur) of Tulufan 吐魯番 (Turfan), Sutan Zhalading 速壇札刺丁 (Sulṭān Jalal ad-Din) of Tianfang 天方 (Arabia or Mecca), et al.; Sutan Abuxieyi 速壇阿卜寫亦 (Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd) of Sama’erhan 撒馬爾罕 (Samarqand) et al.;²⁶³ Hami Wei xizhi dudu (哈密衛襲職都督) (hereditary tutuq of the Qumul garrison) Mi’er Maheimu 米兒馬黑木 (Mir Maḥmūd?) et al.; and Ejibie-Haxin (Özbek-Qasym), et al.).”

On the day of Renchen 壬辰 of the seventh month in the twenty seventh year of Jiajing (August 22, 1548):²⁶⁴

“The envoys who had been sent by Sutan Mushafa’er (Sultan Muẓaffar), the king of the five realms: Turfan, Samarqand, Mecca, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”²⁶⁵

On the day of Jiashen 甲申 of the fourth month in the thirty third year of Jiajing (May 15, 1554):²⁶⁶

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muẓaffar, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm, came to the court and offered tribute of local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Dingchou 丁丑 of the third month in the thirty eight year of Jiajing (April 12, 1559):²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ The place name or country name of *Tianfang* in Chinese was rather loosely and confusingly used. Yet in actual fact, it was virtually used in referring to the whole of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the great cities of Islam—Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, Tunis, Baghdad and even as far as the west coast of the Persian Gulf—we under the sultan’s crescent flag. With the territorial acquisition came the title of caliph, khalifa, of the Muslim world. Clearly, *Ming shi* was acutely aware of this fact, which is why in its profiling of *Tianfang*, it says, “*Tianfang* is a big power in *Xiyu*, (Arabia)”.

²⁶² *MSL*, “Shizong shilu”, j. 135, p. 3191. Chinese text: 己丑, 土魯番速壇滿速兒等, 天方國速壇札刺丁等, 撒馬兒罕速壇阿卜寫亦等, 哈密衛襲職都督米兒馬黑木等, 及額即亂哈辛等各遣夷使入貢謝恩, 共四百人以。

²⁶³ Abū Sa’īd-Khān Muẓaffār al-Dīn (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of the Shībānīd dynasty.

²⁶⁴ *Shizong shilu*, j. 338, p. 6175. Chinese text: 壬辰, 土魯番, 撒馬兒罕, 天方國, 魯迷, 哈密五地面速壇母沙法兒王等, 遣人來朝貢馬及方物。宴賚如例。

²⁶⁵ Sutan Mushafa’er is perhaps a references to the man sultan Suleiman. In his tughra (Imperial Cipher, Ottoman Turkish: تۇغرا) tuḡrā, is a calligraphic monogram, seal or signature of an Ottoman sultan that was affixed to all official documents and correspondence), Sultan Suleiman is described as ‘Süleymān-şāh b. Selīm-şāh Hān el-muẓaffar dā’imā’ (Shah Suleiman, son of Selim Shah Khan, who always Victorious). Alternatively, this could be a references to Abū Sa’īd-Khān Muẓaffār al-Dīn (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of the Shībānīd dynasty.

²⁶⁶ *Shizong shilu*, j. 409, p. 7136. Chinese text: 甲申, 土魯番, 天方國, 撒馬兒罕, 魯迷四地面番王速壇沙母沙法兒等, 各遣人來朝貢物。宴賚如例。

²⁶⁷ *Shizong shilu*, j. 470, p. 7896. Chinese text: 土魯番, 天方國, 撒馬兒罕, 魯迷, 哈密等番王速壇沙母咱法兒等, 各遣夷使來貢馬駝方物, 宴賚如例。

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muẓaffar, the barbarian king of Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses, camels and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the fourth month in the fourth year of Wanli (May 4, 1576):²⁶⁸

“The envoy of Huozhe Haxin and others who had been sent by Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu'er (Sultān Muhammed Alp Bahadur), the barbarian king and chieftain of the five realms: Turfan, Mecca, Sama'erhan, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu'er or Sultān Muhammad Alp Bahadur was son of Mansūr Khan, the ruler of Turfan. According to the Tārīh-i Rasīdī, Mansūr Khan had two sons: Shāh Khan and Sultān Muhammad.²⁶⁹ After the death of Mansūr Khan, Sultān Muhammad took Qamul and declared his independence with the aid of Oyrats. When Shah Khan died in 1570, Sultān Muhammad was khan at Turfan.

According to the MSL, on the day Xinsi in the fourth month in the third year of the reign of Wanli (May 22, 1575) Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu'er became the new king of Turfan.²⁷⁰

On the day of Gengzi 庚子 of the tenth month in the ninth year of Wanli (November 5, 1581):²⁷¹

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by the five realms: Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Qamul, come to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Guisi 癸巳 of the seventh month in the forty sixth year of Wanli/August 26, 1618:²⁷²

“Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Hami were rewarded as appropriate.”

²⁶⁸ Shenzong shilu, j. 49, p. 1121. Chinese text: 土魯番王速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒差夷使火者馬黑木等, 貢馬匹方物, 如例賞給賜。番王表裏時土魯番, 天方國, 撒馬兒罕, 魯迷。哈密伍地面番王頭目速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒等, 差夷使火者哈辛等馬匹方物, 亦賞賚如例。

²⁶⁹ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 129.

²⁷⁰ Shenzong shilu, j. 37, p. 866. Chinese text: 土魯番酋速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒新立為王。

²⁷¹ Shenzong shilu, j. 107, p. 2201. Chinese text: 天方國, 撒馬兒罕, 魯迷, 哈密等伍地面頭目各差人貢馬匹方物賞賚如例。

²⁷² Shenzong shilu, j. 572, p. 10794. Chinese text: 給散土魯番, 天方國, 撒馬光, 魯迷, 哈密等賞賜有差。

Table 6. Envoys to the Ming court from the Shībānid dynasty as recorded in the MSL

Year (reign year)	Name of Khanate	Name of Khan or Envoy	Sources
June 27, 1488 (Hongzhi 1)	Wozibo	King of Suolutan Mahamu Amin	Xiaozong shilu, j. 14, p. 344
December 1, 1508 (Zhengde 3)	Sama'erhan 撒馬兒罕 (Samarqand)	Shayibie (Shākhī Bīk), Maheima Huozhe馬黑麻火者 (Muhammad Khwāja?)	<i>Wuzong shilu</i> , j. 44, p. 1012
December 29, 1509 (Zhengde 4)	Samarqand	Barbarian king of Samarqand	Wuzong shilu, j. 57, p. 1273
March 13, 1510 (Zhengde 5)	Samarqand	Shayibie (Shākhī Bīk) Manla Wendusi (滿刺溫都思, Molla Yultuz?)	Wuzong shilu, j. 60, p. 1322
December 24, 1510 (Zhengde 5)	Samarqand		Wuzong shilu, j. 69, p. 1539
January 20, 1511 (Zhengde 5)	Samarqand	Halaya	Wuzong shilu, j. 70, p. 1555
August 9, 1514 (Zhengde 9)	Samarqand	Shayibie	Wuzong shilu, j. 114, p. 2316
February 8, (Zhengde 10)	Samarqand	Huozhe Haxin (火者哈辛, Khwāja Qasym)	Wuzong shilu, j. 120, p. 2425
March 1, 1515 (Zhengde 10)	Samarqand	Sultan Babu'er Huozhe Haxin (火者哈辛 Khwāja Qasym)	Wuzong shilu, j. 121, p. 2437
November 15, 1519 (Zhengde 14)	Samarqand	Kechong sudan 可重速壇 (Kūchūm Sultan)	Wuzong shilu, j. 179, p. 3492
August 17, 1521 (Zhengde 16)	Samarqand	Bahaoding (Bahāuddin)	Shizong shilu, j. 4, p. 184
September 18, 1523 (Jiajing 2)	Samarqand	Tulusun (Tursūn)	Shizong shilu, j. 30, p. 802
October 14, 1523 (Jiajing 2)	Samarqand	Tulusun (Tursūn)	Shizong shilu, j. 31, p. 814
December 18, 1523 (Jiajing 2)	Samarqand	Manla Nieshen (Molla Najim?), Kechun	Shizong shilu, j. 33, p. 850
July 11, 1529 (Jiajing 8)	Samarqand	Sulaiman (Suleiman) and others, the king of Mecca and Sama'erhan	Shizong shilu, j. 102, p. 2402
March 16, 1532 (Jiajing 11)	Samarqand	Sutan Abuxieyi 速壇阿卜窩亦 (Sultān Abū Sa'īd)	Shizong shilu, j. 135, p. 3191
August 22, 1548 (Jiajing 27)	Samarqand	by Sutan Mushafa'er (Sultan Muza'ffer), the king of the five realms: Turfan, Samarqand, Mecca, Rūm and Hami	Shizong shilu, j. 338, p. 6175
May 15, 1554 (Jiajing 30)	Samarqand	Sultan Muza'ffer, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm	Shizong shilu, j. 409, p. 7136
April 12, 1559 (Jiajing 38)	Samarqand	Sultan Muza'ffer, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm	Shizong shilu, j. 470, p. 7896

May 4, 1576 (Wanli 4)	Samarqand	Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu'er (Sultān Muhammed Alp Bahadur), the barbarian king and chieftain of the five realms: Turfan, Mecca, Sama'erhan, Rūm and Hami Huozhe Haxin	Shenzong shilu, j. 49, p. 1121
November 5, 1581 (Wanli 9)	Samarqand		Shenzong shilu, j. 37, p. 866
sixth year of Wanli/ August 26, 1618 (Wanli 16)	Samarqand		Shenzong shilu, j. 572, p. 10794

Source: Ming shilu.

3.3 The cities of Māwarā al-nahr and Ferghana on the Ming Chinese Maps

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Muḥammad Shībānī led his fellow Shībānids and their non-Chingīzid tribal supporters' invasion into Tīmūrid-governed Māwarā al-nahr (Mavarannahr) and conquered Samarqand from Babur in 1500. In 1504, Ferghana and Khusraw Shāh's (1497-1505) domains were conquered. In 1505, he recaptured Samarqand and conquered Balkh and Herat from the sons of Huseyn Bayqara (in 1505 and 1507, respectively), thus putting an end to the rule of the Timurids and taking possession of the regions of Māwarā al-nahr and Khorasan. Muḥammad Shībānī then attempted to expand the Shībānid rule westwards into Khurāsān. His efforts culminated in a disaster, however, when in 1510 he was killed at Merv in a showdown with Safavid ruler Shah Isma'īl. According to the author of the *Shībānī-nāmah*, Binā'ī (1453-1512), and the author of the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*. Fazlullāh b. Rūzbihān (Isfahānī) Khunjī, Shībānī Khan gave Turkestan to Kūchkhūnchī (i.e. Kūchūm Sultan, 1510–30), Tashkent to Suyūnch Khan (Suyūnch Khwaja Khan), Andijan to Jānī Btk, Shahrukhiya to Amir Ya'qub and Ḥiṣār to the Bakhtyarid sultans, Mahdī and Ḥamzah.²⁷³ Thus, the realm of Shībānids now included Mā warā al-nahr (present day Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and parts of Kyrgyzstan) and the Khwarazm.

Shībānī's nephew 'Ubaydullāh Sultān (1512-39) proclaimed Bukhara as his seat, but Samarqand remained the center of Sino-Shībānids trade relations, which is evident from the large number of embassies setting out from there to Beijing. The two main city-states of Samarqand and Bukhara each had its own ruler with the title of khan.

Samarqand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Andijan, Kashgar, Ardawil, Chalish, Turfan and Qumul as large trade centers played an important role in trade relations between Central Asia and Ming China. In describing caravan routes between

²⁷³ Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī Binā'ī, *Shībānī-nāmah* (ca. 1510), ed. Kazuyuki KUBO. In: Eiji MANO (ed.), *A Synthetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1997), pp. 14–15. *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, 1974, pp. 53-55. The Bakhtiyārid sultans Mahdī and Ḥamzah had been in Mā warā al-nahr before Shībānī Khan arrived, and they served the Timurids, especially Babur, for a certain time. Both are mentioned many times on the pages of Babur's memoirs. Later, they joined Shībānī Khan.

Bukhara and Turfan, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, wrote that it took three days to get from Tashkent to Andijan; 20 days from Andijan to Kashgar; 15 days from Kashgar to Aqsu; 20 days from Aqsu to Chalish; and 10 days from Chalish to Turfan.²⁷⁴

The atlas of *Renwu tu* and *Menggu ditu* shows overland routes that stretch from Jiayuguan to Qumul, Badakhshan, Persia, and the Lumi or Rong dimian. Many envoys from the Ming court and Western regions, as well as merchants and travelers from other Muslim countries and Europe, travelled along this land route. This map confirms the active interest that Ming geographers paid to overland trade and its land routes, and the accuracy of their documents about the land routes leading to the Ottoman Empire. The mention of such places as Qumul, Turfan, Chalish, Yarkand, Astyn Artush leaves no doubt that it follows the great Silk Road through eastern Turkestan along the southern slope of the mountains of Tianshan. Moving west, beyond the Ulugh rabat and Suza daban (Juza daban, now called Ikizak daban), the road split into two directions: the northern branch, which started at Langar Gulcha Bibi (now called Gulcha), a border city of Ferghana, and led to Khojend, Samarqand and Bukhara; the southern branch crossed the high mountains, passed through the Wakhan Corridor, over the Hindu Kush mountains, and into Badakhshan, where it re-joined the northern route at Herat. From there, the routes travelled through Iran, Mesopotamia and Arabia to the Mediterranean. Although it is very similar to the *Renwu tu*, but the *Menggu ditu* does not entirely imitate them.

The *Menggu ditu* shows two branches of the caravan route west of Suza daban: the southern branch (on the top) and northern branch (on the bottom). The first of these branches formed an alternative to the main southern route from the Alay Valley or the Wakhan Valley to Badakhshan; it is still used today. Caravans from China increasingly chose to head from Irkeshtam and then straight down the Alay valley through Khorog to Termez and Balkh; or trekked via the Akbaital Pass, marching through Khorog to Badakhshan; or east from Gul Khwaja (near the Mingtaka Pass) via the Wakhan Valley, Khandut, trekking through Ishkashim to Badakhshan. The second branch forms the main route to the fertile Ferghana Valley from where caravans could travel to Bukhara.

The *Menggu ditu* map clearly bears realistic descriptions of places, accurate information about place names and locations in Mā warā-al-nahr and surrounding areas, including some places in Central Asia that are displayed for the first time.

On the *Menggu ditu* appears a place called *Hala Sipan* 哈刺思盼, namely Qala-i Zafar. This demonstrates that the map was definitely produced after 1505 because, according to Babur, in 1505 Shaibani Khan's forces invaded Badakhshan but were defeated by a local chief named Mubarak Shah at his

²⁷⁴ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 365-366.

fort; for that reason, he called the fort *Qala-i Zafar* (the fort of victory).²⁷⁵ Kala Zafar (Qala-i-Zafar) is situated in the Teshkan valley, west of the Faizabad. According to Yule, Qala-i Zafar is situated in the vicinity of Muzaffari.²⁷⁶

The *Renwu tu* map calls Bukhara as *Puha cheng* 普哈城, mentioned in the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* as Puhala 普哈刺 (Buhala cheng 卜哈刺城 in *Menggu ditu*). According to the *Renwulüe*, Samahanke live in the city of Bukhara, mentioned as Samahanxiong 撒馬罕兄 in the chapter ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao*. The Samahan xiong, who lived in Bukhara, was the son of Mahmud Sultan (Shaybānī Khan’s brother) and probably a relation of ‘Ubaydullāh Sultān (1512–1539). The name Samahan refers to Samarqand, while the term *xiong* means “brother” in Chinese; Samahan xiong, therefore, indicates Shaybānī Khan’s brother. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, during the time of Shaybānī Khan’s reign, ‘Ubaydullāh Sultān, who was sultan, was going to Bukhara, which was his hereditary seat of government. At this time, the capital of the Shībānīd Khanate lay in Samarqand, under the rule of the two khans – Kūchūm Sultan and Abū Sa‘īd (1530–1533). However, Ubaydullāh, for all intents and purposes, was the sultan of the Shībānīd Khanate, for he ruled the whole of Transoxiana, including Bukhara. As Stanley Lane-Poole (1882, xiv) remarks, although Samarqand was officially the capital, a powerful and sometimes autonomous government generally operated in Bukhara.²⁷⁷

It also systematically describes the administrative districts that existed in Ferghana at the time. Many place or country names of Māwarā al-nahr and Ferghana also appear in the *Menggu ditu* and *Renwutu* maps. Let’s see the Chinese transcriptions of the ancient toponyms and ancient rabats situated in Māwarā al-nahr and Ferghana:

Tashigan cheng 他失干城

Tashigan is today’s Taškent or Tashkent of Uzbekistan. It also the same as *Zhesi guo* 赭時國 (Chach) in *Datang Xiyuji*. In the *MSL* it is called *Dashigan cheng* 達失干城.²⁷⁸

Andegan 俺的干城

Andigan is a city in Ferghana, modern-day Andijon.

²⁷⁵ Bāburnāma, 1922, Vol.1, pp. 242, 321-322; Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 220-221.

²⁷⁶ Yule, H. Papers connected with the Upper Oxus regions. The Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. of London 1872, Vol. 42. (438-481), p. 446. An ancient fort named Kala Zafar (Qala-i-Zafar) is situated in the Teshkan valley, west of the Faizabad, see Adamec, 1972 [1], p. 179.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Coinage of Bukhārā (Transoxiana) in the British Museum from the time of Timur to the present day*, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. 7. London: British Museum, 1882, p. xiv; Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, 206f; Adle and Habib 2003, p. 41. Also see Kenzheakhmet, N., *The Qazaq Khanate as Documented in Ming Dynasty Sources*, *Crossroads*, (8) 2013: p. 150, n 69.

²⁷⁸ Ming Xuanzong shilu, j.35.

Ma'erheina 馬兒黑納

Maryinan is a city in the Ferghana Valley of Uzbekistan, modern-day Margilan.

Woshi cheng 我失城

Woshi is today's Osh of Kyrgyzstan. In the *Menggu ditu*, the name is inscribed *Eshi* 俄失, which the atlas locates northwest of Madu. The mapmakers probably intended these characters to signify *Oš* or *Osh*.²⁷⁹

Lankuo 懶闊

The second character *kuo* represents the Turkic word *köl* (lake); This probably refers to Rangköl, a lake and city name located in Tajikistan. According to Gordon, Rang means ibex .

Madalasa 馬荅刺撒

Madalasa probably refers to Madrasa, a town east of Osh.

Huozhe Ali 火者阿力

The *huozhe* represents the Persian word *khwāja*. In the *Menggu ditu*, the name is inscribed *Huozhe Hu'er* 火者忽兒, which the atlas locates southeast of Madu. Perhaps Khwāja Ghār. There are many places with this name, there is a town Khwāja Ghār (or Khoja Ghar), is a large Uzbek village at the confluence of the Kokcha and Oxus, and immediately opposite the isolated flat -topped hill, called Ai-Khanum Tagh.²⁸⁰ Alternatively, Khwāja Ghar probably refers to Sopy Qorghān or Sopy-Korgon, a city name located in south of Gulcha.

Finally this probably refers to Gul Khwaja, a place located near the Mingtaka Pass.

Langnu Guli 郎努古力

The full name of this place is found in the *Menggu ditu* as *Langjia Gulishe bibi* 郎加古力舌比比, which transliterates *Langar Gülča bibi*. This name consists of three parts: *Langjia* refers to the Persian *langar*, which means 'inn'; *Gulishe* stands for *Gülča*, a woman's name (that means something like 'flower' in Persian); *bibi* means a 'propriess or lady', 'good woman, lady of the house' in Chagatay/Persian.²⁸¹ Pelliot who visited Langar Gülča in 1906, which he mentions under its Persian name, *Langar Gulcha*. According to him, Langar Gulcha (which he spells *Langar à Goulcha* in French) is situated at a 15 *verst* distance from Gulcha²⁸². Nowadays, the city is simply called Gulcha. I am not prepared to say what langar or 'inns' near it meant. I have observed that on modern maps Langar is marked northwest of Gulcha. Following the path taken by Xu Song from Igin (near Irkeshtam) to Osh,

²⁷⁹ See Lin Meicun 2011: pp. 152-153.

²⁸⁰ See Adamec, 1972 [I], p. 109.

²⁸¹ *Čagatay tiliñiñ izahliq lujiiti* 2002: pp. 580, 561, 106.

²⁸² Pelliot, 2008, p. 25.

there is a place called Langar northwest of Gulcha. The itinerary is as follows:

- from *Yiheng* 伊亨 (Igin, east of Irkeshtam) to *Shalite ling* 沙里特嶺 (Shart Dawan), 200 li;
- from Shart Dawan to *Mu-erda* 木爾達 (Murdash, north of Sopu-Korgon) 100 li;
- from Murdash to *Gulixia* 古里峽 (Gulcha) 120 li from Gulcha to *Habulangkuvi* 哈布朗庫依 (Kablan Kul) 100 li;
- from Kablan Kul to *Liangga'er* 亮噶爾 (Langar) 20 li and
- from Kablan Kul to *Eshi* 鄂什 (Osh) 80 li.²⁸³

Madu cheng 馬都城

The city of Madu is Madu of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, known nowadays as Mady, east of Osh.²⁸⁴

Gaoshan 高山

Gaoshan literally means 'High Mountain.' Perhaps this refers to the Pamir mountain range or Pamir-Alay mountain range south of Madu. Under its Turkic name, *Alay*, the mountain is mentioned by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar in the sixteenth century. He says that the province of Farghana lies to the west of Kashgar, this range running in between. (This part of the range) which lies between Kashgar and Farghana is called *Alay*.²⁸⁵

Sha'erheina 沙兒黑納

According to the *Renwu lüe*, *Sha'erheina* is situated north of Madu. Bretschneider proposed that the name was derived from *Sharikhana*, the name for a city north of Quva, and west of Andijan in Ferghana, present-day Sahrihan. However, Sunao Hori identified *Sha'erheina* as *Shahrokhiya*.²⁸⁶ The 'Xiyu zhuguo' of the *Bianzheng kao*, under the rubric of *Madu*, mentioned a river called *Sha'erheiya* 沙兒黑雅. Barthold reported that, during the Timurid period, the part of the Syr Darya that flowed near *Shahrukhiya* was called the river of *Shahrukhiya*.²⁸⁷ *Sa'erheiya* is another way of writing *Sha'erheina*, which appears in the *Ming shi* as *Shaluhaiya* 沙鹿海牙. Chen Cheng called it *Shaluheiyē* 沙鹿黑叶.²⁸⁸ It is situated on a small ridge near Syr Darya to the northwest. It was originally named *Finakat*.

²⁸³ Xiyu shuidao ji, 2005, p. 24. For detailed report of the distances to and from these places, see Kuropatkin, 1882: p. 31.

²⁸⁴ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 249.

²⁸⁵ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 405.

²⁸⁶ Bretschneider 1877: p. 236; Sunao Hori 1978: pp. 46-47.

²⁸⁷ Barthold, III, 1965, p. 492.

²⁸⁸ Xiyu fan'guo zhi 西域番國誌, 2000, p. 44.

Kande Badan 砍的把丹

This is Ferghana's major city. In the *Menggu ditu*, it is written *Kanba'erdan* 坎巴兒丹. On this map, Nasu 納速 is situated southeast of Kand-i-Badam. This is a transliteration of Nasukh, which Babur claimed was situated ten *yighach* from Khojend and three *yighach* from Kand-i-Badam.²⁸⁹

Sali Chilaya 撒力赤刺牙

The *Menggu ditu* calls this *Sali Yilaya* 撒力亦刺牙, in reference to *Sali Chilaya*. The name perhaps refers to Sar Jala, *Chala Bashi* in Turkic, the predecessor of modern-day Kuprukboishi, west of Faizabad (ancient Vēshgird or Vēshagird) in Tajikistan, a place near Pul-i-sangin ('stone-bridge,' on the southern banks of the Surkh-ab River—nowadays the Vakhsh, one of the main rivers of Tajikistan).²⁹⁰

Heixiewai 黑写歪

Histevarz or Khistevarz, a historical town southeast of Khojend, Tajikistan. It is located in the Ghafurov district of the Sughd province.

Hutie cheng 虎帖城

This could perhaps be identified with the modern-day city of Khojend in northern Tajikistan. During Soviet times, the city was renamed Leninabad but has since been reverted to Khojend. Strategically placed, it guarded the entrance to the fertile Ferghana Valley and controlled the main trade route from the east, which had branches here—to the southwest towards Samarqand or to the north towards Tashkent. In addition, the second character of the name is generally rendered by a character *zhan* 站 or *zhan* 占. In the *Menggu ditu*, the name *Khojend* is rendered into Chinese as *Huozhan* 火站.

Alanda 阿懶答

The *Menggu ditu* calls this *Azilanda* 阿子懶答, evidently in reference to Aslātak in the Ferghana Valley. The village's name appears variously as *Shalātak*, *Salātak*, *Salāt*, etc.²⁹¹

Alikandasi 阿力砍打思

Wolakanbasi, 我刺坎巴思 in the *Menggu ditu*, is perhaps in reference to Ghulakandoz, a city of southwest of Khojend. Ghulakandoz is a very ancient

²⁸⁹ *The Baburnama*, 1996, p. 56.

²⁹⁰ Elias and Ross 1895, p. 24.

²⁹¹ On Salāt, in the Farghana valley, see *Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions*, Vol. 1: Opening the Way for Islam: The Ishaq Bab Narrative, 14th-19th Centuries. Ed. by Devin DeWeese and Ashirbek Muminov, Almaty-Bloomington: Daik-Press, 2013: p. 220; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 156.

city. Khurdādhbih and Kodama called it Ghalouk or *Ghalouk Andāz*.²⁹² According to the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao*, northeast of Alikandasi lies a place called Ashu. I propose the identification of Ashu with the city of Akhsi, which is strategically located about 20 kilometers southwest of Namangan. Akhsi, also known as Akhsikent, was built on a hill at the junction of two rivers, namely, the Kasansay and the Syr Darya.

Wuluyuzun 兀魯雨尊

In the *Menggu ditu*, this name is inscribed as *Wuliuyu Zun* 兀六雨尊 west of Abai-jili-jiemin. Perhaps the name is derived from Rawchun or Rozung, a hamlet in the Sarhad Valley of Wakhan, also written as *Rauchun* and *Rachau*. In the Sven Hedin map, this is called Rachau.

Asutuo 阿速脱

The *Renwu tu* atlas and ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* record this as *Asutuobo* 阿速脱伯. This perhaps refers to Azar-tyube, near Zamin.

De Huozhe 的火者

Perhaps this was written in error as a variant of *Labade huozhe* 刺巴的火者, which refers to Rabat-i Khoja, a place southeast of Samarqand, now called Rabatkhoja.

Kundusi 昆都思

Qunduz, a city in northern Afghanistan.

Labade Mo'erza Yibula 刺巴的末兒咱亦卜刺

The ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* records this as *Labade Mo'erza Yibulayin* 刺巴的末兒咱亦卜刺因. This perhaps refers to Rabat-i Mirza, a town between Herat and *Chihil Dukhtaran*.

Ha'erjin 哈兒斤

Qarqin, northwest of Balkh, on the river Amu Darya. This name is called *Kelikong* 克力空 in the *Menggu ditu*. Lin Meicun identified it with Qurghan Tobe, a city in southern Tajikistan, the capital of the Khatlon region.²⁹³ Kelikong is placed in the *Menggu ditu* between Balihei (Balkh) and Tiemenguan (‘iron gate’). Perhaps this is Qarqin north of Balkh, on the southern bank of the Amu Darya.

²⁹² Ibn Khordādhbeh and Kodāma ibn Dja'far, *BGA IV* (1889): 21, p. 158.

²⁹³ Lin Meicun, 2011, p. 166.

Hashada 哈沙打

This name is written *Hashadaliu* 哈沙打六 in the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* and is called *Hadaliu* 哈打六 in the *Menggu ditu*. Hashada or Hadaliu may have been intended to refer to Kaldar, a town east of Termez.

Tiemenguan 鐵門關

Tiemenguan literally means ‘the iron gate.’ The *Menggu ditu* places it north of Taihulun 台户倫 or Khulm. Bretschneider identified it with the Iron Gate in southern Uzbekistan.²⁹⁴ Lin Meicun identified it with Termidh, modern Termez²⁹⁵. Both the *MSL* and Chen Cheng referred to this city as *Dielimi* 迭里迷. Chen Cheng says that after crossing Tiemenguan, he reached Dielimi. Tiemenguan is no doubt the same as Derbent (Derbent-i Ahanin) south of Samarqand.

Labade cheng 刺叭的城

Without any doubt, this refers to Ravat, which is situated between Dizzak and Zamin. In the *Menggu ditu*, there is a place marked Laba 刺巴 to the west of Saba (Sābāt, the modern-day town of Savat).

Alibo 阿力伯

Kulaba, now Kulab, is situated on a tributary of the Amu.

Aladubo 阿刺都伯

Uratöbe (Uratobe or Ura-Tyube) is in Tajikstan. In the *Renwu tu*, it is called *Alatuobo* 阿刺驼伯, and in the *Menggu ditu* it is called *Elatuobo* 俄刺脱伯. In the *Menggu ditu*, Saba 撒巴 is marked to the west of Elatuobo. Saba is the same as Sābāt and lies between Uratobe and Zāmin.²⁹⁶ In the *Menggu ditu*, a place called *Shuhada* 束哈荅 is identified in the northeast part of Uratobe. Shuhada is evidently linked to the city of Chavkandak southeast of Uratobe.

Ali dianzi 阿力店子

This is perhaps Aliabad, situated between Samarqand and Dizzak.

Zamin cheng 雜民城

The ancient city of Zāmin was situated on both banks of the Zarafshan in

²⁹⁴ Bretschneider, 1877, p. 237.

²⁹⁵ Lin Meicun, 2011, p. 166.

²⁹⁶ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 166.

Uzbekistan.²⁹⁷

Asimin 阿思民

Asimin is Asmend, mentioned in the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* as Kesimin 可思民. Asimin or Kesimin is the same as Usmend, Asmend or Semend, a town near Samarqand.²⁹⁸ Babur called it Wasmand.²⁹⁹ Now it is Usmat located south of Zamin.

Puha cheng 普哈城

Puha is Bukhara, mentioned in the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* as Puhala 普哈刺.

Sama'erhan cheng 撒馬兒罕城

Samarqand.

Ali cheng 阿力城

I have observed that a place *Vali* appears on a modern map north of Samarqand.

Wangri lou 望日樓

Wangri lou, literally the ‘tower for looking up at the sun’—in other words, Rasathana (Observatory) in Ulughbek, Samarqand. Ulughbek built the observatory in 1428, which is situated on a hill outside the city walls. The Ulughbek Observatory is called *Wangxing lou* 望星樓 (the ‘tower for looking up the stars’) in the *Menggu ditu*.

Shilasi cheng 失刺思城

Shiraz was a town near Samarqand. In order to augment the importance of his capital and to profess its opulence, Timur surrounded Samarqand by villages bearing the names of the largest Islamic capitals: Baghdad Sultaniyya, Shiraz, Damascus.³⁰⁰ The cities are called *Shilasi*, *Baheitatie* 把黑他帖 in the *Menggu ditu*.

²⁹⁷ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 167.

²⁹⁸ Barthold, Vol. 3, 1963, p. 183.

²⁹⁹ Baburnama, 2002, p. 99.

³⁰⁰ Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. T. Minorsky, Leiden: Brill, 1958, p. 41.

Map 11. Samarqand and Badakhshan



Source: Samarqand and Badakhshan in the *Menggu ditu*

Matuli 馬土力

Māturīd or Māturīt, the name of one of Samarqand's districts in the eleventh century, and later, a village of the same name located northwest of Samarqand.³⁰¹ The town of Maturid still exists and lies north of Samarqand.

Baheidatie 把黑打帖

Baghdad was a town near Samarqand.

Badashan cheng 把苔山城

Badakhshan is an ancient and celebrated city in northern Afghanistan situated on the Kokcha River. In the *Menggu ditu*, the name is written *Badashan cheng* 把苔山城. The *Huihuiguan zazi* uses the name *Badansha* 巴丹沙³⁰².

³⁰¹ Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 90.

³⁰² Liu Yingsheng 2008, p. 328.

Qiemi 怯迷城

On the map *Renwu tu*, the city of Qiemi, depicted in a special form, seems to point to Kashmir, then ruled by the Kashmir Sultanate (1346-1586). In the *MSL*, Kashmir was frequently mentioned as *Qieshimi'er* 怯失迷兒, *Geshimi* 格失迷 and *Keshimi'er* 克失迷兒.

Heizheshaping cheng'er 黑者沙平城兒

According to the *Renwu lüe*, Heizheshaping lay south of Bositan (Bistam) of Iran. This name is placed near Badalishan cheng on the map *Renwu tu*. Perhaps, however, it refers to Hissar-i Shadman in Tajikistan.

Sazi cheng'er 撒子城兒

The Chinese term *cheng'er* is a rendering of the Turkic-Persian word *shahr*; *Sazi cheng'er* therefore refers to the shahr of Sazi. The name *Sazi cheng* appears in the *Menggu ditu* west of Gaoshan (Hindukush). It seems that Shahrīsabz or Shahr-e Sabz, the 'green city' in Persian, is called also Kesh, which is located approximately 80 kilometers south of Samarqand.³⁰³ Interpreters of the *Renwu lüe* have identified Sazi cheng'er and also regard it as a translation of an originally Persian name combined with an additional *cheng'er* (town), which carries the same meaning as *shahr*.

Gubazi Huozhe Maheima Saliwasi 古巴子火者馬黑麻撒力瓦思 According to the *Menggu ditu*, this place is situated near Shahrīsabz (Sazi cheng'er) and placed between Labade Kelaogan 刺巴的克老干 and Labade Huozhe Hafeisi 刺巴的火者哈非思. Here, the creators of the *Menggu ditu* painted a tomb to the south of Sazi cheng (see above). The name is written as *Labazi Huo Malima Saliwasi* 刺巴子火馬里麻撒力瓦思 and *Labazi Heima Saliwasi* 刺巴子黑麻撒力瓦思 on the *Renwu tu* map. In the 'Xiyu zhuguo' of the *Bianzhengkao*, the same place is called *Labazi Huo Maheima Saliwasi* 刺巴子火馬黑麻撒力瓦思. If the last name is correct, it can be restored as *Gumbaz-i Khwāja Muhammad Shahrīsabizi*. The Termez Sayyids attained a high place in the Amir Temur's era. They were buried in the special Mausoleum (the Avlad al-Muborak Mausoleum), of Shahrīsabz, later called Gumbazi Sayyidon in Shakhriabz. According to sources, it was built by Ulugbek.³⁰⁴ Alternatively, perhaps the creators of the *Menggu ditu* had meant Gumbaz, a town in Afghanistan, north of modern Mashhad (in Badakhshan).

³⁰³ Bretschneider 1910 II, p. 273.

³⁰⁴ Sultanov, H. T., K istorii formirovaniya arkhitekturnykh ansambley Shahrīsabza XIV-XV vv. (po arheologicheskim dannym) (the history of the formation of architectural ensembles of Shahrīsabz of the XIV-XV centuries. (according to archaeological data)). Dissertation: Candidate History. Samarqand, 1990, p. 12.

Bulasawalasi 卜刺撒瓦刺思

This name is placed on the *Renwutu* east of Bukhara. I am inclined to hypothesize that the creators of the *Menggu ditu* intended to use the name *Bulasawalasi* to refer to Labade Huozhe Hafeisi, a city featured in the *Menggu ditu*, even though there is no indication that they ever intended to use *Bulasawalasi* as the name of a city. Labade Huozhe Hafeisi is situated west of Gubazi Huozhe Mama Saliwasi; evidently, it is also the site of modern-day Khoja Hafiz (Khwaja Hafiz) in Badakhshan.

Keligan cheng 克力干城

The Keligan is evidently the city of Kalafgan or Kalaogān, east of Taloqan (*HPGAI*, 1972: 90; Yule, 1872: 446)³⁰⁵. The *Menggu ditu* calls it *Labade Kelaogan* 刺巴的克老干. I have observed that a place named *Kalafgan* appears on modern maps northeast of Taloqan.

Baheili cheng 把黑力城

In the *Menggu ditu*, it is called *Balihei cheng* 把力黑城. Lin Meicun identified it with Balkh.³⁰⁶

3.4 Conclusion

The period of reign of Shībānī Khan in Samarqand and Wuzong in China was noted by a relative stabilization of economic and political life of the two states and the development of trans-regional trade.

The *MSL* also reports that envoys from Samarqand frequently visited Ming China during the reign of Kūchūm Sultan. It should be noted that it was khwājas, sayids and mullas that played crucial role in the political and economic life of the Shībānī dynasty of the reviewed period and greatly contributed to the development of economic relations between Samarqand and Beijing.

For example, the *MSL* refers to certain envoy Molla Wendusi who arrived in Beijing from Samarqand with valuable gifts. Along with Chinese sources, valuable information on trade relations between the two states and caravan routes is provided in maps of Ming Chinese. While the territory of Moghūlistan served as a transit route for Samarqand merchants to China, trade caravans from Moghūlistan via the Māwarā al-nahr territory headed for countries of Western Europe. According to the *Renwu tu* map, the route was divided into the northern and southern ones. The northern route lay across the territory of Turfan and Qumul; the southern one – across Kashgar, Yarkend and Khotan. These routes joined near the Jiayu guan of China, Ming customs.

³⁰⁵ Adamec, 1972 [I], p. 90; Yule, 1872, p. 446.

³⁰⁶ Lin Meicun, 2011, p. 165.

Chapter IV

Rūm and Ming China: Ottoman-Chinese Relations During the Ming Period (1423-1618)

4.1 Introduction

The Muslims knew the Byzantines as Rūm, and the Eastern Roman Empire as Bilād al-Rūm or Mamlakat al-Rūm, hence once Anatolia came under the Turkish-Islamic rule, the designation Rūm survived as a geographic name to designate Asia Minor. Rūm was the old Seljuk Turkish designation for Anatolia, referring to the Eastern Roman Empire. The expansion of the Ottomans in the fourteenth century eventually made them masters of the former Byzantine territories, in both Anatolia and the Greko-Balkan region.³⁰⁷ In the early reference of the *MSL* the country of Rūm is written as Roumi 肉迷. Eight references to a country known as Roumi are found in the *MSL*, ranging in date from 1423 to 1445. Between 1437 and 1459, the *MSL* references to Rūm use the names Rong di 戎地, Rong dimian 戎地面. The 1459 reference is the final entry which uses the name Rong 戎, after which date the term ceases to appear.

Fortunately, the *Menggu ditu*, the earliest large-scale Silk Road map to survive from the Ming dynasty, finally saw the light of day and filled an important gap in our knowledge. For example, the country of Rong, or Rong dimian that appeared in the *MSL* was long regarded as another country in the west or in the Southern Ocean. As one scholar once commented, Rong dimian in the *Menggu ditu* refers to Baranis, an important port in southeastern Egypt. The place names around Rong dimian in the *Menggu ditu* made it clear that it is Rūm, another name for the Ottoman Empire. The *Menggu ditu* will change forever the world's understanding of Ming China. Most importantly, the *Menggu ditu* represents a major breakthrough in traditional Chinese cartographical and geographical conceptions. Islamic geographical conceptions influenced the mapmakers. This map is turned upside down, with the south placed at its top. Clearly, the *Menggu ditu* was drawn based on maps from the Islamic World. It is therefore fair to say that the *Menggu ditu* was a combination of Islamic and Chinese cartography. No less importantly, both the pictorial and place names of *Menggu ditu* preserve material gathered from Muslim historians, scholars, and travelers of the fifteenth century, whose works are now either lost or preserved only in fragments.

³⁰⁷ For the term of Rūm and Rūmeli, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 8, ed. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs and G. Lecomte, (Brill, 1995), pp. 601-606; 608-611.

Map 12. Rong dimian (Rūm Realm)



Source: Rong dimian (Rūm Realm) in the Menggu ditu

From 1524, until the end of the Ming dynasty (1618) all *MSL* references to Rūm use the name Lumi 魯迷. In the *MSL*, the Ottoman Empire is also called as Tianfang guo (Arabia).

The place name or country name of Roumi, Rong, Rong dimian and Lumi in the *MSL* was rather loosely and confusingly used. Yet in actual fact, it was virtually used in referring to the whole of the Ottoman Empire. After the conquest of Mecca and Medina, Ottoman sultans came to regard themselves as the successors of the caliphate of the Muslim world, hence their occasional use of the titles the Caliph of the Islam.³⁰⁸ The place name or country name of *Tianfang guo* in the *MSL* sometimes refers to the Ottoman Empire. Most of the great cities of Islam – Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo,

³⁰⁸ The Ottoman rulers used the title “Sultan” for themselves, Mehmed II and his son Selim I, claimed to be Caliphs to justify their conquest of Islamic heartland. In the beginning, they used the title “Caliph” symbolically, but it took a kind of permanency when the Ottoman Empire defeated the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517.

Tunis, Baghdad and even as far as the west coast of the Persian Gulf – were under the sultan’s crescent flag. With the territorial acquisition came the title of caliph, khalifah, of the Muslim world. Clearly, *Ming shi* was acutely aware of this fact, which is why in its profiling of *Tianfang*, it says, “*Tianfang* is a big power in *Xiyu*, (Arabia)”. Selim I (1465-1520) furthered strengthened the claim of caliphal authority. Suleiman I (1494-1566, r. 1520-1566), Selim I’s son, was called the *kanuni* (lawgiver) by his Muslim subjects because of a new codification of *seriat* undertaken during his reign. His first order of business as the sultan of the Ottoman Empire and the caliph of the Muslim world was the removal of several threats that still plagued the Ottoman realm.

Probably upon the growing reputation of the seventh Sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, Mehmed II (1432-1481), in the entire Muslim world following the conquest of Istanbul, Islamic states of Central Asia indicated an intention to establish good relations with the Ottoman Empire. In the upcoming years, relations grew even stronger as the Ottoman Empire seized the title of caliph. Muslim states in Central Asia were in constant search for support against Eastern colonialist powers such as Zhunghar, Ming China, as well as the Safavid and subsequent states. As a result, friendly relations between Ottomans and Central Asian Muslims remained intact.

4.2 Rumi in the Ming shilu

Relations between Rūm and Ming China date back to the fifteenth century. The first ever contact between Rūm and China occurred in the Yongle period (1403-1424). According to the MSL, on the day of Xinyou 辛酉 of the second month in the twenty first year of Yongle (March 21, 1423), Huihui (Muslim) envoy Hazhi Aheima 哈只阿黑麻 (Khaji Akhmad) from Roumi 肉迷 came to court and presented local products as tribute.³⁰⁹

Another record containing the name Roumi and envoy Hazhi Aheima appears in the Hongxi period (1425) of the MSL:

On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the eighth month in the first year of Hongxi (September 14, 1425), Muslim Zhemaliding 者馬力丁 (Jamal ad-Din) from Kun cheng 坤城 (Qom), Muslim Hazhi Aheima from Roumi, Muslim Maheimu 馬黑木 (Maḥmūd) from Qi'erman 乞兒蠻 (Kirman) came to court and presented horses and local product as tribute.³¹⁰

In another section of the MSL, envoy Hazhi Aheima from Roumi is called Hazhi Aheiman 哈只阿黑蠻, see Table 7.

³⁰⁹ MSL, Taizong shilu, j.256, p. 2369.

³¹⁰ MSL, Xuanzong shilu, j.7, p. 184.

Table 7. Envoys to the Ming court from Roumi as recorded in the MSL

Name of country	Envoy	Year (reign year)	Sources
Rousu 肉速 (an error for Roumi 肉迷)	Huihui Hazhi Aheima 回回 哈只阿黑麻/ Muslim Khaji Akhmad	On the day of Xinyou 辛酉 of the second month in the twenty first year of Yongle/March 21, 1423	MSL, Taizong/256: 2369
Roumi 肉迷	Huihui Hazhi Aheima 回回 哈只阿黑麻/ Muslim Khaji Akhmad	On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the eighth month in the first year of Hongxi/September 14, 1425)	MSL, Xuanzong shilu, j. 7, p. 184
Roumi 肉迷	Huihui Hazhi Aheima 回回 哈只阿黑麻/ Muslim Khaji Akhmad	On the day of Gengchen 庚辰 of the eighth month in the first year of Hongxi/September 25, 1425)	MSL, Xuanzong shilu, j. 8, p. 205
Roumi 肉迷	Huihui Huozhe Qi 回回火者 乞/Muslim Khwaja Qi?	On the day of Wuxu 戊戌 of the first month in the second year of Xuande/February 5, 1427	Xuanzong shilu, j. 24, p. 630
Roumi 肉迷	Huihui Huozhe Qi 回回火者 乞/Muslim Khwaja Qi?	On the day of Dingsi 丁巳 of the first month in the second year of Xuande/February 24, 1427	Xuanzong shilu, j. 24, p. 647
Roumi di 肉迷地	Hazhi Aheiman 哈只阿黑蠻	On the day of Jihai 己亥 of the seventh month in the second year of Xuande/August 5, 1427	Xuanzong shilu, j. 29, p. 763
Roumi 肉迷	Hazhi Aheiman 哈只阿黑蠻	On the day of Guichou 癸丑 of the second month in the eighth year of Xuande/March 20, 1433	Xuanzong shilu j. 99, p. 2234
Roumi 肉迷	Hazhi Aheiman 哈只阿黑蠻	On the day of Wuwu 戊午 of the fourth month in the tenth year of Zhengtong/May 21, 1445	Yingzong shilu, j. 128, p. 2556

Source: Ming shilu.

4.3 Rong or Rong dimian in the Ming shilu

The *MSL* reports that, between 1437 and 1459, *Rong dimian* or *Rong* sent envoys to China, bringing horses and other products as tribute. References in the *MSL* to the country of Rūm as *Rong di*, *Rong dimian* or *Rong* disappear after 1459. In the *Menggu ditu*, the country of Rūm is marked as *Rong dimian* (place of Rūm). The intercourse between the Rong dimian and Ming China continued by land during the fifteenth century. At the end of the *Menggu shanshui ditu*

map, the country of Rūm is marked as *Rong dimian* 戎地面. In the *Gaochang guan ke*, the name of *Rong dimian* translated into Turkic as *Yum yir yangaq*.³¹¹ ‘Yum’ is the Uighur mode of spelling the Turkic Rūm, ‘yir yangaq’ means dimian (territory) in Chinese.

According to the *MSL*, on the day of Wuyin 戊寅 of the fifth month in the ninth year of Zhengtong (February 16, 1444), envoy Shali Mianli who had been sent by Cheliebi wang 扯列必王, the king of Rong dimian, came to court and presented horses, camels and local products as tribute.³¹²

Cheliebi is a reference to Çelebi, a Turkish surname, and historically an Ottoman title, meaning “gentleman.” In the *MSL*, Cheliebi wang also called as Sulutan Cheliebi wang 速魯擅扯列必王, and is perhaps a reference to Çelebi Sultan Mehmed or Mehmed I (1389-1421), the sultan of the Ottoman Empire.³¹³

Table 8. Envoys to the Ming court from Rong as recorded in the *MSL*

Name	Envoys or kings	Year (reign year)	Sources
Rong di 戎地	Kuchu Dalahan 苦出打刺罕/ Küçük Tarkhan	On the day of Guiyui 癸酉 of the eighth month in the second year of Zhengtong/September 15, 1437	Yingzong shilu, j. 33, p. 645
Rong di 戎地	10 envoys	On the day of Gengzi 庚子 of the tenth month in the eighth year of Zhengtong/November 10, 1443	Yingzong shilu, j. 109, p. 2210
Rong dimian 戎地面	Sulutan Cheliebi wang 速魯擅扯列必王 Envoy: Shali Mianli 沙力免力	On the day of Gengxu 庚戌 of the tenth month in the eighth year of Zhengtong/January 19, 1444	Yingzong shilu, j. 111, p. 2244
Yixi Rong dimian 迤西戎地面	Cheliebi wang 扯列必王 Envoy: Shali Mianli 沙力免力	On the day of Wuyin 戊寅 of the fifth month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/February 16, 1444	Yingzong shilu, j. 112, p. 2263
Rong dimian 戎地面	Envoy: Shali Mianli 沙力免力 And Shehei Maheima 捨黑馬黑麻/Sheikh Muhammad (most likely Shayḥ Efdāl-al-Dīn-oğlu Mehmed Çelebi, a ambassador of Sultan Mehmed)	On the day of Wushen 戊申 of the second month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/March 17, 1444	Yingzong shilu, j. 113, p. 2285

³¹¹ *Gaochang guan ke* 1980, p. 33.

³¹² *MSL*, Yingzong shilu, j. 112, p. 2263.

³¹³ Yingzong shilu, j. 111, p. 2244.

Rong dimian 戎地面	Envoy: Shali Mianli沙力免力	On the day of Renxu壬戌 of the third month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/March 31, 1444	Yingzong shilu, j. 114, p. 2298
Rong dimian 戎地面	Envoy: Shali Mianli沙力免力	On the day of Guihai癸亥 of the third month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/April 1, 1444	Yingzong shilu, j. 114, p. 2298
Rong 戎	26 envoys	On the day of Bingzi丙子 of the second month in the third year of Tianshun/March 27, 1459	Yingzong shilu, j. 300, p. 6376

Source: Ming shilu.

4.4 Lumi in the Ming shilu

According to the *MSL*, in the third year of the Jiajing (1524) the country of Lumi sent an envoy to the Ming court, presented shizi 獅子 (lion), xiniu 犀牛 (rhinoceros), shanhu 珊瑚 (coral), yushi 玉石 (jade).³¹⁴ The *Renwu tu* described this scene: the west of the city of Qumul painting two men with a lion. Over 10 references to a country known as Lumi are found in the *MSL*, ranging in date from 1524 to 1618, and it is an analysis of these references, which forms the basis of the date of the *Renwu tu*. In the *MSL*, there is a king called Sutan Mushafa'er or Sutan sha Muzafa'er of Lumi.

Table 9. Envoys to the Ming court from Lumi as recorded in the *MSL*

Lumi 魯迷	Fan wang 番王	On the day of Jiwei 己未 of the fourth month in the third year of Jiajing/May 27, 1524	Shizong shilu, j. 38, p. 975
Lumi 魯迷		On the day of Jiashen 甲申 of the fifth month in the fourth year of Jiajing/February 16, 1525	Shizong shilu, j. 47, p. 1209
Lumi 魯迷	Shi Baihawuding 使白哈兀丁 Envoy Baihawuding	On the day of Jihai 己亥 of the ninth month in the fifth year of Jiajing/October 24, 1526	Shizong shilu, j. 68, pp. 1562-1563
Lumi 魯迷	Shiyhe Huoyhe Haobading'ali使者 火者好把丁阿力 Envoy Huozhe Haobading Ali	On the day of Dingwei 丁未 of the fifth month in the sixth year of Jiajing/March 1, 1527	Shizong shilu, j. 72, p. 1641
Lumi 魯迷		On the day of Gengshen 庚申 of the sixth month in the twenty second year of Jiajing/June 18, 1543	Shizong shilu, j. 274, p. 5378

³¹⁴ *MSL*, Ming shizong shilu, j. 38.

Lumi 魯迷		On the day of Guihai 癸亥 of the fifth month in the twenty third year of Jiajing/February 16, 1544	Shizong shilu, j. 282, p. 5484
Lumi 魯迷	Sutan Mushafa'er wang 速壇母沙法兒王	On the day of Renchen 壬辰 of the seventh month in the twenty seventh year of Jiajing/August 22, 1548	Shizong shilu, j. 338, p. 6175
Lumi 魯迷	Sutan sha Mushafa'er 速壇沙母沙法兒	On the day of Jiashen 甲申 of the fourth month in the thirty third year of Jiajing/May 15, 1554	Shizong shilu, j. 409, p. 7136
Lumi 魯迷	Sutan sha Muzafa'er 速壇沙母咱法兒	嘉靖三十八年三月/5日 On the day of Dingchou 丁丑 of the third month in the thirty eighth year of Jiajing/April 12, 1559	Shizong shilu, j. 470, p. 7896
Lumi 魯迷		嘉靖四十三年六月/3日 On the day of Guiyou 癸酉 of the sixth month in the forty third year of Jiajing/July 10, 1564	Shizong shilu, j. 535, p. 8686
Lumi 魯迷	Fanwang toumu Sutan Maheima Albu Badu'er 番王頭目速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒 Barbarian chieftain Sultān Muhammad Alp Bahadur ²⁶ Huozhe Haxin 火者哈辛 (envoy)	萬曆四年四月/6日 On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the fourth month in the fourth year of Wanli/May 4, 1576	Shenzong shilu, j. 49, p. 1121
Lumi 魯迷		萬曆九年十月/9日 On the day of Gengzi 庚子 of the tenth month in the ninth year of Wanli /November 5, 1581	Shenzong shilu, j. 117, p. 2202
Lumi 魯迷		萬曆四十六年四月/9日 On the day of Wuxu 戊戌 of the fourth month in the forty sixteenth year of Wanli/May 3, 1618	Shenzong shilu, j. 568, p. 10684
Lumi 魯迷		萬曆四十六年七月/7日 On the day of Guisi 癸巳 of the seventh month in the forty sixteenth year of Wanli/August 26, 1618	Shenzong shilu, j. 572, p. 10791

Source: Ming shilu.

4.5 *Tianfang guo in the Ming shilu*

The place name or country name of *Tianfang* in Chinese was rather loosely and confusingly used. Yet in actual fact, it was virtually used in referring to the whole of the Ottoman Empire, most of the great cities of Islam—Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, Tunis, Baghdad and even as far as the west coast of the Persian Gulf—were under the sultan’s crescent flag. Sidi Ali Reīs said: Padishah of Turkey was ‘Padishah of Medina, Mecca and the Kibla’.³¹⁵ With the territorial acquisition came the title of caliph, khalifah, of the Muslim world. Clearly, *Ming shi* was acutely aware of this fact, which is why in its profiling of *Tianfang*, it says, “*Tianfang* is a big power in *Xiyu*, (Arabia)”.

On the day of Renchen 壬辰 of the seventh month in the twenty seventh year of Jiajing (August 22, 1548).³¹⁶

“The envoys who had been sent by Sutan Mushafa’er (Sultan Muẓaffer), the king of the five realms: Turfan, Samarqand, Mecca, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

Sutan Mushafa’er perhaps refers to Sultan Suleiman. In his tughra (Imperial Cipher, Ottoman Turkish: أرغط tuḡrā, is a calligraphic monogram, seal or signature of an Ottoman sultan that was affixed to all official documents and correspondence) Sultan Suleiman is described as ‘Süleymān-ṣāh b. Selīm-ṣāh Ḥān el-muẓaffer dā’imā’ (Schah Süleyman, Sohn Schah Khan Selims, der immer Siegreiche/ Shah Suleiman, son of Selim Shah Khan, who is always Victorious).

On the day of Jiashen 甲申 of the fourth month in the thirty third year of Jiajing (May 15, 1554).³¹⁷

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muẓaffer, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm, came to the court and offered tribute of local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Dingchou 丁丑 of the third month in the thirty eight year of Jiajing (April 12, 1559).³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Mir’āt ül-memālik [Mirror of the Countries], by Seydi Ali Reīs. Trans. Vámbéry 1899, p. 52.

³¹⁶ Shizong shilu, j. 338, p. 6175. Chinese text: 壬辰土魯番撒馬兒罕天方國魯迷哈密五地面速壇母沙法兒王等遣人來朝貢馬及方物宴賚如例。

³¹⁷ Shizong shilu, j. 409, p. 7136. Chinese text: 甲申土魯番天方國撒馬兒罕魯迷四地面番王速壇沙母沙法兒等各遣人來朝貢方物宴賚如例。

³¹⁸ Shizong shilu, j. 470, p. 7896. Chinese text: 土魯番天方國撒馬兒罕魯迷哈密等番王速壇沙母咱法兒等各遣夷使來貢馬駝方物宴賚如例。

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muẓaffer, the barbarian king of Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses, camels and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Gengwu 庚午 of the sixth month in the eighth year of Jiajing/ July 11, 1529:³¹⁹

“Envoy Huozhi Hazhi and others who had been sent by Sulaiman (Suleiman) and others, the king of Mecca and Sama’erhan, offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

Sulaiman wang 速來蠻王, perhaps Suleiman I (1494 – 1566, r. 1520-1566), Selim I’s son, was called the *kanuni* (lawgiver) by his Muslim subjects because of a new codification of *seriat* undertaken during his reign. Christians called him Suleiman the Magnificent. He was the Caliph of Islam and the tenth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Suleyman inherited this Islamic empire in the year 1520, at the age of 26. During the reign of Suleiman, Transylvania, and Wallachia and, intermittently, Moldavia, became tributary principalities of the Ottoman Empire. In the east, the Ottomans took Baghdad from the Persians in 1535, gaining control of Mesopotamia and naval access to the Persian Gulf. His first order of business as sultan of the Ottoman Empire and caliph of the Muslim world was the removal of several threats that still plagued the Ottoman realm. The long reign of Suleiman I was the Ottoman “golden age.” When he died while on a campaign in Hungary in 1566, the Ottoman Empire was a major world power.

On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the fourth month in the fourth year of Wanli (May 4, 1576):³²⁰

“The envoy of Huozhe Haxin and others who had been sent by Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu’er (Sultān Muhammed Alp Bahadur), the barbarian king and chieftain of the five realms: Turfan, Mecca, Sama’erhan, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu’er or Sultān Muhammad Alp Bahadur was son of Mansūr Khan, the ruler of Turfan. According to the Tārīh-i Rasīdī, Mansur Khan had two sons: Shāh Khan and Sultān Muhammad.³²¹ After the death of Mansur Khan, Sultān Muhammad took Qamul and declared his independence with the aid of Oyrats. When Shah Khan died in 1570, Sultān Muhammad was khan at Turfan.

³¹⁹ Shizong shilu, j. 102, p. 2402. Chinese text: 天方國撒馬兒罕等處速來蠻王等各差使臣火者哈只等貢馬匹方物賜賚如例。

³²⁰ Shenzong shilu, j. 49, p. 1121. Chinese text: 土魯番王速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒差夷使火者馬黑木等，貢馬匹方物如何例賞仍賜番王表裏。時土魯番，天方國，撒馬兒罕，魯迷，哈密伍地面番王頭目速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒等差夷使火者哈辛，貢馬匹方物亦賞賚如例。

³²¹ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 129.

According to the MSL, on the day Xinsi in the fourth month in the third year of the reign of Wanli (May 22, 1575) Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu'er became the new king of Turfan.³²²

“Sultan Muhammad Alp Bahadur, the chieftain Turfan, set up as a new king.”

On the day of Gengzi 庚子 of the tenth month in the ninth year of Wanli (November 5, 1581):³²³

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by the five realms: Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Qamul, come to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Guisi 癸巳 of the seventh month in the forty sixth year of Wanli/August 26, 1618:³²⁴

“Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand, Rūm and Hami were rewarded as appropriate.”

4.6 The cities of Western Asia in the Chinese maps

Many place or country names of Western Asia also appear in the *Menggu ditu* and *Xiyu tudi renwutu* maps.

At the extreme Western end of the *Xiyu tudi renwutu* appears an ethnic group the map's creators called *Juhan'er ren*, as well as *Xunjiansi* to the west of *Angelu*, Ankara in modern-day Turkey. According to the atlas, the *Juhan'er ren* lived in five cities: *Wengulu* 文谷魯 (Baghrās), *Yeqingduosi* 也勤朶思 (an error for *Taleduosi* 他勒朶思, which refers to *Anṭartūs*, *Anṭārsūs* or *Ṭartūs*) or an error for *Yeleduohei* 也勒朶黑 (*Anṭākiyah*), *Saheisizhai* 撒黑四寨 (*Shaizar*), *Feilang* 菲郎 (either *Farang* or *Bayt Laḥm*) and *Lumi* (Rūm).

Confucian scholar-officials of the Ming believed that the *Juhan'er ren* noted in the atlas are Chinese. Modern scholars who have studied the *Renwu lüe* have been inclined to regard the *Juhan'er ren* as *Hanzu* or “ethnically Chinese,” simply because creators of the *Renwu lüe* inscribed either *juhan'er ren* or *Han'er ren*. Scholar-officials of the Ming court also believed that terms like *Xuanweishisi* and *Xunjiansi* refer to places that had once been administrative divisions of China. The term *Xiyu* reflects the Chinese perception of a vast area stretching from China into the distant west, a territory that encompassed not only Western Asia but also Europe. Scholars of the Ming court even claimed that the Mediterranean had always been Chinese territory and even that some of its peoples are the Chinese.

³²² MSL, *Shenzong shilu*, j. 37, p. 866. Chinese text: 土魯番酋速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒新立為王。

³²³ *Shenzong shilu*, j. 107, p. 2201. Chinese text: 天方國撒馬兒罕魯迷哈密等伍地面頭目各差人貢馬匹方物賞賚如例。

³²⁴ *Shenzong shilu*, j. 572, p. 10794. Chinese text: 給散土魯番天方國 撒馬光魯迷哈密等賞賜有差。

As a matter of fact, the Ming dynasty never presented itself to Western Asian countries as invaders or exploiters. Besides, they never dominated these neighbours owing to the strength of their army. It must be stated that the above model in many ways is only a symbolic representation of the Chinese state's perception of its own place and the relative positions of the polities on its borders and abroad. Xunjiansi seems like a false or fictitious name coined by Zhang Tingrui and Ma Li, the authors of the *Shaanxi tongzhi*.

Muslim ambassadors in the Ming court introduced China to another area known by the Turkish envoys. Within this area lay the strange and bewildering world of the Xunjiansi. The term “Xunjiansi” refers to the military inspectorate, a sub-district police-office system during the Ming dynasty in which the government stationed in the countryside in order to get in touch with the empire's people to uphold social order and stability of the realm. Xunjiansi were distributed along rivers, coasts and at strategic points within complex watercourses. The system was constructed early in the Song era and continued through the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

The origin of the name Juhan'er is not clear among scholars. In my opinion, the name could have originated from the Arabic word *kuffar*, the plural form of *kafir*, a term used in an Islamic doctrinal sense, usually translated as “unbeliever” or “disbeliever”. An interpreter borrowed this Arabic word in order to introduce the place into Chinese maps. There is no doubt that the term *juhan'er* is a transliteration of an Arabic word into Chinese characters, because the first character of *ju* in Middle-Chinese phonology sounds like *ku*.

So Juhan'er sounds like *kuffar*. According to the “Renwu lue”, there are three kinds of Juhan'er ren: those *kuffar* “with unkempt hair who wear caps” (*pengtou daimao'er* 蓬頭帶帽兒) those who live in the cities Wengulu, Yeleduosi, and Saheisizhai, “who cut their hair, wear it unbound and wear caps”;³²⁵ (*jianzong pifa daimao'er* 剪踪被髮帶帽兒) those who live in the city of Feilang, and those who live in the city of Lumi.

Though sometimes simply called Han'er ren, according to the *Renwu tu* they should be transcribed as Juhan'er ren. The Juhan'er ren of Wengulu, Yeleduosi and Saheisizhai perhaps may be identified with the Christian communities of Little Armenia (Cilicia) and Christians living in the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, including the Christian communities of Syria. The Juhan'er ren of Feilang (Farang) are probably Italian (Rome) Christians or even European Christians³²⁶, while the Juhan'er ren in Lumi may be a reference to Greek and other Christians living in Constantinople (Istanbul). Unknown Muslim scholars

³²⁵ The word *pengtou* 蓬頭, “unkempt”, already occurs in Wang Dayuan's 汪大淵 (1311–1350) *Daoyi zhilue*.

³²⁶ Alternatively, it refers to Bayt Lahm, Ar. name for Bethlehem, see *Ahsan al-Taqaṣīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālim*, 1994, p. 144; Cornu 1985, p. 4. The name *Folin* 佛林 has the variant *Feilang*, which occurs also in the *Xianbin lu* (2000, p. 82). The Ming shilu contains only two references to Folin polity, both in the 1370s. Widely recognized as a generic reference to Byzantium, possibly referring to Constantinople.

from the Huitong guan or Siyi guan provided China's official historians with substantial materials and new information about places in the Western Region. Zhang Tingrui and Ma Li, who created the *Shaanxi tongzhi*, based their work largely on sources originating in other societies, including those brought to them by Muslim scholars from the Western Region.

The Chinese knew the Italians as Riluo guo 日落國 (Sunset State) in the Ming period. At that time, a mission from a country called the "Sunset State" paid their tribute to the Ming court. Riluo guo is a common transliteration of the Sunset State, but no King Yisikandaer Lumi-Tieliya wang (亦思刊荅兒魯密帖裏牙王) was reigning at that time. It remained a mystery as to where this country was situated. After a careful textual research, the author believes that the "Sunset State" in the *MSL* records was what Arabians call "Maghreb". In China it was called the Feilang and Lumi-Teliya as well, which referred to Italy, or the Roman Curia in specific. Paying tribute by the "Sunset State" marks a grand accomplishment of the Ming's foreign affairs, and it is also an important event in Sino-European relations.

The *Renwu tu* and *Menggu ditu* contain the following cities of West Asia:

Yedena cheng 也的納城

The first character *ye* 也 is an obvious error for *mie* 乜. This name refers to Medina in Saudi Arabia, the second holiest city in Islam after Mecca and the burial place of Muhammad.

Fandian'er 飯店兒

The word 'Fandian'er', literally translates as 'little hotel.' Fandian'er perhaps refers to Ka'aba in Mecca. Ka'aba is called by many names in Quran: Bait (house), Bait ul Haram (Sacred House). Here, the creators of the *Renwu tu* painted two buildings.

Tianfangguo 天方國

Tianfang guo is a Chinese name for Arabia, sometimes specifically Mecca in some Chinese translations of Muslims works. *Tianfang* can also sometimes refer to Ka'aba in Mecca. The *Huihuiguan yiyu* calls Tianfang guo Mamlakat-i Ka'aba³²⁷ (*Tianfang*, which literally means 'heavenly direction,' also refers to *Qibla* ('direction of prayer')).

³²⁷ Liu Yingsheng 2008, p. 327.

Jiazi jing 架子井

The word ‘Jiazi jing’, literally translates as ‘Frame Well.’ Therefore, the term *Jiazi jing* no doubt refers to Well of Zamzam in Mecca.

Asina cheng 阿思納城

This perhaps refers to Sana’a, a city of Yemen.

Mibieli cheng 迷亂力城

Lin Meicun identified it as 迷亂力, with Misr on the ground of a phonetical resemblance of the name. There can be no doubt that the character *mi* in the Chinese name on the map is a misprint or a clerical error, because the Xiyu zhuguo of the *Bianzheng kao* writes the name as *Diebieli* 迭亂力. The place is marked on the *Renwu tu* map near Yaman 牙瞞 (see below). *Diebieli* 迭亂力 refers to Diyar Bakr. In the atlas *Renwu tu*, a place marked *Guanmen* 關門 (gate of the customs or gate of the pass) lies west of Diebieli.

Yaman cheng 牙瞞城

According to the *Renwu lüe*, black Muslims live here. This is *Yaman* or *Yemen*.

Wengulu cheng 文谷魯城

According to the *Renwu lüe*, Juhan’er people live in the city of Wengulu. They have a headcover and wear hats. The name Juhan’er, as I have supposed, is the Arabic word for *kuffar*, to which the Chinese form is identical, and means the plural of *kafir*, which means ‘unbeliever,’ ‘infidel,’ in other words, non-Muslims.

The first character *wen* sounded like *mon* or *man* in Medieval Chinese. For example, *Wenlaogu* 文老古 was created to refer to Maluku, while *Wengulu* refers to Maghras or Baghras, a town and its nearby castle in the İskenderun district of Turkey, in the Amanus Mountains. In the *Renwu tu*, a Buddhist temple is marked near the city of Wengulu. In the *Menggu dituit* it is written Bijilasi 比吉刺思. This could be the castle near Antākiyyah, now known as Bakras kalesi.³²⁸

Adumīn cheng 阿都民城

Refers to Aṭamayn, al-Aṭmīn or al-Laṭmīn, anc. Latamne, Latamné or Latamneh, a town north of Shayzar.³²⁹ An error for Aduyin 阿都印, Antakiyah.

³²⁸ See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A description of Syria and Holy Land From A. D. 650 to 1500.* 1890, p. 407.

³²⁹ See Cornu 1985, p. 2.

Yeqingduosi cheng 也勤朶思城

This name is written Yeleduosi 也勒朶思 in the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao*. The *Renwu tu* map depicts the city of *Eleduosi* as surrounded by water. According to the *Renwu lüe*, *juhan’er ren* (kufar) live in Yeleduosi.

Yeleduosi, an error for Taleduosi 他勒朶思, refers to Anṭartūs, Anṭārsūs or Ṭartūs, or an error for Yeleduohei 也勒朶黑 (Anṭākiyah), The *Menggu ditu* writes it as Yantage 掩他革.

Sahei sisai 撒黑四寨

In the *Renwu tu* map this name is called *Sahei sizhai* 撒黑四寨. Perhaps this refers to Shaizar. It is also called Larissa, a place of Hims.

Halimi cheng 哈利迷城

Hori Sunao identified it with Aleppo in Syria.³³⁰ The ancient name of the city is *Halab*, which is also its modern Arabic name. The ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao* writes the name as *Halimi* 哈利密, while the *Menggu ditu* writes it as *Hami* 哈密.

Adena cheng 阿的納城

This is Adana, a city in Turkey.

Feiji cheng 菲即城

Zhang Yu, in the Xiyu zhuguo of the *Bianzheng kao*, informs us that the city is called *Feilang* 菲郎. It refers to *Bayt Lahm* (Bethlehem).

Angelu cheng 安各魯城

This is Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. According to the *Renwu lüe*, Ankara produced textile called Choulü. The word *choulü* has the same meaning as *qulü* 毳氈, ‘rug,’ the ‘skins of animals,’ or ‘wool,’ which is spread on the ground or on the planks of a stage.

Ketai cheng 可台城

This is Kütahya, a city in Western Turkey, located in west-central Anatoliya in the middle of three main cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. On the *Renwu tu* map it is written *Atai cheng* 阿台城.

³³⁰ Sunao Hori, 1978, p. 49.

Boluosa cheng 孛羅撒城

This is Bursa. In the *Menggu ditu* it is written *Bu'ersi* 卜兒思. Bursa became the first capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1326. During the early sixteenth century, Bursa became a major centre for the international silk trade.

Lumi cheng 魯迷城

Lumi or *Rūm* was the primary name for the Ottoman Empire used by eastern authors during the Middle Ages. In the *MSL* the country of Rūm was written as *Lumi*, *Roumi*, *Rong* and *Rong dimian* ('place of Rong'). At the end of the *Menggu ditu* this country is identified as *Rong dimian*. In the *Gaochang guan ke*, the name of Rong dimian is translated into Turkic *Yum yir yangaq*.³³¹ *Yum* is the Uighur mode of spelling the Turkic word *Rūm*, and *yir yangaq* means *dimian* (territory) in Chinese.

4.7 Conclusion

In the early reference of the *MSL* the country of Rūm is written as Roumi. Eight references to a country known as Roumi are found in the *MSL*, ranging in date from 1423 to 1445. Between 1437 and 1459, the *MSL* references to Rūm use the names Rong di, Rong dimian. The 1459 reference is the final entry, which uses the name Rong, after which date the term ceases to appear.

From 1524, until the end of the Ming dynasty (1618) all *MSL* references to Rūm use the name Lumi. In the *MSL* the Ottoman Empire is also called as Tianfang guo (Arabia).

³³¹ *Gaochang guan ke* 1980, p. 33.

Chapter V

Moghūlistan in the Ming shilu (1391-1618)

5.1 Introduction

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Chaghatay Ulus experienced a decline in both political power and military strength. After Tarmashirin's (1331-1334) deposition, the Chaghatay Ulus lost its political power, falling into two parts: Māwarā al-nahr, where the old name Chaghatay Ulus was preserved and Moghūlistan. Moghūlistan, as the eastern part of the Chaghatay Ulus, lasted for over three hundred years.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, 'Moghūlistan' in Persian-language sources referred specifically to the eastern branch of Chaghatay-Chingizids, as distinguished from the Chaghatays of Transoxiana and Ferghana. The term *Moghūlistan* is mostly used in Persian historiography, while Chinese historiography mostly uses the term Bieshibali 别失八里 or Yilibali (mostly used 亦力把里, sometimes used 亦力八里³³² or 亦里把里)³³³.

Map 13. Map of the Great Ming.



Source: The Honmyōji Kangnido, housed in the Honmyōji Temple of

³³² Ming Taizong shilu, j. 240, p. 2285 (29 August, 1421).

³³³ Ming Xuanzong shilu, j. 30, p. 778 (28 August, 1427).

Kumamoto, is known as the Da Ming guo ditu 大明國地圖 (Map of the Great Ming). By permission of the Honmyōji Temple of Kumamoto, Japan.

On the Honmyōji Da-Mingguo ditu and Tenri Da-Mingguo tu, the name Bieshibali is written as Yiliba wu Bieshibali di 亦里把兀別失八里地 or Yiliba Yuan Bieshibali di 亦里把里元別失八里地. First name is undoubtedly misspell of Yiliba Yuan Bieshibali di 亦里把里元別失八里地, means “Yiliba is Bieshibali territory of the Yuan period.”

Map 14. The Honkōji Kangnido



Source: From Honkōji Temple in the city of Shimabara, Nagasaki prefecture, Japan.

On the Honkōji Kangnido appears the city of Bieshibali 別失八里 (the position of a large, red, gear-like marker on the river and west of the Issyk-kul), i.e., Beshbalyq, which in Turkic means “Five Cities, a country and a city of the modern-day Xinjiang.

According to the *MSL*, Moghūlistan sent its first envoys to the Ming court in 1391 and the *MSL* records made clear that the relationship between Turfan (Eastern Chaghatay) and the Ming court lasted until 1618. The *MSL* provides valuable information on Moghūlistan from 1391 to 1618 regarding the Chaghatayid descendants. Detailed information is given about historical figures and their social roles.

Some orientalists, have tried to derive the name of Ilibali from that of Ilibalyq, the city Ilan balekh on the journey of Haithon or Ilibali of the Chinese Medieval map, meaning the city of Ili.³³⁴

In my opinion, Ilibali probably derived from Il-Balyq, or Ilig-Balyq, in Turkic meaning the (Capital) city of Il (Country) or Ilik/Ilig (King).

The *Shuyu Zhouzi lu*, compiled by Yan Congjian in 1574, provides another piece of evidence of the territory Ilibali (Moghūlistan in Persian sources). He

³³⁴ Cf. Bretschneider 1910, II: 44, p. 225.

reports that Ilibali is situated in a desert, probably in the territory of Yanqi (modern Qarashahar in Xinjiang) and Qiuci (Kusan or Kuchar), south of the mountain Baishan 白山 (mountain north of Kuchar). The capital of Ilibali is the city of Yan cheng 延城. Its mountains, river, and lakes include Baishan, Congling (Pamir), Jinling (Bogda), and Rehai (Issyk-köl). It is bordered on the south by Yutian (Khotan), on the north by Wala (Oirats), on the west by Sama'erhan (Samarqand), and to the east is contiguous to ancient Shazhou; it is distant from the Jiayuguan by 3700 *li*.³³⁵

Yan cheng is perhaps half transliteration and half translation of Il-Balyq, Yan=Il, cheng=balyq; alternatively, Chinese Yan cheng is perhaps an error for Ting cheng 廷城, meaning “Capital city” in Chinese, and must be the Chinese translation of the Persian-Turkic name Ilik-Balyq or Ardawil.

This city occurs as Il-Baliq on the colophons of *Maitrisimit*, a famous Buddhist play written in Uighur.³³⁶

5.2 Defining terms: Eastern Chaghatay, Moghūlistan, Yilibali, and Tulufan dimian (the territory of Turfan)

After Tarmashirin's (r. 1331-1334) deposition, the Chaghatay Ulus lost its political power, falling into two parts: Moghūlistan and the Timurid dynasty. Moghūlistan, as the eastern part of the Chaghatay Ulus, is often referred to by modern Chinese historiography as the Eastern Chaghatay (Dong Chahetai 東察合台 in Chinese).

Moghūlistan includes modern Zhetisu (southeastern Kazakhstan), all of Kyrgyzstan, and Xinjiang. According to the *MSL*, in 1418, Waisi 歪思 (Vais Khan), the ruler of Beshbalyq, moved his seat to Ilibali.³³⁷ The *MSL* also uses the terms Chatai 察台 to refer to Ilibali.³³⁸ In Ming history, Ilibali or Chatai is the same as the empire of Moghūlistan or Chata (Jatah) referred to by Muslim chroniclers writing of the same period.³³⁹

Throughout the fifteenth century, southern and southeast Kazakhstan (Zhetisu) was part of Moghūlistan. In the *MSL*, the eastern part of Moghūlistan is also called Tulufan dimian (the territory of Turfan).

5.3 Moghūlistan's relations with the Ming dynasty

The name Bieshibali, Turkic Beshbalyq, means Five City, first appears in

³³⁵ Cf. *Shuyu zhouci lu* 15.493f.

³³⁶ Cf. P. Pelliot, “Tokharien et kouchéen”, *Journal Asiatique* 224 (1934). See also the Chinese translation of this article by Feng Chengjun in: *Tuholuo yu kao* (Apropos the Tokharian Language), Beijing: 1957, p. 94. See also Geng Shimin, “Gudai Weiwuer yu fojiao yuanshi juban *Mile huijian ji* (Hami xieben) yanjiu (A Study of the Buddhist Play Maitreyasamiti in Ancient Uighur (the Hami Manuscript))”, *Wenshi* (History of Literature) 12 (1981), p. 215.

³³⁷ *Taizong shilu*, j. 197.

³³⁸ *MSL*, “Shizong shilu”, j. 62.

³³⁹ On Jatah, cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 148.

the *MSL* in the description of the events of 1391 in the Hongwu shilu, when accounts of diplomatic exchange between the Ming court and Moghūlistān began to appear in the *MSL* 明實錄.³⁴⁰

Below are some references in the *MSL* to tributary missions from Yilibali/Bieshibali after 1391.

There is, in the *MSL*, an entry on the day of *guichou* of the seventh month in the twenty fourth year of Hongwu/August 28, 1391 which reads:³⁴¹ “Wanhu Hamaliding (Qamār al-Dīn)³⁴² and baihu (Company Commander) Wolusa and others who had been sent by Heide’er Huozhe (Khidr Khwāja),³⁴³ the king of Beshbalyq, came to Court and offered tribute of 21 horses and 1 gyrfalcon. It was Imperially commanded that ten biaoli variegated silks were conferred upon their king; two biaoli variegated silks and one hundred liang of silver were conferred upon Hamaliding; two biaoli variegated silks, ten liang of silver and ten ding of paper money were conferred upon Wolusa and others.”

In 1391, the Ming dynasty dispatched three embassies to Beshbalyq to announce its establishment. In the *MSL*, there is an entry on the day of *yiyou* of the ninth month in the twenty fourth year of Hongwu/September 29, 1391 which reads:

“The emperor sent zhushi (secretary) Kuanche寬徹 (Künček or Kunčak), jiancha yushi (censor) Han Jing 韓敬, and dali pingshi大理平事 (councilor) Tang Zheng 唐鉦 to the Western region. They bore an imperial letter for Heide’er Huozhe (Khidr Khwāja) of Beshbalyq.³⁴⁴”

According to the *MSL*, the Khidr Khwāja retained Kuanche, whilst two deputy envoys were allowed to return to China. In the day of *dingchou* of the first month in the thirtieth year of Hongwu/ 21 February, 1397, the Hongwu emperor dispatched an envoy to the king Khidr Khwāja of Beshbalyq with the letter.³⁴⁵ The Yongle period (1398-1424) constitutes a unique section. For example, on the day of *jiayin* of the twelfth month in the thirty fifth year of Hongwu/29 December, 1402.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ Beshbalyq was an important garrison command (*chengzhen* 城鎮) in the northWestern region during the Yuan period. Chinese transcriptions of this Turkic name with the meaning of “Five Cities” are “Bieshibali 別失八里”, “別十八里”, or “別石八里”, “Bieshima 繫思馬”, “Bieshiba 別石把” etc.

³⁴¹ *MSL*, Hongwu shilu, j. 210.

³⁴² Qamār al-Dīn, one of the Dughlat amirs of Moghūlistān between 1368-1392.

³⁴³ Khidr Khwāja (also known as Khidr Khwāja Khan), the son of Tughluq Timur khan and Khan of Moghūlistān.

³⁴⁴ Kuanche寬徹, the prince of Suwang, mentioned in the Princes Table of Yuan shi (the History of Yuan), see Yuan shi. Zhuwang biao, j.180. In the *Mu’izz al-ansāb*, called as Künček or Kunčak, the son of Qabān, see *Mu’izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb*, 2006, 54. For the English translation of this letter, see Bretschneider, I, 1910, pp. 237-238.

³⁴⁵ *MSL*, Hongwu shilu, j. 249. For the English translation of this letter, see Bretschneider, MI, 1910, I pp. 238-239.

³⁴⁶ *Taizong shilu*, j. 33. Text: 遣使齋詔諭別失八里王黑的兒火者并賜之綵幣(綵幣:廣本綵作鈔)。黑的兒火者元氏苗裔也

Envoys were sent to King Khiḍr Khwāja of Beshbalyq with the Imperial proclamations. Khiḍr Khwāja was the descendent of the Yuan Mongols (dynasty).

We also read the following:

“On the day of *jiaxu* of the seventh month in the second year of Yongle/9 September, 1404:³⁴⁷ Envoy Muxiefei'er (Muzaffar?) and others who had been sent by Shamichagan (Šams-i Jahān), the king of Beshbalyq, came to court and offered as tribute the jade and famous horses. Muxiefei'er and others were rewarded with the white golden and colored money as appropriate. Shamichagan is the son of the king Khiḍr Khwāja.”

Timur's plan for attacking Ming was reported to the Chinese court by a certain Muslim called Daowu according to the *MSL* sources. Daowu is perhaps Amir Dāud in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, one of the amirs of Amir Timur (better known in the West as Tamerlane).³⁴⁸

On the day of *gengyin* of the second month in the third year of Yongle/24 Mart, 1405:³⁴⁹

Imperial orders to Song Sheng (1341-1407), the Commissioner-in-chief and left military governor of Gansu:

“A Muslim, Daowu 倒兀 (Amir Dāud?) by name said that the Muslims of Samarqand and king Shamichagan (Šam-i Jahān) of Beshbalyq planned to attack the east (China) by passing through (Beshbalyq). They don't indulge themselves to do that. However, the regional commander of the border (of Ming) must firmly guard against them.”

The *MSL* reports that on the day of *gengchen* of the fourth month in the third year of Yongle/12 May, 1405:³⁵⁰

“The envoy was sent to Beshbalyq and conferred variegated silks (綵幣) upon king Šam-i Jahān. At that time, Loyalty and Obedience King Enke Temur of Qumul killed Guliči with poison.”

The *MSL* provides valuable information on Yilibali from 1418 to 1461 regarding the envoys to the Ming court.

The *MSL* is important for researching unsolved and little studied points of this period, notably regarding historical events in Moghūlistan from the 1390s to

³⁴⁷ Taizong shilu, j. 33. Text: 別失八里王沙迷查干遣使木寫非兒等來朝貢玉璞名馬賜木寫非兒等白金綵幣有差沙迷查干故黑的兒大者王之子也

³⁴⁸ About Amir Dāud in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, see Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 31, 36.

³⁴⁹ Taizong shilu, j. 39. Text: 敕甘肅總兵官左都督宋晟曰回回倒兀言撒馬兒罕回回與別失八里沙迷查干王假道率兵東向,彼必未敢肆志如此。然邊備常不可怠

³⁵⁰ Taizong shilu, j. 41: 遣使以綵幣賜別失八里王沙迷查干。時哈密忠順王安克帖木兒為鬼力赤毒死,沙迷查干率兵討鬼力赤之罪。

the 1610s. One such problem concerns the relationship between Moghūlistan and the Qazaq, Shaibanid and Ottoman. From materials in the *MSL*, we may conclude that the above mentioned countries had common delegations to the Ming court. For example, on the day of Renchen 壬辰 of the seventh month in the twenty seventh year of Jiajing (August 22, 1548):³⁵¹

“The envoys who had been sent by Sutan Mushafa’er (Sultan Muzaffer), the king of the five realms: Turfan, Samarqand, Mecca, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

On the day of Jisi 己巳 of the fourth month in the fourth year of Wanli (May 4, 1576):³⁵²

“The envoy of Huozhe Haxin and others who had been sent by Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu’er (Sultān Muhammed Alp Bahadur), the barbarian king and chieftain of the five realms: Turfan, Mecca, Sama’erhan, Rūm and Hami, came to the court and offered tribute of horses and local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents.”

Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu’er or Sultān Muhammad Alp Bahadur was son of Mansūr Khan, the ruler of Turfan. According to the *Tārīh-i Rasīdī*, Mansur Khan has two sons: Shāh Khan and Sultān Muhammmad.³⁵³ After the death of Mansur Khan, Sultān Muhammmad took Qamul and declared his independence with the aid of Oyrats. When Shah Khan died in 1570, Sultān Muhammmad was khan at Turfan.

According to the *MSL*, on the day Xinsi in the fourth month in the third year of the reign of Wanli (May 22, 1575) Sutan Maheima Alibu Badu’er became the new king of Turfan.³⁵⁴

“Sultan Muhammad Alp Bahadur, the chieftain of Turfan, set up as a new king.”

To make matters more confusing, Ming Chinese sources typically regard the eastern part of Moghūlistan as Tulufan dimian 土魯番地面 (“the territory of Turfan”). This territory remained in the hands of the Moghuls, who divided it into the apanages of princes (sultans), members of the branches of the Tughluq Temir clan and descendants of the Chaghatay.

The city of Tulufan first occurs in the *MSL* on the day of Wuxu 戊戌 of the

³⁵¹ Shizong shilu, j. 338, p. 6175. Chinese text: 壬辰 土魯番撒馬兒罕天方國魯迷哈密五地面速壇母沙法兒王等遣人來朝貢馬及方物宴賚如例。

³⁵² Shenzong shilu, j. 49: p. 1121. Chinese text: 土魯番王速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒差夷使火者馬黑木等貢馬匹方物如例賞 給仍賜番王表裏時土魯番天方國撒馬兒罕魯迷哈密伍地面番王頭目速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒等差夷使火者哈辛 等貢馬匹方物亦賞賚如例

³⁵³ Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 129.

³⁵⁴ *MSL*, Shenzong shilu, j. 37: 866. Chinese text: 土魯番酋速壇馬黑麻阿力卜把都兒新立為王。

fifth month in the fourth year of Yongle/May 26, 1406,³⁵⁵ and lasted until 1618.

5.4 Moghūlistan cities in the Ming Chinese maps

Aqsu

The capital of Moghūlistan occurs in the Chinese maps as *Asu cheng*, *Aqsu* in Turkic, literally ‘white water city.’ Ancient *Aqsu* nowadays refers to the city as *Wensu* in Chinese and *Aqsu Kona Shahar* in Uighur (‘Aqsu Old City’), 12 kilometers north of the modern Aqsu New City (Aqsu Yengi Shahar in Uighur). Ancient Aqsu City is situated at the confluence of two considerable rivers, Toshqan-Darya and Qumeriq-Darya, where it controlled access to the Toshqan Valley and the approach to the Bedel-art Pass, on the main route north from the Tarim Basin to Issyk Kul, and the main route from the east, with a branch to the southwest towards Kashgar. From Aqsu a caravan road goes north over the Muzart (Glacier) Pass to the head waters of the Ili River, and beyond to Almaliq.

Ardawil and Ayidili

Aqsu, the capital of Moghūlistan, was known in the fifteenth century as *Ardawil*. In the Turkic poem of *Zafarnama* of Molla Shakir (1802-?), Aqsu is referred to as *Ardawil*.³⁵⁶ Thomas Douglas Forsyth (1827-1886), a British diplomat, says that Aksu is a very ancient city and was formerly called *Arpadil* or *Arbadil*.³⁵⁷ It seems that there is a mistaken inversion of spelling; these two place names should be spelled *Ardapil* and *Ardabil*. Yudin says that since the fifteenth century, the city of Aqsu was known as *Ardebil*.³⁵⁸

The whole of the Aqsu district is, from the geographical and political points of view, both interesting and important. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Amir Bulaji selected Aqsu as his residence.³⁵⁹ In the fifteenth century, Aqsu became the capital of Moghūlistan. The khan of Moghūlistan had his residence in the city of *Ardabil*. There were the tombs of *Isān Bughā* (or *Esān Buqā*) Khān and *Akhmed Khan*.³⁶⁰

The *Renwu lüe* mentions the city of *Ayidili* 阿亦地里. Another map, the *Renwu tu*, places *Ayidili* near Aqsu, and marks the city with a special form. Meanwhile, the map *Menggu ditu* refers to *Ayidili* as *Yideyueli* 亦的約力.

Therefore, *Ayidili* and *Yideyueli* both mean *Ardawil*. The name *Ardawil* is probably derived from *Orda-i Il*, in Turkic-Perisan meaning *Horde of the Il (Country)*.

³⁵⁵ Taizong shilu, j. 54, p. 804.

³⁵⁶ Molla Shakir 1980, pp. 313-322.

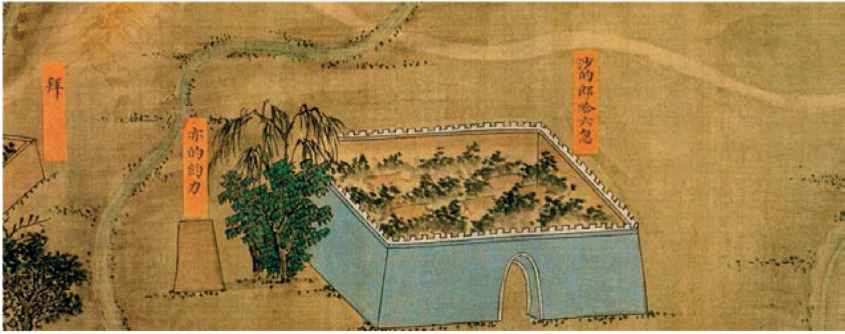
³⁵⁷ Forsyth 1875, p. 42.

³⁵⁸ Yudin 2001, pp. 90-91.

³⁵⁹ Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 7-8.

³⁶⁰ Molla Musa Sayrami 2010: p. 111.

Map 15. Yideyueli (Ardawil)



Source: Yideyueli (Ardawil) in the Menggu ditu.

Map 16. Ayidili (Ardawil)



Source: Ayidili (Ardawil) in the Gansu zhen zhanshou tulüe.

Turfan

Turfan, situated west of Qara Qoja, is also the ancient Xizhou of the Tang period. According to the *Ming shi*, the city of Tulufan was situated in the location of the city called *Anle* 安樂 of the Jiaohexian 交河縣.³⁶¹ Bretschneider argued that the name *Tulufan* appears for the first time in the Chinese annals around 1377.³⁶²

³⁶¹ *Ming shi* j. 329, Xiyu-1.

³⁶² Bretschneider 1910 II: p. 193

Map 17. Turfan and Murtuq



Source: Turfan and Murtuq in the *Menggu ditu*.

Murtuq

Near Tulufan occurs a city named *Weiluwu* 委魯毋. Scholars generally consider that this place is the predecessor of modern Urumchi. In the ‘*Xiyu zhuguo*’ of the *Bianzheng kao*, the third character of this word is written as *mu* 母. This name appears in the *Renwutu* northwest of Turfan, where it is written as *Muluwei* 母魯委. However, in the *Menggu ditu*, it stands northeast of Turfan and it is written as *Muliutu* 母六禿. I feel no hesitation in identifying it with Murtuq, the name of a city repeatedly mentioned by Chinese during the Qing times. The place № 103 (on map R 2) Mutuluk (Baddeley, p. ccviii) corresponds to *Murtuq*.³⁶³ Tao Baolian called it *Mutougou* 木頭溝. In the *Qingdai yitong ditu*, the name is written as *Mu’ertulake* 穆爾圖拉克. In the *Xiyu tongwenzhi*, it is written as *Mutulake* 穆圖拉克.

Oqsalar

The city of *Esala* 俄撒刺 (marked west of *Ya’ergan* 牙兒干) in the *Menggu ditu* or *Osala* 我撒刺 in the ‘*Xiyu zhuguo*’ of the *Bianzheng kao*. The Chinese account of *Osala* or *Esala* evidently refers to *Oqsalar*.

³⁶³ Baddeley, 1919, p. ccviii.

Oqsalar means ‘the place where they leave arrows’ in Turkic. The city of Oqsalar (modern Chinese maps mark it as *Wuheshalu* 吾合沙鲁) still exists in Xinjiang, and now belongs to the county of Ulugchat. It lies west of the city of Kashgar, midway between Ulugchat and Irkeshtam. Detailed descriptions of the city of Oqsalar are found in the *Tarikh* (Chronicle) of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, an official in the service of Moghūlistān, for example. According to him, the sultan of the Uzbeks, who occupied the Oqsalar area, led his troops south, threatening the security of Kashgar:

“It is said that when Uzbek Sultan and Khoja Quli Qoshbegi, who were leading the Uzbek army, reached Oqsalar, a command was issued that every soldier should take one arrow from their quiver and leave it there, to determine how many men had been lost. The Uzbek soldiers in Oqsalar estimated the number of arrows without owners at forty thousand.”

This anecdote offers an explanation of the name Oqsalar, which in Turkic means “They leave an arrow” or “The place where they leave arrows”. The *Menggu ditu* is a work of art, beautifully painted in multiple colors and black Chinese carbon ink on silk. The same events appear in the *Menggu ditu* as a painting: in the city of Esala (Oqsalar) there are marked arrows.

According to O.F. Akimushkin, this expedition happened towards the end of 1002/1593-1594 or 1003/1594-1595.³⁶⁴ Perhaps this is a legend; The *Bianzheng kao* makes notes of the *zhanchang* 戰場 (battlefield) of Osala.³⁶⁵ On the *Renwu tu* map, it is not marked Osala. However, Osala is denoted by grids of vertical and horizontal lines. No doubt, these grids are arrows in the fashion of the *Menggu ditu* map. It is quite probable that the name *Oqsalar* existed long before the Uzbeks. The name *Oqsalar* can be found on the early sixteenth-century map in the *Menggu ditu*, which unequivocally proves that the name was there before the sixteenth century.

³⁶⁴ Churās 2010, pp. 158, 261.

³⁶⁵ Lin Meicun 2011, p. 252; *Bianzheng kao*, j. 8: Xiyu zhuguo, p. 603.

Map 18. Esala (Oqsalar)



Source: Esala (Oqsalar) on the Menggu ditu.

Hashihali cheng 哈失哈力城

Kashgar is an ancient city in Eastern Turkestan on the river of the same name flowing northeast to join the Tarim. Its prosperity derived from its position on the great trade route from Ferghana to Jiayuguan and accommodated caravans from Herat, Ladakh, Kashmir, India, Arabia and China. In Chinese accounts of the Han period it was known as Shule 疏勒. According to the Uighur Atlas of Xinjiang, near Kahsgar there is a town called Sullyu.³⁶⁶

Adan cheng 阿丹城

Adan refers to Uduń, now known as Khotan. During the Ming period, Khotan was called Yutian and Adan by Chinese. In 1424, Khotan was called Yutian 于阗, and in 1534 its name rendered as Adan 阿丹.³⁶⁷ Since the late 19th century, the Chinese refer to Keriya (which is 166 km from Khotan) as Yutian 于阗, the ancient name for Khotan. This has confused many. During the Yuan period,

³⁶⁶ Uighur Atlas of Xinjiang, pp.138-139.

³⁶⁷ Ming Shizong shilu j. 192, p. 40.

Khotan was called Wudian 五端, Woduan 斡端 and Wudan 兀丹. In the Qing period, the main city of Khotan was called Eliqi 額里齊, Yiliqi 伊立齊 or Yiliqi 伊里齊, which is called Ilchi in Turkic.³⁶⁸

Sanzhu cheng 三築城

Sanju City is a town south of modern Guma, on the eastern bank Sanju River. Sanju had strategic and economic importance, because it was located at the junction of the roads that traveled through the Sanju Oasis to Yarkand or south over the Sanju Pass to Ladakh or Kashmir. The route wended either northwest to Kashgar or northeast to Guma and Khotan. According to Muhammad Haidar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Sanju marks the frontier along the high road to Tibet. The pass that ascends from Yarkand is the pass of Sanju, and the part of the pass that descends on the Kashmir side is the pass of Askardu. The Sanju to Askardu pass requires a twenty-day journey.³⁶⁹

Ganyang cheng'er 乾羊城兒

Kilian or Kiliyang shahar is a town west of Sanju. In the Xin Tangshu there is a reference to it as Jiliang zhen 吉良鎮 (“town of Jiliang”).³⁷⁰ It was located at the junction of the road that traveled from the Kilian Oasis to Yarkand and south over the Kilian Pas to Ladakh or Kashmir.

Yaligan cheng 牙力干城

Yaligan City is modern Yarkand, Shache of the Han period. The written form in both ancient and modern Chinese is identical; the name is regularly transcribed as Shache on modern maps. Yarkand is a Turkic name formed by yar, meaning “cliff”, and kand, “city” (the latter was originally an Iranian word, but it passed into Turkic). On the Menggu shanshui ditu the city is called Ya'ergan 牙兒干. In other Chinese sources Yaligan is referred to as Ya'erkan 鴨兒看, Ya'erqian 押兒牽 and Ye'erqiang 葉爾羌. According to Muhammad Haidar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Mirza Aba Bakr (d. 1514) made Yarkand his capital.³⁷¹

5.5 Conclusion

Moghūlistan (which included Turfan)-Ming contacts are usually mentioned very briefly and sometimes not even correctly. For example, the *Xiyu tongshi* (The general history of Western Regions), published in 1996, devotes only four pages to Eastern Chaghatay (Moghūlistan)-Ming contacts, and even on

³⁶⁸ *Xiyu shuidao ji* j.1, p. 66; Forsyth 1875, p. 33.

³⁶⁹ See Elias/Ross 1895, pp. 323, 405.

³⁷⁰ *Xin Tangshu* j. 43B, p. 1151 (“Dili” 7B).

³⁷¹ Elias/Ross 1895, p. 296.

these four pages one can find some inaccuracy. Currently used sources lead us to believe, for example, that the Yarkand Khanate was established in 1514 by annexing the territory of Turfan. In fact, Ming dynastic records made clear to me that relations between Turfan and the Ming court lasted until 1618. The term Tulufan dimian (the territory of Turfan), therefore, is another term for East Chaghatay. In the near future we hope to further our analysis of this text through an in-depth correlation and comparison with related sources.

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Footnotes of Tables

1. According to MSL, Maheima Huli Naiweng also called as Maheima Huli Naiweng 馬黑麻虎力孛翁, see Shizong shilu, j. 99: pp. 2347-2348.
2. The word na'ib is an Arabic word meaning someone who is second in command) or Nawan?
3. According to MSL, after Wuzong's death, Saiyid Husain, together with his son, Mir Muhammad (Mi'er Maheima 米兒馬黑麻), his son-in-law, Khwāja Mahmud (Huozhe Maheima 火者馬黑麻), and his niece's husband, Mir Muhammad (Mi'er Maheima 米兒馬黑麻) were all executed on December 26, 1521 (Shizong shilu j. 8: p. 315: 逆番窩亦虎仙伏誅, 其子米兒馬黑麻, 婿火者馬黑木, 姪婿米兒馬黑麻皆論死沒其家). According to *Shuyu zhoubi lu* 12: 6a, Saiyid Husain, as he was about to be executed, bribed Wuzong's intimate retainer, Qian Ning 錢寧. As a result, Saiyid Husain was vindicated and was placed, together with his son, Mahmud (Maheimu 馬黑木) and his niece's husband, Mir Muhammad (Mi'er Maheima 米兒馬黑麻), in the Huitong Guan 會同館, the reception hall of foreigners. The name of Saiyid Husain's son, was recorded inconsistently as Maheimu or Maheima in Chinese.
4. In the MSL ("Taizong shilu", j. 99; "Xuanzong shilu", j. 7, 27, 28, 29) this country is mentioned either as Qi'erma, or as Qilima 乞力麻, or as Qi'erma 乞兒蠻, and its ruler during this period as (Dalah Husilao 打刺罕合思老 (Tarhan Khusraw) or Husilao (Khusraw). According to the *Xianbin lu*, "Xiyi zhi" 4.103), northwest of *Qilima'er* 乞力麻兒 lay at sea. This name refers to the capital city of Kerman, of the Kerman province in Iran. In the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* Dalahan Husilao called as Khusraw Tarkhan. Khusraw Tarkhan is listed as amīr in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, see *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb*, 160. By 820/1417-18, Kerman was governed by Amir Gunashirin, an amir of Shahrukh, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 39.
5. In MSL ("Taizong shilu", j. 107) it is mentioned as *Ma'erhalan* 馬兒哈蘭. This is undoubtedly the city of Marghinan/Marghilan in Ferghana.
6. In the MSL ("Taizong shilu", j. 217: p. 2163), this country is mentioned together with Asu 阿速 (Aqsu), where the ruler is Hudayila 虎答亦刺 (Hudayar?): "(on

the day *jichou* of the tenth month of the seventeenth year of the reign of Yongle (5 November 1419)) the chieftain (toumu) Hudayila of Ketuobie, the chieftain Yahu sha (Yaqub shah?) of Asu (Aqsu) sent envoys and they together with the dervish of Samarqand presented horses, offered tribute of local products. Variegated silks and other goods, as appropriate, were conferred upon them (Chinese text: 可脫乚頭目虎荅亦刺, 阿速頭目牙忽沙, 各遣使并撒馬兒罕僧人迭力迷失等貢馬及方物, 賜文綺紗羅帛各有差). Ketuobie, most likely a corruption of Ardawil/Ardabil, the fifteenth century's capital of Moghūlistan.

7. In the Chinese texts, Lapchuk, west of Qumul, is written 腊竺, 蠟燭, 刺竹. Chen Cheng, in his *Xiyu xingcheng ji* (p. 35), called it *Lazhu* 腊竺. In his poetry, he called it 蠟燭.
8. There can be no doubt that Yedegan is Yetikent. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross 1895, p. 180), Yatikand is a place on the confines of Andijan, whose Persian name is *Haft-deh*, meaning “Seven towns”. Yetikent is the Turkish name for seven towns. According to the *MSL* (“Wuzong shilu”, j. 60), the ruler of Yedegan was Sult Mahmud. However, I am of the opinion that this place is located east of the Toktogul Reservoir and Karakol city in Kyrgyzhiztannow called Jetigen. Mīrẓā Muḥammad Ḥaidar mentioned Yetigen together with Uzun Ahmad. Uzun Ahmad River still exists, west of the Toktogul reservoir, a right tributary of the Naryn.
9. Cf. Table note 7.
10. The name Yibulayin is frequently mentioned in the *MSL* (“Xiaozong shilu”, j. 68) as the name of a ruler, a neighbour of the country called Yemiekelī. There can be no doubt that Yibulayin is Ibrāhīm, the son of Makhtum Khānim, sister of Vais Khan (as in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 91). Yemiekelī 野也克力 or Yemieqili 野也乞里 was located northeast of Hami, means “Wild Miekeli.” The Miekeli was called Bākriṅ or Mākriṅ in *Jami ‘u ‘t-tawarikh*, their dwelling place is in the rugged mountains of the provinces of Uighuristan, see *Jami ‘u ‘t-tawarikh*, 76. According to Bretschneider 1910, II, p. 293), in *Ming shi*, Yibulayin appears once more as the name of a country.
11. In *MSL* (“Xuanzong shilu”, j. 94, p. 95; “Yingzong shilu”, j. 84, p. 224) Kashmir is mentioned either as Geshimi 格失迷, or Keshimi’er 克失迷兒, Qieshimi’er 怯失迷兒, or by the city Alamula 阿剌母刺 (Varahmula or Baramula).
12. *MSL* (“Taizong shilu”, j. 109) mentioned this name only once as Qi’erjisi 乞兒吉思. This refers to the Yenisey Kirghizs, nowadays known as Khakas.
13. The ruler of Tashkent, Yunus Khan (1462–1487) of Moghūlistan; in *Ming shi*, the name Yunusi appears once more as the name of a country.
14. The rule of Qazaq Khanate Qasym Khan (also Qāsim Khan, 1445–1524?).

15. The kings of the Western Regions, in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe” had the title *wangzi* 王子. *Wangzi* means “son of the king” or “the Little King”.
16. Mentioned as Samahanxiong 撒馬罕兄 in the chapter “Xiyu zhuguo” of *Bianzheng kao*.
17. Zamin is a city between Tashkent and Samarqand, situated on the Zamin su, southeast of Dizakh; see Barthold 2002, p. 216.
18. Sunao Hori (1978, p. 50) identifies Qiemi with Kabul.
19. *Sizu fanhan* 四族番漢, literally means “four tribes of non-Chinese and Chinese.” This term most likely has a connection with the Siahposh people of Kafiristan. Siahposh Kafirs was the former designation of the major group of the Hindu Kush Kafirs inhabiting Kafiristan, now called Nuristan. Alternatively, it most likely refers to the four castes of varna in Hindu society, which groups society into four idealised categories: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras.
20. Sunao Hori identified this as Kabul (1978, p. 50). According to the *Renwu lüe*, Qiemi had a king. On the map *Renwu tu*, the city of Qiemi, depicted in special form, seems to point to Kashmir, then ruled by the Kashmir Sultanate (1346-1586). *Qiemi* earned notice in Yan Song’s (1480–1567) works, such as *Nangong zouyi*, completed in 1545 (Yan Song, *Nangong zouyi*, j. 29: 2295-2296), who was convinced this represented the name of *Kashmir*: In the *MSL*, Kashmir was frequently mentioned as *Qieshimi’er* 怯失迷兒, *Geshimi* 格失迷 and *Keshimi’er* 克失迷兒. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin reigned Kashmir for fifty years. It was in his reign that Kashmir became a city. Elias says that here sat the town of Srinagar, usually called *Kashmir* (Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 433-434). According to ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ in the *Bianzheng kao* and the *Renwu tu*, Renjia 人家 lay north of Qiemi. Here, *Renjia* probably refers to the city of Srinagar or Nagar in Kashmir. This seems likely, in part, because the word *renjia* in middle Chinese sounds like *ninka*.
21. Shah Ismail founded the Safavid dynasty in 1501, choosing Tabriz as his capital. Shah Tahmasp I made *Qazvin* the capital of the *Safavid* dynasty in 1548, following the temporary capture of Tabriz by the Ottomans, until it was moved to Esfahan in 1598; cf. Adle and Habib 2003, pp. 252, 255.
22. According to *Bianzheng kao* j. 8, p. 617, the city was called Feilang 菲郎.
23. Bethlehem is a Palestinian city, to the west of Dead Sea. Jesus Christ was born here. The *MSL* contains only two references to Fulin (佛菴) polity, both in the 1370s. Widely recognized as a generic reference to Byzantium, possibly referring to Constantinople.
24. Haner ren 漢兒人, according to *Shaanxi tong zhi*, j. 49, “Xiyu tudi renwu tu”, refers to Juhan’er ren. The “Renwu lüe” describes the Juhan’er as an ethnic group, rather than Chinese as Bretschneider (1877, 240f) and other Chinese

scholars (Li Zhiqin 2004, p. 120; Lin Meicun 2011, p. 89) suggest. This term probably denotes *kuffar*, which is an Arabic term that, used in an Islamic doctrinal sense, usually translates as “unbeliever” or “disbeliever,” *Juhan’er ren* or *kuffar* refers to Europeans or Christians. In Middle Chinese the character of *ju* 俱 sounds like *kyə* or *ku*. The author of “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe” usually adds the suffix ‘-n’ to write many toponyms. For example, *fandian’er* 飯店兒 in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe”, means “hotel” or “little hotel” in Chinese. But here the city of Batn Mar is a town near Mecca. The Chinese name sounds like *Juhan’er*, which stands precisely for *kuffar*.

25. The name for the country of Rum originates as a reference to the city of Rome, however, over time it came to refer to Constantinople and, by the late thirteenth century, to the Ottoman Empire. Chinese sources reflect this. In *MSL* the country of Rum appears in four different forms: Roumi 肉迷, *Lumi*, *Rong* 戎, and *Rong dimian* 戎地面 (Place of the Rong). Bretschneider first correctly identified *Lumi* with Rum, and recognized the existence of alternative names like *Rong dimian*, which appears in the “Menggu shanshui ditu”.
26. The epithet *Küçük* means “little” (or “young”).



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