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

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FOREWORD

The “The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibanid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources” monograph that you are about the 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 Shibanid 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 Shibanid 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 understanding historical and political relations between the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Tūqmāq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shibanid 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 Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources” that could be considered as one of the impeccable works in this area.

Prof. Dr. Musa Yildiz,
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 by kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Orientabteilung.
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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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The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources
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 Shībānid 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 Shībānid, Rūm and Moghūlistan in Chinese historical literature, including the *Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu* (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute), the *Da Ming huidian* (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty), the *Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu* (The memorial on that Uzbek barbarians should not be addressed as king in tribute), Yan Song’s *Nangong zouyi* (The South Palace memorials) and Yan Congjian’s *Shuyu zhou zilu* (Informative records on countries far away), as well as key sources like the *Ming shilu* (Veritable records of the Ming dynasty), the *Ming shi* (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. 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.

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 Shībānid dynasty, and Rūm.

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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 中央研究院 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, drive most of their knowledge from it. Therefore, the MSL enjoys an indispensible 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 lüe” 西域土地人物略 (Commentary on the Territories, Peoples and Natural Products of the Western Region, hereafter Renwu lüe) of the Shaanxi tongzhi tongzhi 陝西通志 (Provincial gazetteer for Shaanxi) compiled in 1542 (the twenty-second year of Jiajing 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 lüe 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

Regarding research on the Tûqmâq-Ming, Qazaq-Ming and the later Shībânîd-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 Tûqmâq, the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībânîd 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 *Qazaqlîq, 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 *Qazaqlîq* 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.
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 Jamiʿ uʾt-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). 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 khan 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 Ḥājjī b. Mawlānā Dūstī in Khwārazim in ca. 1555 and dedicated to Dūst Muḥammad Khān of Khwārazmian Özbek “Arabshāhid” dynasty, Batu’s Ulus was officially known as the Sarāy Wilāyati.

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 Özbek uruks in today’s Turgay province, in the vicinity of “Ak Göl” (White Lake), raised to the throne as Khiḍr Khān, who was a descendant of the Shiban.

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

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8 Ūtamīsh Ḥājjī, Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān, ed. and trans. V. P. Yudin, with M. Kh. Abuseitova, as Chingiz-Name. Almaty: Ghyl™, 1992 Ütap. 38b-39a; Ötemis qazhy, Shyngɣys-name, ed. and trans. by M. Q. Äbuseyitova. Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türki derektemeleri (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources), Vol. 5, Almaty: Dayk, 2006 Ütep. 183, p. 225. The usage the term of āyur 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.

Jochid Ulus. For instance, the MSL refers to Jochid Ulus as Salai. 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, Salí-Weiwu’er (Sariy Uiýur), Salai (Saray), and Sama’erhan (Samarqand).” 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 huinhui (Sariy Uiýur), Niebek (Özbek?) and others came to Court and offered tribute of horses. Paper money and variegated silks, were conferred upon them”.

1.2.2 Özbek and Yuezubo

The Turkic people of the entire Dasht-i Qipchāq (Qipchāq steppe), from the Syr Darya River, and Khwārazm 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). 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). 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 arbaʿ ulūs by Ulūgh Beg that traced the origin of the designation Özbek to Özbek Khan.

10 Ming Taizu shilu, j. 232, p. 3395.
11 Chinese text: 西域之部七, 西天泥八剌國, 朵甘, 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,聶癿等來朝,貢馬賜鈔及襲衣.
13 Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī’s son Zain al-Dīn, ibid, p. 97 (trans.)
14 Tārīkh-i guzīda, ibid, p. 266 (text), p. 97 (trans.)
“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 dîn-i İslâmga körküzdi barça ḫalq ol şâhib-i davlatnîn sabâbiîn şarâf-i İslâmga muşarraf boldîlar andîn song barça Jochi elini Özbäk eli tedilîr).”

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). 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 Uzbeg Ulus or Uzbekistan.

At the end of the geographical section, the Yuan shi (History of the Yuan) offers an appendix entitled ‘Xibei di fulu 西北地附録 (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. According to the “Yuan shi”, 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), Bulı’a’er 不里阿耳 (Bulghar), Sajila 撒吉剌 (Saqlab), Hualazimo 花剌子模 (Khwārazim), Sailan 賽蘭 (Sayram), Ba’erchihan 巴耳赤邗 (Bārchīnlîɣ-kand, Ba’erchili 巴耳赤利 in Jingshi dadian dili tu), Zhande 氪的 (Jend or Jand, Zhande 氪 of in Jingshi dadian dili tu). The last two cities appear on the famous Kangnido map, as Balichiyan 八里赤岩 (Bārchīnlîɣ-kand) and Chande 慼的 (Jend).
As mentioned above, the first half of sixteenth century Ming Chinese chroniclers refer to the Qazaq Khanate as 額即癿, or 額即朶-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 Tuohuma 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 Muʿīnī by Muʿīn al-Dīn Ṣafar al-Dīn Ṣafar al-Dīn Ḩażīrī, written in Persian in 1413-14 for Shāhrukh, Ṣafar al-Dīn Ḩażīrī refers to the Golden Horde as the Tūqmāq Ulus (ūlūs-i Tūqmāq).24 Ṣafar al-Dīn Ḩażīrī also employs the term Tūqmāq to refer to the armies of both Temūr Malik, the son of Uruś Khan and Ṭoqtamīsh. 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 Shībānid 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 Ḫūchī Khān).26 Maḥmūd b. Abū’l-Walī calls the army that gathered around Abū’l-Khayr Khan “the Tūqmāq army” (sipāḥ-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 脫火

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

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 Toγmaγ. 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 Naẓar (r. 1538–1580) as Toγmaγ 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 Naẓar as Toγmaγ. 35. The Mongolian anonymous Čaɣan 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 Toγmaγ’s Mang Kulig Sultan qaɣan and the Sartaγul’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), Saɣang Sečen Qong Tayijii (1604–?) called Toγmaγ’s king as Mengülig sultan qaɣan. 37. Mongolian chronicle’s usage of Sultan qaɣan 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 qaɣan 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 掠思干 (Semizkend, i.e. Samarqand). 38. Sayang Sečen refers to the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq or Jochid

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30 Yingzong shilu (Veritable records of the Yingzong (Emperor) of the Ming), j. 24: p. 489.
33 Joo-Yup Lee, 2016, p. 137.
Uluses *Toy'may Ulus*. In mentioning the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq, Lubsan Danzan, the author of the *Altan Tobči* (The Golden Button) also designates Jochid Ulus as *Toy'may*.  

According to Z. V. Togan, ‘among the Khiva Özbeks, the term (in Ebülgazi) known as “Togna”; 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.

Naṭanzī also employs the term Tūqmāq to refer to the armies of both Temür Malik, the son of Urus Khan and Toqtamîsh.

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

Modern Kazakhstan, which corresponds roughly to the eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq, belonged to the left wing or eastern wing of the Jochid Ulus. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq ruled by Orda Ichen was formally subjected to the khans Sarây or Ulus of Batu but practically enjoyed total independence in matters in inner affairs. The Eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq ruled by Orda Ichen and his successors was called Āq Ûrda (White Horde), centred on Sighnaq (in Kazakhstan) in the Persian sources of the Timurid and later periods. In the first half of the XV. century Āq Ûrda, the predecessor of the Qazaq Khanate, whose possessions included lands of the Dasht-i-Qipchâq, modern Central Kazakhstan and some parts of Western Kazakhstan, was one of the most powerful states in Central Asia. Kunyu wanguo quantu 坤舆万国全图 (“Complete Geographical Map of Ten Thousand Countries”, 1602) by Matteo Ricci, show a place called Baiying 白营 in Central Asia. Baiying means “White Camp” in Chinese, which is the Chinese translation of Āq Ûrda (White Horde).

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39 Wulan, “2000, pp. 163, 231 [trans], 584 [text].
41 Togan, Z. V., 1942-1947, p. 31; Togan, Z. V., T994, p. 27.
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 Dashti-i Qipchâq – Āq Orda or Kök Orda? For instance, in the Târīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān or Shyngɣys-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 Kök Orda (Blue Horde) of the Silver Threshold and Shiban’s the Boz Orda (Grey Horde) of the Steel Threshold. The Eastern Dashti-i Qipchâq ruled by Orda and his successors was called Синяя Орда (Sinyaya Orda) in the Russian and Kök 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 Kök Orda, see Mingulov, N.N., K nekotorym vprososam izucheniya istorii Ak-Ordy. Kazakhstan v epohu feodalizma (Problemy etnopoliticheskoi istorii) (Various questions on research regarding history of Ak-Ordy (Problems of ethnopolitical history)). Alma-Ata, 1997; Mingulov, N.N., Pishulina K.A., Ak-Orda v XIV veke. Istoriya Kazakhstana (s drevneishih vremen do nashih dnei) (Ak-Orda in XIV century. History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to present)). Vol. 2, Alma-Ata, 1997; Uskenbay, K., Ulusy pervyh 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.
I.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 Oyirat\(^{47}\) 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”.\(^{52}\)

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\(^{45}\) 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: 謝其國人，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。

\(^{49}\) Yangï, 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), Taipei, 1969, p. 427.

\(^{52}\) Yingzong shilu, j. 24: p. 489. Chinese text: 辛酉，瓦剌、哈蜜、脫火麻三地面...等俱來朝貢馬及方物，賜宴並賜賜幣等有差.
The King of Tuohuma was recorded in the MSL as Maheima 马黑麻, on the day renxu of the fourth month of the eleventh year of the reign of Zhengtong (22 May 1447):

“The envoy Tumintu Maheima 秃敏秃马黑麻 (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”.

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

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 火只马黑麻 秃敏秃 (Khwāja Muḥammad Tümäntu) 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”.

The envoy Huozhi Maheima Tumintu is mentioned again in subsequent years as the name of Tumintu Maheima 秃敏秃马黑麻:

“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”.

Who was Tumintu Maheima? An envoy from Samarqand, mentioned at least three times between 1437-1448, bore the names of Maheima Tumintu 马黑 麻秃敏秃, Shehei Maheima 拈黑马黑麻 (Sheikh Maḥmūd) or Shehei Maheima Tumaitu 拈黑马黑麻禿买禿 (Sheikh Maḥmūd Tümäntu). One of the envoys of Yemili Huozhe also called as Maheima Tumiantu 马黑麻秃秃 (Sultan Muhammad) was transliterated into Tibetan as Sultan Maqemat (Gaochang guan ke, p. 62).

54 In the MSL, the name of Muḥammad trans. into Chinese as Maheima马里黑, while the name of Mahmūd trans. as Maheimu 马黑木. In the Uighur documents Gaochang guan ke of Ming dynasty Sultan Maheima 速壇馬黑麻 (Sultan Muhammad) was trans. into Turkic as Sultan Maqemat (Gaochang guan ke, p. 62).
57 Yingzong shilu, j. 154: p. 3020. Chinese text: 劉叔龍等俱為所鎮撫．
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: tümäntu, which marked a high rank among the nobility; military unit of ten thousand. The unit of ten thousand is used throughout the Jami’u’t-tawarikh for the Turkish tümän. The subdivisions of the tümän were the ming, yüz, on. It was one component of the tümän, the ‘division’ of ten thousand.

In the MSL also mentioned an envoy from Taolaisi (Tabriz) called Dalahan shehei Maheima minhatu 打剌罕舍黑馬黑麻閩哈禿 (Tarkhān sheikh Muḥammad Mingɣatu):

(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).

The last part of his “Mongol-Turkic” title, minhatu, is transcription of the word mingɣatu (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).

“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)

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61 Mongolian title tümäntu, in Chinese wanhu 萬戶.
62 Mongolian title mingɣatu, in Chinese qianhu 千戶 (chiliarch).
63 Chinese text: 宣德六年八月戊午, 讨来思万户亦思马因遣使臣打剌罕舍黑马黑麻・闽哈禿等来朝贡方物.
64 Chinese text: 哈密忠順王倒瓦答失里, 頭目脫脫不花; 亦力把里地面也密力虎者王; 巴剌罕地面頭目舍剌; 土魯番地面也密力虎者王并妃右瓦兒速擅等; 塞蘭地面頭目革來壇; 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; 阿剌毋剌地面賽你阿卜丁, 王子阿的罕沙; 與克失迷兒, 哈剌火州, 帖力蠻, 塞蘭等一百二十一處地面頭目俱遣使來朝, 貢馬: 賜宴并綵幣表裏紵絲襲衣等物.
Daoawadashili (Dawadasiri/Dawadaširi)65 and headman Tuotuo buhua (Toqto Buqa or Toytő Buqa) from Hami (Qamul); King Yexian Buhua (Isān Bughā or Esān Buqa Khan)66 and his wife Hudu sudan (Qut Sulṭān?), 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 Sulṭān?),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 Sulṭān?) from Sailan dimian (the territory of Sayram);70 headman Sulutan Mahimeu (Sultān Mahmūd) from Badansha (the territory of Badakhshan);71 headman Su’er Busawen (Sultān Abī Sa’īd?) from Sulutanya dimian (the territory of Sulţānīya);72 King Zhanibie (Janibek) from Asibie dimian (the territory of Özbek);73 King Sultan Ali (Ṣułṭān Ali) from Sheliwan-naiding

65 Daoawadashili is a descendant of Chaghatay Khan, the ruler of Qamul. According to the Ming shi, Daoawadashili died in 1457 and his brother Buliege was elected as zhongshun wang, see Shela, i. 329, Xiyu I, Hami wei. Daoawadashili is also known as Hali Suolutan (哈力鎖魯檀), see MSL, Yingzong shihu, j. 62. About the person Dawadasiri/Dawadaširi, see Pelliot, P. Le Hôja Et Le Sayyid Hasain de L’histoire Des Ming, Leiden, 1948, pp. 136, 198.

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

67 According to the Uighur documents Gauchang guan ke of Ming dynasty, Shela 速壇 was trans. into Turkic as Shela, this full name is Shela Mahamushe舍刺馬赫木沙 (Shela Maqamutsha), see Gauchang 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.

69 According to the Ming shi, after the death of Xeyian 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，命以綵幣賜王及王等玉馬。 王母。

70 The ‘Mu’izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb (The Book in Praise of Genealogies) which is a genealogy of the Chaghatid and the Timurid families written in Persian in 1426-1427, mentioned Gawhar Sulṭān, 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.

71 The Chinese form Gelaitan most likely a copyist error for Gelai sutan. The Chinese text: 舍刺馬赫木沙, see MSL, Yingzong shihu, j. 62.

72 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，命以綵幣賜王及王等玉馬。 王母。

73 During the reign of Timur’s great-grandson Abū Sa’īd, the local ruler Badakhshan is Sultān Muhammad, about Sulutan Mahimeu see Ralph, K., 2005, 200, n. 830. Timur’s great-grandson Abū Sa’īd (son of Mīränshah, 1424-1469), also known as Mīrzā Khān would continue to rule Badakhshan until his death in 1520/1. See Elias and Ross 1895 pp. 220–221.
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 Abû’l-Khayr. In medieval Chinese sources, the Arabic personal name ‘Abû’ is translated into Chinese as ‘bu’.78 For instance, Abû Sa’îd, the last Ilkhanid ruler (1316-1335), is mentioned in the Yuan shi as Busaiyin 不賽因. Abû’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 Däftär-i Čingiz-namâ, Abû’l-Khayr Khan is called Bolyar Khan.80 Jalayyr Qadyr-𝗬𝗮𝗹𝗶 bi, a later Qazaq historian, who wrote the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh in the Kasimov Khanate in the early seventeenth-century, called Abû’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 (Tūqmāq) 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,

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 賽你阿卜丁; 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 Haider Khan Shah; cf. Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 428, 433.


78 For instance, Abū Sa`īd, the last Ilkhanid ruler (1316-1335), is mentioned in the Yuan shi as Busaiyin 不賽因. Abû’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 Däftär-i Čingiz-namâ, Abû’l-Khayr Khan is called Bolyar Khan.80 Jalayyr Qadyr-𝗬𝗮𝗹𝗶 bi, a later Qazaq historian, who wrote the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh in the Kasimov Khanate in the early seventeenth-century, called Abû’l-Khayr Khan as Bulkhayr Khan.81

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 Shlevan uiding sounds like Shirvan-i Ajam (which means Persian Shirvan). Alternatively, the name Shlevan uiding sounds like Sirvanad, a town to the west of Hamadan. In MSL (“Taizong shilu”, j. 162.3) it is mentioned as Shilovin 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.

79 The Yingzong shilu, j. 224; p. 4851.


were conferred upon them.  

Table 1. Jochid Ulus tribute to the Ming dynasty

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

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 Özbek into “Özbek”, “Qazaq”, and “Manghit-Nogay” took place not in the Idil basin but while they were living in the Syr Darya basin. 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 Shībānid power, took control of some fortresses of Khwārazim. At the turn of the sixteenth century, Muḥammad Shībānī led the invasion of his fellow Shībānids and their non-Chingīzid 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

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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 khanal authority at Tura, in the region Ibir-Sibir. According to the the Tārīkh-i Abū’l-Khayr Khānī, another general history up to Abū’l-Khayr Khan and his descendants, written in Persian by Masʾūd Kūhistānī, before the conquest of the Syr Darya region, Abū’l-Khayr Khan ruled only the region Ibir-Sibir until 1446.

With the help of Edigü’s grandson Vaqqāṣ 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 Bahr al-asrār fi 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. Astrahanskoе Hanstvo, Moscow, 2004, p. 36.
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 Urūsid 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 sultan 革來速壇, a Turkic name that would be written Kerey Sulṭān, great-grandsons of Urūs Khan, a central figure in 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 the nineteenth century. Read Girāy for Gadāy. Gadāy is a typical Persian
typographical error.  

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
diplomatic exchange between the Ming court and the Qazaq Khanate began to
appear in the MSL.  

Based on this information, Kim Hodong argues that Janibek Khan and Kerey Khan’s flight to Moghūlistan took place in the early 1450s.  

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. 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 Ejibie-
Haxin in Ming sources

2.3.1 The Qazaq Uzbeks (Uzbek-i Qazāq)

In Turko-Persian sources, the term Uzbek-i Qazāq first appeared during the
middle of the fifteenth century, in the Matlaʿ-i saʿdain va majmaʿ-i bahraīn,
the Timurid history covering the period from 1304 to 1470, written in Persian
by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd 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 jamʿī az
lashkar-i Uzbek qazāq shuda bi-vilāyat-i Māzandarān mī-āmadand va har jā
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

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 творf-i Dasht-i Qibchāq va үзбакān-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 Ḥaīdar 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, Fażlullāh 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 that there were three tribes (tāyifa) that “belong to the Uzbeks” (mansūb bi-Uzbak). 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 Fażlullāh 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 Ḥājjī 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 Edīgī, 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. Edīgī himself was associated with the ‘Ulus-i Üzbaki’ already in the work of Mu ‘in ad-Dīn Ṣanṭızā.

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Like Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Rūzbihān refers to the Shībānids and the Qazaqs as “Shībānīd Uzbek(s)” (Uzbekān-i Shībānī) and “Qazaq Uzbek(s)” (Uzbekān-i Qazzāq), respectively. Jalayyr Qadyr-Ɣali 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.

2.3.2 Ejibie-Haxin 额即札哈辛

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. 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) 额即札哈辛 (卒). Before giving the transcription and translation of this name, it is important to mention here briefly the character 札. 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. Additionally, the online Dictionary of Chinese Characters (Handian 漢典) gives the Mandarin romanization for 札 as qie. 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 札. 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-ki-she 克癿計; K'o-t'o-ki-she 可脱癿; Kia-shi-hu-du 癿失虎都; Ha-la-t’ie-ki 哈喇帖癿; T’ie kia lie sze 帖朶列思, and Mi-kia-le 迷癿力.

Ding Qian 丁謙 (1843–1919), a scholar of the late Qing period, claimed that 克癿 was the city of Hazha-er 哈札爾, which belonged to Turkey. It seems that Ding Qian pronounced 札 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 添哥癿兒的 (T’ien-ko-pai-eul-ti).

Cen Zhongmian declared that 札 is a popular version of the character po 魄, and from this interpretation concluded that the name
In fact, the character 癿, 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 札尼癿, and the name of Muḥammad Shaybaq (or Shībānī), the first ruler of the Shībānid Khanate, as Shayibie 沙亦癿. Tārīkh-i Rashīdī refers to Muḥammad Shaybaq as Shāhi Beg Khān. The MSL refers to Shaybānī as fanwang Shayibie 番王沙亦癿, 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.”

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

Based on the above argument, the name 額即癿 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 (額即癿) 哈辛 also written as Ejibie-Hazu (額即癿) 哈卒. 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).”

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Lun Ejibie yiren bude chengwang jingong shu 論額即癿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.

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105 Jānībek was the first Qazaq khan and upon Jānībek’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. Muḥammad 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 論額即癿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

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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，分在北山地名額即癿寄住，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，都像達子模様，不通進貢。正德拾叄年，有哈辛王因土魯番犯邉，差着我哥哥土魯孫等一十名，隨帶方物前來甘粛州通路，奏報邉情，赴京進貢，挐去的賞賜錢粮都交付哈辛收了。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，這幾年不曾差差人去，頭目寫子番本，差着我火者皮列帶領伍拾捌箇人，進着馬駝、方物到了哈蜜，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，等我囬來一答裏去。’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，奶翁等差着各國人士來進貢，我們一答裏纔來到了肅州。有撫夷百戶陳剛、通事馬驥審驗，我們把額即癿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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rulers</th>
<th>Envoys</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tulufan</td>
<td>Sultan Mansu’er</td>
<td>Maheima hulmaiaweng</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Sulfān Mansur Khān (1482/3–1543), a khan of Turfan (eastern Moghūlistan) from 1503 until his death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Muhammad Qul Na’īb or Nawān,)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>149 evnoys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianfāng guo</td>
<td>Sultan Zhalading</td>
<td>Huozhe Akeli</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sultān Jalal ad-Din)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sama’erhan</td>
<td>Sultan Abuxiyei</td>
<td>Huozhe Maheima</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Abū Sa’īd-Khān Muzaffar al-Din (r.1550-1553), the fourth ruler of Shībānid dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Muhammad Qasym)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Huozhe Maheima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Khwāja Muhammad), 106 evnoys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejibie Haxin</td>
<td>Mahaima Haxin</td>
<td>Huozhe Pilie</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>The MSL called this envoy as jiu yi Huoze Pilie 賊夷火者皮列 (Traitor Huoze Pilie), see Shizong shilu, j. 239: 4853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Muhammad Qasym)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Huozhe Maheima</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Khwāja Muhammad)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Huozhe Pilie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Khwāja Bilal), 106 evnoys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hami wei</td>
<td>Xizhi dadu</td>
<td>Manla Yismayin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The hereditary tutuq (Chief Military Commissioner) Mir Muhammad, perhaps the son of the Chief Military Commissioner (Dudu mil) of Hami, Sayyid Husain (Xieyi Huxian).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Mulla Ismayil)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Mulla Ismayil)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 榮科 (the Office of Scrutiny for Rites) of the Ming court in August 1518.111

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111 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。中間不會有使臣來。近間，有兄弟能每會在一處了，有約亦王，要我與他做頭領那一件，我全依從來。有察哈台王眾人會，固要速壇滿速兒做了王子，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，這個約會定了。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，罕罕的物件，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、達馬九疋，專差使臣馬黑麻打剌罕做使臣。該用的求討的快些打發囬來等。
“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, 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, the people elected Sulṭān Mansur Khan as a king, other famous princes obey him. Sulṭān 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) as a special envoy, presented 4 xima horses, 9 dama 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 nusrat-nāma is a history of the Chingizids down to the formation of the Shībānid Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, called Jochi as Yochi.

In the previous article, I mention that Haxin refers to Qazaq. 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 Buründüq) Khan, the descendants of Janibek became the only Jochi lineage to

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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 nusrat-nāma. 

113 Qazaqstan tarhyth turalı türki derektemeleri (The History of Kazakhstan in the Turkic Sources), Almaty, 2006, Vol. 5. p. 46. The Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nusrat-nāma is a history of the Chingizids down to the formation of the Shībānid Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan.

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


retain the throne of the Qazaq Khanate. In the Qipchak steppe, by 1511 Qasym Khan, son of Janibek Khan succeeded Buründük Khan as the new ruler of the Qazaq Khanate. During his reign, the Qazaq Khanate developed into a nomadic empire that stretched from the Altay Mountains in the east to the Zhayiq (also Yayiq 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-āṣār, 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 Qipchak. 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. Perhaps Alatau (Alaq-tau) is a corruption of Uluq-Tau, modern Uly-Tau in the Central Kazakhstan. Jalayyr Qadyr-Yali bi, in his Jamīṭ at-tavarikh, states that “Urus Khan 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.” 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 Taldyqorghan in southeastern Kazakhstan, or refers to the Tekes valley in the border of Kazakhstan and China.

The Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ written by Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣīfī (1485-1566) in the early sixteenth century also provides an account of Shībānids khan’s (Kūchūm Sultan, 1510-1535, Kecheng sudan可重سئل in MSL) campaign against the Qazaqs in 1516/1517, which is included in the section titled ‘the Book of Conquest

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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.


123 Mīrzā Muḥammad Haidar called Tekes river as Tikā River, see Elias and Ross 1895, p. 365.
of the Qazaqs” (*Fathnāma-i qazāq*). In this section, he uses the designation Qazāqstān to designate the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan, including Issyk Köl. 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 Toktogul reservoir, a right tributary of the Naryn in Kyrgyzstan), Sugun Sumur (mod. Suusamyr, a valley in Kyrgyzstan), Sungak (possibly a corruption of Song Köl, 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”, Burkachha (modern Buguchu in Naryn), Uzunkuluk (unknown), San-Tash (the mountain San Tash is located to the west of the lake of Song Köl; San Tash, a place east of Issyk Köl), Issyk Köl 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 Moghūlistan became known as Qazaqstan 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. In particular, as a result of these diplomatic agreements, the king of Haxin participated in the diplomatic mission of Sultan 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 Huítongguan, (the state of) Ejibie-Haxin is Dada huiyi (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


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-Rashid Khan (a khan of Moghūlistan, r. 1533-1560) was named Chūchük Khanim. This Chūchük Khanim was the daughter of Sultan Adik, the son of Janī Bek the Kazakh, Muhammad Khan sent Mirzā 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 Tükä Khan (Tauke Khan) the Kazakh. See Churās, Shāh-Maḥmūd b. Mirzā Fāżīl, *Khronika*, trans. and ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Sankt-Peterburg Peterburgskoe Lingvistich. 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 Üzbeks.”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 envos 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, Turfān, Samarqand and Ejibie) sent the envos to the Ming court, mostly led by shaikhs or khwajas. In the autumn of 1524, sultan Mansur (Sudan Mansu-et) and his general Khwāja Taj-ud-din (Huozhe 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 Turfān and Tashkent.131 Perhaps they controlled the caravan sarays in the major cities, such as Turfan, Qumul (also Qamul/Qāmul), Yarkand, Bukhara, etc.132

Xia Yan 夏言(1482－1548), courtesy name Gongjin (公謹), pseudonym Guizhou 127 Chinese text: 據本舘通事王鳳,查稱額即癿哈辛,係韃靼囬夷,素未入貢,今亦差來使臣伍拾捌名,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 明經世文編 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 persons. 128 Quoted from Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 184; also see Mihmān-nāma-yi Buhārā, 1974, p. 217. 129 See Joo-Yup Lee, 2013, p. 170; 2016, p. 125. 130 MSL, Ming Shizong shilu, j. 43; Zhang Tingyu 張廷兩, Ming shi 明史 (The History of Ming. Taibei, Guofang yanjuyuan 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 Kashgar, Qazaqstan Taryhy Turaly Turki Derektemeleri (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 Kashgar. 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.
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

(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). 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). 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. Based on the above, it seems reasonable to guess that the ethnonym Uzbek 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. Ming shi lists twenty-nine names of dimian 地面 (territories)

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133 Xia Yan, Guizhou Zouyi, j.6: 論額即癿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 达子, the other name for Tatars (Mongols), partly survived in the popular language as Dazi.
136 Shuyu zhouzi lu 15.492f.
137 CE DaMing huidian, j. 107, “Chaugong san” 賚贡三 (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Country Name</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Qi’erma</td>
<td>乞兒麻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mi’erhalan</td>
<td>米兒哈蘭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kethue</td>
<td>可脫癿</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lazhu</td>
<td>蠟燭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Yedegan</td>
<td>也的干</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Lazhu</td>
<td>刺竹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Yibulayin</td>
<td>亦不剌因</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Geshimi</td>
<td>格失迷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Qi’erji</td>
<td>乞兒吉思</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Yunusi</td>
<td>羽奴思</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Haxin</td>
<td>哈辛</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (“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 加撒基韃而靼 (Qazaq Tatars, Kunyu quan tu). Sanjiadai Da’erda 散加帶韃而靼 (Chagatay Tatars), Yasidalagan 亚私大蠟甘 (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

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138 Cf. Mig 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” (A Complete Geographical Map of Mountains and Seas), appeared in 1584 and is now lost. The second edition, “Shanhai yudi quantu” (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” (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 (Chanzhu), 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 Uzbek) led by Janibek and Kerey and their descendants were still viewed as Uzbeks by the following Central Asian writers without being differentiated from the Shībānid Uzbeks. As mentioned earlier, Ming historians refer to the Uzbeks led by Abū’l-Khayr Khan as Tuohuma 脫忽麻 (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 (Sulṭān Mansur) of Tulufan 吐魯番 (Turfan), Sutan Zhalading 速壇札剌丁 (Sulṭān Jalal ad-Din) of Tianfang 天方 (Arabia), et al.; Sutan Abuxieyi 速壇阿卜寫亦 (Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd) of Sama’erhan 撒馬爾罕 (Sarmaqand) et al.; 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 鞏靼回夷 (Tatar Muslim). (Ejibie) never came to pay tribute before, but (it) now also sent over fifty people (to China).

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.
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 Moghūlistan, and was called the *Uzbek-i Qazaq*. 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 Moghūlistan and established the Qazaq Khanate. Their influence grew rapidly and flourished under Qasym Khan (also Qāsim Khan, 1445–1524?), an accomplished military leader and wise politician.

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 Moghulīstan. Isān Bughā Khān received them with great honor, and delivered over to them Kuzi Bāshi, which is near Chu, on the Western limit of Moghulīstan, where they dwelt in peace and content. On the death of Abū’l-Khayr Khān the Ulus of the Uzbegs 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 Uzbeg-Kazāk (Qazaq).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (reign year)</th>
<th>Name of Khanate</th>
<th>Name of Khan or Envoy</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1453 (Jingtai 3)</td>
<td>Asibie dimian 阿思癿地面</td>
<td>King of Zhanibie</td>
<td>“Yingzong shilu”, j. 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1518 (Zhengde 13)</td>
<td>Ejibie-Haxin額即癿哈辛</td>
<td>Tulusun 土魯孫 (Tursun); Huo泽 Pilie</td>
<td>Ejibie jingong shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532 (Jiajing 11)</td>
<td>Ejibie-Haxin額即癿哈辛</td>
<td>Envoy of Tursun</td>
<td>“Shizong shilu”, j. 135 (The envoy of Tursun from Ejibie is also found in Shuyu zhouzi lu 15.492f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533 (Jiajing 12)</td>
<td>Ejibie額即癿</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Shizong shilu”, j. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533 (Jiajing 12)</td>
<td>Ejibie-Hazu額即癿哈卒</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Shizong shilu”, j. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537 (Jiajing 16)</td>
<td>Ejibie-Haxin額即癿哈辛</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Shizong shilu”, j. 196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ming shilu.

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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 Tarihy*, 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 Uzbegistān, 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 dney, 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 (Qozy Basi) in Zhetisu (Semirechiiye) 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 Saʿīd, i.e. Janibek. Janibek and Kerey himself, indeed, first appear under their Islamic names of Abū Saʿīd or Bū Saʿīd and Aḥmad in the Muʿizz 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 Aq Ûrda, centered on Sighnaq (Siynaq in the Persian sources) of the Timurid and later periods. It may be usefull at this moment briefly to look back in time. Since 1368, the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq was held by

147 Elias and Ross 1895, p. 82.
by Urūs Khan’s (1361–1377) house seated in Sighnaq. After the death of Chimitay (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 Tuɣluq-Temür, 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 Chimitay, took over power in Sighnaq 1368/1369.

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 khanal authority (1368-1377) at Sighnaq, in the southern Dasht-i Qipchāq. 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. Ītamīsh Ḥājjī b. Mawlānā Dūstī in his Tārīkh-i Dūst Sultān (or Chingiz-Name) informed that Urūs Khan was the great sovereign, and “governed the vilayets of all Turkistan.” According to Johann Schiltberger, a German captive who was in the Qipchāq steppe, serving a Jochid contender to the throne, Machmet (Uluğ Muḥammad) overcame Warach (Barāq Khan), a grandson of Urūs Khan, the son of Qūyūrchūq, the father of Janibek, and again became king. In 1420–1421, Barāq Khan went to Timur’s grandson Ulugh 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 Jāqī (1404-1444/1445), embarked on a campaign to the north. However, at Sighnaq his army was crushed. When negotiations faltered with Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrūkh, Barāq embarked upon successive booty
raids against Samarqand. Barāq Khan was killed by Sulṭān Mahmud (oɣlan) in Moghūlistan in 1428-1429 and this led to further Āq Orda fragmentation. 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.”

Starting from 1440s, the word Uzbek-i Qazāq began appearing in the Matlaʿ-i saʿdain va majmaʿ-i bahrain. The Uzbeks defeated Shahrukh’s forces, killing another one of Shahrukh’s important commanders, Hajjī 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”. 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). Matthias divides the “Tatars” into “Zauolhenses” (i.e., beyond the Volga), Przecopenses (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).

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

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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. 1392-1419, d. 1419).
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

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 khanal 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 Masʾūd 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. Abū’l-Khayr Khan beat the two brothers and captured Orda-Bazar, although Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan were able to flee. According to the Bahr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār, after the battle, Maḥmūd Khan and Aḥmad Khan returned and ruled their realm.

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

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. 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 Bahr 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 (Moghūlistan) chiefs called Gelai and Busayi. 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 Ayrtau, 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 Ayrtau. For example, Āgri (curve in ancient Turkic) – iyir (curve in modern Qazaq), and finally exchanged for Ayrtau.

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 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 Busayi 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

_Baḥr 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 vuṣūl bi- Mughūlistān rūzgār bi-tākht va tārāj-i aqvām-i Qalīmāq va Qirghiz miqizarāndand va dar ḥavāshī-i mamālik bi-gurg-rubāyī mashghūl būdand ism-i qazāq bar ān tāyīfa ʾitlāq 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

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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 Moghulistan 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 Moghulistan in a way that made them extremely dangerous. According to Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, Isān Bughā Khan regarded Janibek and Gīrāy’s arrival as a benefit (khayr) because his brother Yūnus Khan, a counterclaimant to the throne of Moghulistan, had just established himself near his Western border with the support of the Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Abū Sa’īd. The pastureland Isān Bughā Khan gave Janibek and Kerey in Western Moghulistan served as a buffer zone (vāsiṭa) between his domain and that of Yūnus Khan. 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 Moghulistan, which corresponds roughly to modern Kyrgyzstan, after Abū’l-Khayr Khan’s invasion of the Syr Darya region in 1447. The Badāīʿ al-vaqāyiʿ written by Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣīfī (1485-1566) in the early sixteenth century also provides an account of Shībānīd 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” (Fatḥnāma-i qazāq). In this section, he uses the designation Qazāqstān to designate the territory of the modern Kyrgyzstan, including Issyk köl. Thus, Western Moghulistan 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-Kipchāk. His army numbered more than
a million (a thousand thousand) men. Except for Juji Khán, there had never reigned a greater Khan than he in that country.\textsuperscript{175}

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

\textit{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 Taldyqorghan in Kazakhstan. Other insignificant spots called Karatal also exist, he added.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{175} Elias and Ross 1895, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{177} Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 274.
\textsuperscript{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 Tzar Alexis 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 Åq Orda:

After this, the Jūchīd Ulus was divided into two parts. Those, which relate to the left wing, i.e., the limits of Ulūt-taɣ, Sekiz-yarach and Qaratal to the limits of Tuysen, neighbors of Jend and Barchkend, were affirmed after the descendants (Noɣai), and they began to be called as the sultans of Åq Orda; however, the right wing, which includes Ibīr-Sibir, Rus, Libka, Ukek, Majar, Bulyar, Bashyird and Sarai-Berke, was given to descendants (Tokhta), and they named them the sultans of Kūk Orda.

_Qara Abdāl_

Qara Abdāl, near Sighnaq (or Segnakh) (Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān [Isfahānī] Khunjī, Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā), meaning the winter quarters of the Qazaq Khanate. 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.

_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 Kyshkala, and lie southwest of Qyzylorda.

_Saraichuq_

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 stepy* (Description of the Kyrgyz Cossack or Kyrgyz Kaisat Hordes and Steppes) (St. Petersburg: Tipografi Karla Krayya, 1832), p. 109.

180 Perhaps an error for Kök-Kesene (Kük Kashanah, or Kök 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.


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).*  

**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. 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.  

**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.  

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 Shuijan, further fifty li is the city of Daluosi.”  

Miguo 米國 (Maimargh): in the *Record of the Western Regions*, as *Mimohe* (弭秣賀). *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.  

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 Banjīkit according to Arab geographers. Qudāma (d. before 337/948) lists the cities from Ṭarāz to Sūyāb

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193 Xuanzang, *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (*Record of the Western Regions*), j. 1: 871, see http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihc/hanjiquery/?&3′2094674242′807′″703120010030003000300030013′2@@1370499893  
194 Xin Tangshu, j. 221b: 6247. Chinese text: 米，或曰彌末，曰彌秣賀。北百里距康。其君治鉢息德城
as follows: Nushajān al-Asfāl (=Barskhān al Sufla); Kašrī 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=Ashibulaï; 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,’ ‘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赛蘭, and five hundred li further west, Tula土剌. 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 lingyangjiao⁰¹⁹⁸ and tiejiaopi帖角皮.⁰¹⁹⁹ Four hundred li west of Yasi is Yeshibu

¹⁹⁵ Qūdāma describes Qum as situated between Ṭarāz and Kūlān to the north and lying two farsakhs from the border (ḥadd) of the Kīmāk.
¹⁹⁶ Qūdāma, 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. piskek) 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凌羊 refers to lingyang羚羊, antelope horns.
¹⁹⁹ Da Min huidian (j. 107) mentions an envoy from Samarqand who presented Tiejiaopi铁角皮 to the Ming court. According to Huihui guan yiyu, 197: Ṝeq = 頭角皮, which in Persian is tuqah. In Gaochang guan zazi, 65, it appears as Ṣeq = 狍角皮.
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 (Saw ran, a town northwest of the city of Turkestan), 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. 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 Jamīɣ at-tavarikh, Otrar/Utrar was the political center of both Shībānids and the Qazaq Khanate. Sulṭān Maḥmud Khan gave Muḥammad Shībānī Khan the town of Utrar after he captured it from the Timurids. Sulṭān Maḥmud 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.

Yangi

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

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200 Tashgih 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 Sairan, to the west Sawran or Sabran. According to the chapter on “The countries of the Western Region” of Zhang Yu’s 張羽 Bianzheng kao 边政考 (j. 8 p. 604, “Xuanzong shilu”, j. 7, 8) records either Salan 薩蘭, or Sailan. MSL (“Xuanzong shilu”, j. 7, 8) records either Salan 薩蘭, 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 Siber 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 Xiù 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.
204 Utrar has had many names: Tarban, Turaband, Turar and Farab as well as Otrar.
Muhammad Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar called it Yāngi. Yangni cheng’er was identified by Sunao Hori as the Qazaq city of Yangi, modern-day Taraz. Cen Zhongmian identified it with Yangi-Hissar, south of Kahshgar (2004: 670). 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.

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.

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 思城 in the Renwulüe. The Ming shi called it Yaxi 牙昔. It is not to be confused with the Yassi, west of Kashgar, situated between Ulughchat and Oqsalar. Pelliot called it Yasi Kichik.

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 拂郎. 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. Its location, a long-debated issue in Qazaq history,
is now generally accepted as Qozi Basy of Qorday Mountain, which sits along the borders of modern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.\textsuperscript{213} Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥaidar clearly indicated that Jūd is a district of Moghūlistan. In it, there are many cities like Minara.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Tārīkh-i Rashīdī} is overwhelming. According to N. Elias, another reading of this name is \textit{Jud Kuzi Báshi}.\textsuperscript{215} Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥaidar clearly indicated that Kuzi Bāshi or Jud Kuzi Báshi was located on the Western edge of Moghūlistan.

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

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<th>Capital</th>
<th>King’s title</th>
<th>Account in the “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe”</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>Tula 鉅剌</td>
<td>王子 15</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>Otrar/Turar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puhala 鄪哈剌</td>
<td>撒馬罕克 16</td>
<td>500 li west of Zamin雜民. is the city of Puhala. The people of the country are Muslims. They till the ground, cultivate sundry fruits, and breed silkworms. Samahanke live in the city of Puhala普哈. Puha is Buhara, mentioned in the Xiyu zhuguo of Bianzheng kao as Puhala普哈剌.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiemi怯迷 18 (Sunao Hori (1978, p. 50) identifies Qiemi with Kabul.)</td>
<td>王子</td>
<td>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 (sizu fanhan四族番漢). The country produces gold and diamonds.</td>
<td>Kashmir 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiebieliesi 帖ㅠ列思</td>
<td>王字</td>
<td>Further west is the city of Tiebieliesi. It is ruled by a king. The people of the country wear turbans (Muslims).</td>
<td>Tiebieliesi is Tauriz or Tabriz. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feiāng菲郎</td>
<td>王字</td>
<td>Further west is the city of Feiji 菲郎. It is surrounded by two walls and ruled by a king. The inhabitants are Ju-han-er-ren俱漢兒人 (Kuffar).</td>
<td>Bayt Lahm, Arabic name for Bethlehem. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumi鲁迷</td>
<td>王字</td>
<td>Further west is the city of Lumi. It is situated 1200 li west of Boluosa 博羅撒 and enclosed by two walls. It has an independent king. The inhabitants are Muslims and Han-er ren (Juhan’er ren).</td>
<td>Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, which was called Rūm in Middle Eastern texts. 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Shibānid

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\textsuperscript{213} Kenzheakhmet Nurlan, 2013.

\textsuperscript{214} \textit{Tārīkh-i Rashīdī}, 2004, p. 404. Minara is modern Burana in Chu valley.

\textsuperscript{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 Kashyar, the horde of Qazaq Khaqnazar 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

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218 “Xiyu tudi renwu tu” consists of 10 maps covering Shaanxi tongzhi 10.15-24.
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

Map 2. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.16

Map 3. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.17
Map 4. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.18

Map 5. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.19
Map 6. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.20

Map 7. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.21
Map 8. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.22

Map 9. Xiyu tudi renwu tu

Source: Shaanxi tongzhi 10.23
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
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

also the name of a valley of the Syr Darya in Turkestan. 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.

Chapter III

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

3.1 Introduction

It should be noted that the house of Shībānids 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 Muhammad Shībānī’s (Shākhī Bīk, 1451-1510) campaign that year into territories north of the Syr Darya. In 1486, Muḥammad Shībānī, the real founder of Shībānid 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 Shībānids in Central Asia had common origins in the Uzbek tradition, although by the end of the fifteenth century they had evolved divergently and each

Freiburg IM Breisgau, 1974, p. 61.


222 According to the Mazhma al-ansāb va-l-aštār, Muḥammad Shībānī’s full name is Muzafrār ad-dīn Abū-l-Fath Muhammad ibn Shāḥ-Buday ibn Abī-l-Khāyir-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-nāma-yi Buḫārā. 1974, p. 61; Mazhma al-ansāb va-l-aštār. 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. Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī uses the term “Shībānid Ulūs (Ulūs-i Shībānī)” for the Shībānids. The definition “Uzbak-i Shībānī” is used by Ḥaidar Dughlāt. He refers to the Uzbeks led by Janibek and Kerey not only as Qazaqs, but also as “Qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbak-i Qazāq), while he calls the Uzbeks headed by the Abū al-Khairid clan “Shībānid Uzbeks” (Uzbak-i Shībānī). Like Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Rūzbihān Khunjī refers to the Shībānids and the Qazaqs as “Shībānid Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Shībānī) and “Qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Qazzāq), respectively. Babur refers to Shībānīd as Uzbek. Even so, Shībānid 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 il mini Uzbek dimasun,
Beyhuda fikr qilib yam yimasun;
Ger min Uzbek ilidin dur min,
Lik tingriga irur bu revshan,
Kim tilar min bari il aṣnafin,
Bilmasam jam ara durd u şafin.

(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.).

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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 Shībānids, the entire population of Mawarā al-nahr was named as the Chaghatay people, in contrast to the Shībānids.
In fact, he was not an ‘Uzbek’ in the usage of the time; he was a Chingizizid or Timurid. The inaccurate application of the term Uzbek to the Shībānid 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 Chaghhatay were the settled way of life and the absence of general divisions.

Shībānī Khan’s biographer, Muḥammad Šāliḥ (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 tähtīm 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 Shībānid 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 Shībānid dynasty. The designation Samarqand, as a generic term for the Timūrid-governed Māwarā al-nahr, continued to be used in Shībānid-governed Māwarā al-nahr in the Ming sources.

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

3.2 The relationships between the Ming dynasty and the Shībānids

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 Šāliḥ. 1885, p. 148.
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 Riluoguo Yisikanda’er Lumi-Tieliya.²³⁰

The term ‘Wozibo’, 幹子伯, 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 Saʿīd.

As we see from the above passage, the first ruler of Shībānids 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 Shībānid Khanate, as *Shayibie 沙亦癿*.²³¹ The *MSL* refers to Shībānī as “fanwang Shayibie 番王沙亦癿,” the “barbarian king Shākhī Bīk” of Sama’erhan 撒馬兒罕 (Samarqand):

On the day of *guimao* 壬卯 in the eleventh Chinese lunar month in the third year of the reign of Zhengde (December 1, 1508):²³² Envoy Maheima Huozhe 马黑麻火者 (Muḥammad 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, Shībānid and Moghūlstān 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 Shībānid 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盌各一事, 迤西阿黑麻曲兒干王, 迤西日落國亦思刊荅兒魯密帖哩牙王紵絲磁器夏布等物從其請也

²³¹ It should be noted that the house of Shībānids wasere cended from Shayban; a grandson of Genghis Khan, see; Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, 192. Note that Muhammad Shaybani was also known as “Shaybaq” or “Shahi Begi”. Muhammad 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.


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

Shākhī Bīk (or Shībānī) Khan became well aware of the fact that popular sheykhās 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 Dahpīdī and the Aḥrārī 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 Māwarā al-nahr – Temurids Sultan Abū Sa’īd (1424-1469), Sultan Ahmad (1451-1495), 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 ʿAbd al-Rashid Khan, the ruler of distant Kashgar.

Maheima Huozhe perhaps is Muḥammad Khwāja (also known as Muḥammad Ibn Khwāja Bahāʾ al-Dīn), one of the disciples of Khwāja Aḥrar (1404-1490) and the author of Majmūʿa-yi murāsalāt. 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.

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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 (滿剌溫都思, Molla Yultuz or Quddus?) and others who had been sent by Shayibie (Šākhī Bīk), the barbarian King and chieftain of Sama’erhan (Samarqand), envoy Manla Fatula (滿剌法禿剌, Molla Fathulla) and others who had been sent by Sultan Mansur, the barbarian king and chieftain of Turfan, envoy Huozahe Hasan (Khwāja Hasan) and others who had been sent by Sultan 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

Sultan 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 Sultan 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

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朮王遣使臣滿剌溫都思等土魯番番王頭目速壇滿速兒等差人貢馬駝方物各賜錦絹段等物有差.
(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 firth 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,

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244 Wuzong shilu, j.114, p. 2316. Chinese text: 撒馬兒罕等地面頭目沙亦癿王等來朝貢駝馬方物賜宴並賞絹叚絹布有差
245 Wuzong shilu, j. 120, p. 2425. Chinese text: 哈密並撒馬兒罕等地面使臣火者哈辛等來貢賜宴賞有差．
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連環把卜兒等所遣火者哈新等來朝貢馬方物賜宴賞絹叚衣物有差．
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 Muhammad Shībānī Khan fell to Shāh Ismā‘īl Safavī, Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, the future founder of the Timurid Mughal dynasty, and the Moghuls.
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

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 Shībānid dynasty, occurs in the MSL as Kechong sudan.

“Day Jiashen 甲申 in the tenth month in the fourteenth year of the reign of Zhengde (November 15, 1519): the envoy Bahaoding (Bahāūddin) and others who had been sent by Kechong sudan (Kūchūm Sultan), 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 Yarkand. 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.

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.

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:


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

251 Also called as Kūchkūunhī or Köchüm, See Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḫārā, 1974, p. 345. The Baburnama, 1996, p. 347. In 1510, when Shaybani-khan was killed at Merv in the battle with Iranian shah Ismael, his headless body was transported to Samarqand and buried in dahma – the mount, 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’īd-khan madrasah. In the 1930s, after archeological excavations, the remains of Childuhteran were dismantled. There was a carved gravestone of Kūuckūunhīi-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 Kūuckūunhīi-han’s sons, Abu-Sa’īd-khan (1530-1533) and Abdullah – Bahadur-khan (died in 1540). Babajanov, B., Muminov, A., Paul, J., Schabandische Grabinschriften (Wesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1997), pp. 67–71.


253 Sultanova Gulchekhra, p. 352.

Baxi’er (Sheikh Bashir) and others who had been sent by Tulufan (Turfan), envoy Bahaoding (Bahauddin) 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

“(1523) Manla Nieshen (Mulla Najim?) and others who had been sent by Kechun,257 the barbarian king and chieftain of Sama’erhan, Turfan and Hami prefecture, 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

“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: 撒馬兒罕使臣士魯孫孫等番人等各來賀俱宴賜如例．
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, 來貢賜宴并綵叚絹布．
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, 遣滿剌掜慎等來貢馬及方物, 賜彩叚金織衣絹鈔有差．
258 Another name for Kūchkūnjī (Kūchūnjī, Kūchūm), who was a ruler of the Shībānid 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, 貢馬匹方物賜賚如例．
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 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. 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 Shībānid, Moghūlistan (including Turfan), Qumul were vassals of the sultan.
local products. They were rewarded in accordance with the precedents."

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

“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 Sultan Mansu’er速壇滿速爾 (Sulṭān Mansur) of Tulufan 吐魯番 (Turfan), Sutan Zhalading 速壇札剌丁 (Sulṭān Jalal ad-Din) of Tianfāng 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):

“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.”

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

“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):

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).”


263 Abū Sa’īd-Khān Muzaffar al-Din (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of the Shībānid dynasty.


266 Sultan Mushafa’er is perhaps a references to the man sultan Suleiman. In his tugra (Imperial Cipher, Ottoman Turkish: تUGHRA), 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 Ḫān el-muẓaffer dāʾimā’ (Shah Suleiman, son of Selim Shah Khan, who always Victorious). Alternatively, this could be a references to Abū Sa’īd-Khān Muzaffar al-Din (r.1530-1533), the fourth ruler of the Shībānid dynasty.

“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 envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muḥammad Alī Buḍer (Ṣultān Muḥammed 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.”

Sultan Maheima Alibu Baduer or Sultān Muḥammad 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 Sultan Muḥammad.269 After the death of Mansūr Khan, Sultan Muḥammad took Qamul and declared his independence with the aid of Oyrats. When Shah Khan died in 1570, Sultan Muḥammad 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) Sultan Maheima Alibu Baduer 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, came 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.”

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (reign year)</th>
<th>Name of Khanate</th>
<th>Name of Khan or Envoy</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 27, 1488 (Hongzhi 1)</td>
<td>Wozibo</td>
<td>King of Suolutan Mahamu Amin</td>
<td>Xiaozong shilu, j. 14, p. 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1, 1508 (Zhengde 3)</td>
<td>Sama’erhan (Samarqand)</td>
<td>Shayibie (Shākhī Bīk), Mahaime Huozhe (Muḥammad Khwāja)?</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 44, p. 1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 29, 1509 (Zhengde 4)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Barbarian king of Samarqand</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 57, p. 1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 1510 (Zhengde 5)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Shayibie (Shākhī Bīk), Manla Wendusi (Molla Yultuz?)</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 60, p. 1322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 24, 1510 (Zhengde 5)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 69, p. 1539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 1511 (Zhengde 5)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Halaya</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 70, p. 1555</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 9, 1514 (Zhengde 9)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Shayibie</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 114, p. 2316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 8, (Zhengde 10)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Huozhe Haxin (火者哈辛, Khwāja Qasym)</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 120, p. 2425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1, 1515 (Zhengde 10)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Sultan Babu’er Huozhe Haxin (火者哈辛 Khwāja Qasym)</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 121, p. 2437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 15, 1519 (Zhengde 14)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Kechong sudan 可重速壇 (Kūchūm Sultan)</td>
<td>Wuzong shilu, j. 179, p. 3492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 17, 1521 (Zhengde 16)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Bahaoding (Bahāaddin)</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 4, p. 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 18, 1523 (Jiajing 2)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Tulusun (Tursūn)</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 30, p. 802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 14, 1523 (Jiajing 2)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Tulusun (Tursūn)</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 31, p. 814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 18, 1523 (Jiajing 2)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Manla Nieshen (Molla Najim?), Kechun</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 33, p. 850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11, 1529 (Jiajing 8)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Sulaiman (Suleiman) and others, the king of Mecca and Sama’erhan</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 102, p. 2402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1532 (Jiajing 11)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Sultan Abuxieyi 達壇阿卜寫亦 (Sulțān Abū Saʿīd)</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 135, p. 3191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 22, 1548 (Jiajing 27)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>by Sultan Mushafā’er (Sultan Muẓaffār), the king of the five realms: Turfan, Samarqand, Mecca, Rūm and Hami</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 338, p. 6175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1554 (Jiajing 30)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Sultan Muẓaffār, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 409 , p. 7136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 12, 1559 (Jiajing 38)</td>
<td>Samarqand</td>
<td>Sultan Muẓaffār, the barbarian king of the four realms: Turfan, Mecca, Samarqand and Rūm</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 470 , p. 7896</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
May 4, 1576 (Wanli 4) | Samarqand | Sultan Maheima Alibu Badu’er (Sultan 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, Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān (Isfahānī) Khunjī, Shībānī Khan gave Turkestan to Kūchūm Sultan, Tashkent to Suyūnch Khan (Suyūnch Khwaja Khan), Andijan to Jānī Bīk, 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

Bukhara and Turfan, Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar, 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.\footnote{Cf. Elias and Ross 1895, pp. 365-366.}

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 spilt 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 rejoined 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* 哈剌思盼, 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
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 普哈剌城 in Menggu ditu. According to the Renwulüe, 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 Samaranqand, while the term xiong means “brother” in Chinese; Samahan xiong, therefore, indicates Shaybānī Khan’s brother. According to the Tārīkh-i Rashīdi, 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 Shībānid 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 Shībānid 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 Zheshi 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.

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 [I], p. 179.
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 Oş 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 马荅剌撒
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 Uzbak 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 Sopu Qorghan or Sopu-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 ‘proprietress 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 Gulcha.282 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,
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 *Habulangkuyi* 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** 马都城

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 *Ala*\(^{285}\).

**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 Sahrīhan. However, Sunao Hori idenified Sha’erheina as Shahrokhiya.\(^{286}\) The ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the *Bianzheng kao*, under the rubric of *Madu*, mentioned a river called *Sa’erheiya* 沙兒黑雅. Barthold reported that, during the Timurid period, the part of the Syr Darya that flowed near Shahrukhia was called the river of Shahrukhia.\(^{287}\) *Sa’erheiya* is another way of writing *Sha’erheina*, which appears in the *Ming shi* as *Shaluheiya* 沙鹿海牙. Chen Cheng called it *Shaluheiye* 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.


\(^{288}\) *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 撒力赤剌牙

The Menggu ditu calls this Sali Yilaya 撒力亦剌牙, in reference to Sali Chilaya. The name perhaps refers to Sar Jala, Chala Bashi in Turkic, the predecessor of modern-day Kuprukbozhi, 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, 我剌坎巴思 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.
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources

city. Khurādēbīh and Kodama called it Ghalouk or Ghalouk Andāz. 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 兀鲁雨尊

In the Menggu ditu, this name is inscribed as Wuluyu 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剌巴的火者, 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 剌巴的末兒咱亦卜剌

The ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the Bianzheng kao records this as Labade Mo’erza Yibulayin 剌巴的末兒咱亦卜剌因. 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. 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.

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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 台戶倫 or Khulm. Bretschneider identified it with the Iron Gate in southern Uzbekistan.294 Lin Meicun identified it with Termidh, modern Termez. 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 阿剌都伯

Uratöbe (Uratobe or Ura-Tyube) is in Tajikstan. In the Renwu tu, it is called Alatuobo 阿剌驼伯, and in the Menggu ditu it is called Elatuobo 俄剌脱伯. 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 普哈剌.

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 失剌思城

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 Sultaniiyya, Shiraz, Damascus.300 The cities are called Shilasi, Baheitatie 把黑他帖 in the Menggu ditu.

297 Barthold, Turkestan, p. 167.
Map 11. Samarqand and Badakhshan

Source: Samarqand and Badakhshan in the *Menggu ditu*

*Matuli* 马土力

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. The town of Maturid still exists and lies north of Samarqand.

*Baheidatī* 把黑打帖

Baghdad was a town near Samarqand.

*Badashan cheng* 把荅山城

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* 巴荅山城. The *Huiguiguan zazi* uses the name *Badansha* 巴丹沙.

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301 Barthold, Turkestan, p. 90.
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撤子城兒

The Chinese term cheng’er is a rendering of the Turkeic-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 Shahrisabz 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 Sharisabz (Sazi cheng’er) and placed between Labade Kelaogan剌巴的克老干 and Labade Huozhe Hafeisi剌巴的火者哈非思. 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剌巴子火馬里麻撒力瓦思 and Labazi Heima Saliwasi剌巴子黑麻撒力瓦思 on the Renwu tu map. In the ‘Xiyu zhuguo’ of the Bianzhengkao, the same place is called Labazi Huo Maheima Saliwasi剌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 Shahrīsabīzī. 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 Shahrisabz, later called Gumbazi Sayyidon in Shakhrisabz. 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).

304 Sultanov, H. T., K istorii formirovaniya arkhiitekturnyh ansambley Shahrīsabza XIV-XV vv. (po arheologicheskim dannym) (the history of the formation of architectural ensembles of Shahhrisabz of the XIV-XV centuries. (according to archaeological data)). Dissertation: Candidate History. Samarqand, 1990, p. 12.
Bulasawalasi 卜剌撒瓦剌思

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 (HPGA1, 1972: 90; Yule, 1872: 446). The Menggu ditu calls it Labade Kelaogan 剌巴的克老干. 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.

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 Shībānid 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.
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. 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.

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.

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 shì was acutely aware of this fact, which is why in its profiling of Tianfang, it says, “Tianfang is a big power in Xiyü, (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 Roumi 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 (Mahmūd) 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

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

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***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Envoys or kings</th>
<th>Year (reign year)</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rong di戎地</td>
<td>Kuchu Dalahan苦出打剌罕/Küçük Tarkhan</td>
<td>On the day of Guiyou癸酉 of the eighth month in the second year of Zhengtong/September 15, 1437</td>
<td>Yingzong shilu, j. 33, p. 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rong di戎地</td>
<td>10 envoys</td>
<td>On the day of Gengzi庚子 of the tenth month in the eighth year of Zhengtong/November 10, 1443</td>
<td>Yingzong shilu, j. 109, p. 2210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rong dimian戎地面</td>
<td>Sulutan Cheliebi wang速魯擅扯列必王</td>
<td>On the day of Gengxu庚戌 of the tenth month in the eighth year of Zhengtong/January 19, 1444</td>
<td>Yingzong shilu, j. 111, p. 2244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yixi Rong dimian迤西戎地面</td>
<td>Cheliebi wang扯列必王</td>
<td>On the day of Wuyin戊寅 of the fifth month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/February 16, 1444</td>
<td>Yingzong shilu, j. 112, p. 2263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rong dimian戎地面</td>
<td>Envoys: Shali Mianli沙力免力</td>
<td>On the day of Wushen戊申 of the second month in the ninth year of Zhengtong/March 17, 1444</td>
<td>Yingzong shilu, j. 113, p. 2285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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312 *MSL*, Yingzong shilu, j. 112, p. 2263.
313 Yingzong shilu, j. 111, p. 2244.
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). 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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lumi 鲁迷</th>
<th>Fan wang 番王</th>
<th>On the day of Jiwei 己未 of the fourth month in the third year of Jiajing/May 27, 1524</th>
<th>Shizong shilu, j. 38, p. 975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lumi 鲁迷</td>
<td>Shi Baihawuding 使白哈兀丁</td>
<td>On the day of Jiashen 甲申 of the firth month in the fourth year of Jiajing/February 16, 1525</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 47, p. 1209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumi 鲁迷</td>
<td>Envoi Baihawuding 寓会哈兀丁</td>
<td>On the day of Jihai 己亥 of the ninth month in the fifth year of Jiajing/October 24, 1526</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 68, pp. 1562-1563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumi 鲁迷</td>
<td>Shiye Huoyhe 韩奥黑 Ali使者火者好把丁阿力</td>
<td>On the day of Dingwei 丁未 of the firth month in the sixth year of Jiajing/March 1, 1527</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 72, p. 1641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumi 鲁迷</td>
<td>Envoi Huozhe Haobading Ali 使火者好把丁阿力</td>
<td>On the day of Gengshen 庚申 of the sixth month in the twenty second year of Jiajing/June 18, 1543</td>
<td>Shizong shilu, j. 274, p. 5378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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314 *MSL*, Ming shizong shilu, j. 38.
| Lumi 鲁迷 | On the day of Guihai 癸亥 of the firth month in the twenty third year of Jiajing/February 16, 1544 | Shizong shilu, j. 282, p. 5484 |
| Lumi 鲁迷 | 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 鲁迷 | 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 鲁迷 | 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 鲁迷 | 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 鲁迷 | On the day of Guiyou 癸酉 of the sixth month in the fourthty third year of Jiajing/July 10, 1564 | Shizong shilu, j. 535, p. 8686 |
| Lumi 鲁迷 | On the day of Gengzi 庚子 of the tenth month in the ninth year of Wanli/November 5, 1581 | Shenzong shilu, j. 49, p. 1121 |
| Lumi 鲁迷 | 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 鲁迷 | 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 Reїs said: Padishah of Turkey was ‘Padishah of Medina, Mecca and the Kibla’.

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.”

Sultan Mushafa’er perhaps refers to Sultan Suleiman. In his tughra (Imperial Cipher, Ottoman Turkish: ارگط tuɣrā, 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 ‘Süleyman-şāh b. Selīm-şāh Ḥān el-muẓaffer dāʾimā’ (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

“The envoys who had respectively been sent by Sultan Muzaffer, 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 Sultan Maheima Alibu Badu’er (Sultān Muhammmed 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.”

Sultan 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.
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), Yeqinduosi 也勤朶思 (an error for Taleduosi 他勒朶思, which refers to Anṭarṭūs, Anṭārsūs or Ṭarṭūs) or an error for Yeleduohei 也勒朶黑 (Anṭākiyah), Saheisizhai 撒黑四寨 (Shaizar), Feilang 菲郞 (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.

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\(^{323}\) *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賚有差.
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 剪跡被髪帶帽兒) 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

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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 Laḥm, Ar. name for Betlehem, see Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm, 1994, p. 144; Cornu 1985, p. 4. The name Folin 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’).

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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 迷癿力城

Lin Meicun identified it as 迷癿力, 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 迭癿力. The place is marked on the Renwu tu map near Yaman 牙瞞 (see below). Diebieli 迭癿力 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 ditu it it is written Bijilasi 比吉剌思. This could be the castle near Antākiyyah, now known as Bakras kalesi.328

Adumin cheng 阿都民城

Refers to Aṭamayn, al-ʿÂtmīn 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.
Yeqinduosi 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 他勒朵思, refers to Anṭarṭūs, Anṭārsūs or Ṭarṭūs, 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. 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 菲卽城

Zhang Yu, in the Xiyu zhuguo of the Bianzheng kao, informs us that the city is called Feilang 菲郞. 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 絨氀, ‘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.

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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.\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{331} Gaochang guan ke 1980, p. 33.
The Tūqmāq (Golden Horde), the Qazaq Khanate, the Shībānid Dynasty, Rūm (Ottoman Empire), and Moghūlistan in the XIV-XVI Centuries: from Original Sources
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 Chagatay Ulus lost its political power, falling into two parts: Māwarā al-nahr, where the old name Chagatay Ulus was preserved and Moghūlistan. Moghūlistan, as the eastern part of the Chagatay 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.


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 亦里把元別失八里地. First name is undoubtedly misspell of Yiliba Yuan Bieshibali di 亦里把元別失八里地, 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 Iilig-Balyq, in Turkic meaning the (Capital) city of II (Country) or Ilik/Iilig (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

reports that Ilibi 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 (mountain north of Kuchar). The capital of Ilibi 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 延城, 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 in Chinese).

Moghūlistan includes modern Zhetisu (southeastern Kazakhstan), all of Kyrgyzstan, and Xinjiang. According to the MSL, in 1418, Waisi (Vais) Khan, the ruler of Beshbalyq, moved his seat to Ilibi.337 The MSL also uses the terms Chatai 察台 to refer to Ilibi.338 In Ming history, Ilibi 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 zhouzi lu 15.493f.
337 Taizong shilu”, j. 197.
the *MSL* in the description of the events of 1391 in the Hongwu shilu, when accounts of diplomatic exchange between the Ming court and Moghūlistan began to appear in the *MSL*.\(^{340}\)

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 (Khिर Khवा),\(^{343}\) 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 鬆徹 (Kùnček 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 (Khिर Khवा) of Beshbalyq.\(^{344}\)”

According to the *MSL*, the Khिर Khवा retained Kuanche, whilst two deputy envoys were allowed to return to China. In the day of dingchou of the first month in the thirtyeth year of Hongwu/ 21 February, 1397, the Hongwu emperor dispatched an envoy to the king Khिर Khवा 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:\(^{346}\)

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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 鱉思馬”, “Bieshiba 別石把” etc.


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

343. Khिर Khवा (also known as Khिर Khवा Khan), the son of Tughlaq Timur khan and Khan of Moghūlistan.

344. Kuanche 鬆徹, 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 Kùnček or Kunčak, the son of Qabān, see *Mu izz al-ansāb* fī 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, 1910,1 pp. 238-239.

Envoys were sent to King Khıdır Khwāja of Beshbalyq with the Imperial proclamations. Khıdır 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, 1404:347Envoy 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 Khıdır 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 Moghulistan from the 1390s to

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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 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.”

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 Muhammmmed 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

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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.
fifth month in the fourth year of Yongle/May 26, 1406, 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. Thomas Douglas Forsyth (1827-1886), a British diplomat, says that Aksu is a very ancient city and was formerly called Arpadil or Arbadil. It seems that there is a mistaken inversion of spelling; these two place names should be spelled Ardapil and Ardebil. Yudin says that since the fifteenth century, the city of Aqsu was known as Ardebit.

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. 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.

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 II, in Turkic-Perisan meaning Horde of the II (Country).

355 Taizong shilu, j. 54, p. 804.
357 Forsyth 1875, p. 42.
359 Elias and Ross 1895, pp.7-8.
360 Molla Musa Sayrami 2010: p. 111.
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 Jiaohe xian 交河縣. Bretschneider argued that the name Tulufan appears for the first time in the Chinese annals around 1377.

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 母六秃. 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 穆尔圖拉克. In the Xiyu tongwenzhi, it is written as Mutuleke 穆圖拉克.

Oqsalar

The city of Esala俄撒剌 (marked west of Ya’ergan牙兒干) in the Menggu ditu or Osala我撒剌 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 Wuhehalu 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 Moghūlistan, 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. Perhaps this is a legend; The Bianzheng kao makes notes of the zhanchang 戰塲 (battlefield) of Osala. 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.
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 Altas of Xinjiang, near Kahsghar there is a town called Sullγ. 366

Adan refers to Udun, now known as Khotan. During the Ming period, Khotan was called Yutian and Adan by Chinese. In 1424, Khotan was called Yutian 于闐, 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 于闐, the ancient name for Khotan. This has confused many. During the Yuan period,

366 Uighur Altas of Xinjiang, pp.138-139.
367 Ming Shizong shilu j. 192, p. 40.
Khotan was called Wuduan 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

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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.
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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Footnotes of Tables

1. According to MSL, Maheima Huli Naiweng also called as Maheima Huli Naiweng 马黑麻虎力嫏翁, 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 (Huozone 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: 逆番寫亦虎仙伏誅，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 zhouzi lu 12: 6a, Saiyid Husain, as he was about to be executed, bribed Wuzong’s itimate retainer, Qian Ning 錢寧. As a result, Saiyid Husain was vindicated and was placed, together with his son, Mahmud (Maheimu 马黑木) and his niece’s husband, Mir Muhammad (Mi’er aheima 米兒馬黑麻), in the Huitong Guan 會同舘, 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 打剌罕合思老 (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 fi 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 马兒哈蘭. 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虎答亦剌 (Hudayar?): “(on
the day jichou of the tenth month of the seventeenth year of the reign of Yongle (5 November 1419)) the chieftain (toumu) Hidayila 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: 可脫丐頭目虎荅亦剌,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, 灔燭, 剌竹. Chen Cheng, in his Xiyu xingcheng ji (p. 35), called it Lazhu 腊竺. In his poetry, he called it 剌燭.

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 wasis Sult Mahmud. However, I am of the opinion that this place is located east of the Toktogul Reservor and Karakol city in Kyirgyhiztannow called Jetigen. Mīrzā Muhammad 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 Yemieqili. There can be no doubt that Yibulayin is Ibrāhim, the son of Makhtum Khānim, sister of Vais Khan (as in Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, cf. Elias and Ross 1895, p. 91). Yemieqili 野乜克力 or Yemieqili 野乜乞里 was located northeast of Hami, means “Wild Miekeli.” The Mickeli was called Bäkrin or Mäkrin in Jamiʿuʾt-tawarikh, their dwelling place is in the rugged mountains of the provinces of Uighuristan, see Jamiʿuʾt-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怯失迷兒, Qieshimi’er怯失迷兒, or by the city Alamula 阿剌母剌 (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.


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 菲郞.

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 (佛蔦) 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 *kuffār*, which is an Arabic term that, used in an Islamic doctrinal sense, usually translates as “unbeliever” or “disbeliever.” *Juhan’er ren* or *kuffār* refers to Europeans or Christians. In Middle Chinese the character of ju 俱 sounds like *kyǝ* or *ku*. The author of “Xiyu tudi renwu lüe” usually adds the suffix ‘-n’ to write many toponyms. For example, *fandián’er* 饭店兒 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 *kuffār*.

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”).
Dr. Nurlan Kenzheakhmet received his Ph.D. from Peking University (2007), has held a Japan Invited Research Fellowship in Kyoto, and Henkel Foundation fellowships in Germany. From 2012 to 2014 he was a Humboldtian at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn. Between October 2016 and June 2017, Dr. Kenzheakhmet was a visiting scholar at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nazarbayev University. Dr. Kenzheakhmet returned to the Bonn in 2019, with a renewed research stay in Germany, sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Within his main research speciality on the historical geography of Central Asia, he has worked Yuan and Ming dynasties and on Ming sources regarding the Ottoman Empire, Tuqmaq (i.e. Golden Horde), Qazaq Khanate and Shaybanid Dynasty and in the 15th–17th centuries. He has written on the early Turkic monumental inscriptions from Inner Asia. His book *Eurasian Historical Geography as Reflected in Geographical Literature and in Maps from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Centuries* (OSTASIEN Verlag, Germany) explores medieval contact and exchange between the Islamic World and China by utilizing geographic and cartographic information.