AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

Mirroring Timurid Central Asia in Maps: Some Remarks on Knowledge of Central Asia in Ming Geographical Documents*

QIU YIHAO**

Fudan University, 220 Handan Rd., Yangpu District, Shanghai

© 2021 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Check for updates

ABSTRACT

Through the analysis of three Ming Chinese geographical documents which were depicted during the early sixteenth-century, this article contributes a case study on the geographical knowledge of the Timurid Central Asia in Ming Chinese documents. The article argues, according to abundant geographical information offered by these documents, we can reconstruct the active network of transnational routes that connected the Ming Empire and Timurid Central Asia. Furthermore, these documents provide the highly convincing proof that the knowledge of the Ming court to its contemporary Eurasian competitors was continuously renewed.

AK Journals

INTRODUCTION

Emerging from the Mongol Empire's shadow, the first two capable Ming (r. 1368–1644) emperors, Hongwu 洪武 (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, r. 1368–1398) and Yongle 永樂 (Zhu Di 朱棣, r. 1403–1424), actively exploited their Mongol predecessor's legacies to advance their own benefits. Emperor Hongwu and his advisors created a Chinggisid narrative to legitimate the newly founded dynasty. Therefore, when he proclaimed the transfer of the Heavenly destiny from the Yuan emperors to himself, he also inherited the extensive worldview of the Mongol Empire. Yongle, the second Ming emperor, continued his father's ambitious career and attempted to follow the Mongol–Yuan model of diplomatic policies towards Central Asian polities. Yet, after Yongle's reign, the Ming court gradually forsook its intervention in Central Asian affairs, and ceased to project its influence over the region, content with the maintenance of traditional tributary relations. On the other hand, continuous conflicts between Moghul states such as Qamul (*Hami*) and Turfan hindered the regular dispatch of diplomatic embassies. Meanwhile, the Ming court shifted its attention from China's western to its eastern border, as Manchurian and European entities usurped the position of Inner Asian polities as the challengers to the world order set by Imperial China.[1]

However, the geopolitical shift did not interrupt Ming court's interest in acquiring information about Central and Western Asia, especially the territory formerly ruled by the Chinggisids. On the contrary, much of the recent research undertaken on Ming foreign relations indicates that the Ming court kept a continuous eye on its western neighbours, including Timurid Central Asia and Iran (r. 1370–1507) and the Shaybanid dynasty (r. 1500–1598).[2] Through their capable envoys and staff serving in the Translator's Institute (*Siyi guan* 四夷館), the governors of the Ming could efficiently collect military and social intelligence on the foreign countries of Inner Asia.

This article focuses on several geographical documents of mid-Ming dynasty (in 16th century) provenance that contain an abundance of place names particular to Central and Western Asia and uses them to redefine the geography of Central Asia from a Ming Chinese perspective. Of course, such a study develops from the use of contemporary sources in many languages. Once this geography is made clear, the article uses this geography to determine the extent to which the Ming court understood political changes in neighbouring western lands. Given the long list of toponyms, the discussion is limited to territory lying in the eastern reaches of the Timurid Empire, mainly the area located today in Afghanistan.

---

[1] A traditional opinion held that the Ming court's foreign policies were conservative and less expansionary, lacking sufficient ambition to maintain a trade network across Eurasia (Fletcher 1968: 216–217). However, David Robinson's recent contributions (2020a: 313–24; 2020b: 19–57) renewed our knowledge about the foreign relations of the Ming dynasty, especially the Mongol politics. He pointed out that the Ming dynasty, as other coeval post-Mongol rulers (e.g. Timurid and Muscovite, etc), was actively and deeply engaged in Eurasian politics.

[2] On the diplomatic relations between Timurid Empire and Ming China, see Kauz (2005) and Zhang Wende (2006); on the relation between the Uzbek-Qazaq khanates and the Ming, see Kenzheakhmet (2013, 2017).

DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIALS

To realize the purpose of this study, we analyse three main documents: a) the 'Mongolian Landscape Map' (*Menggu shanshui ditu* 蒙古山水地圖, hereafter *MSD*);[3] b) 'The Commentary on the Territories and Peoples of the Western Regions' (*Xiyu tudi renwu lüe* 西域土地人物略, hereinafter *XTRL*); and c) 'The Illustrated Map of the Territories and Peoples of the Western Regions' (*Xiyu tudi renwu tu* 西域土地人物圖, hereafter *XTRT*).

a) 'Mongolian Landscape Map' (*Menggu shanshui ditu* 蒙古山水地圖), hereafter *MSD*.

This scroll, which contains a traditional blue-and-green Chinese landscape painting, measures 59 cm × 301.2 cm. The scroll was sold by the Beijing antique store Shangyou tang 尚友堂 sometime in the 1920s or 1930s and afterwards belonged to the collection of the Fujii Yūrinkan 藤井有鄰館 Museum in Japan. Purchased again in 2004, the scroll was returned to Beijing, and has since been housed at the Palace Museum. A reprint with an introduction and commentary by Lin Meicun was published in 2011. This edition is convenient for researchers but far from perfect; both the place-name identification and commentary lack adequate study, especially the necessary correlation with contemporary Islamic sources.

Lin pointed out that the style of the *MSD* resembles that found in works drawn by painters of Wu School (*wumen huapai* 吳門畫派), a clique of painters who lived in Suzhou, were active during the first half of sixteenth century, and were famous due to their landscape paintings and human portraits. Moreover, according to Lin, the technique of depicting buildings and mountains indicates that the *MSD* probably was modelled on *Gui Fen tu* 歸汾圖 ('Returning to Shanxi') by Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494–1552), a common practice with painters' school in that time. As a consequence, Lin (2015: 187, 220) suggested that the *MSD* was created between 1524 to 1539, during the reign of Emperor Jiajing (r. 1522–1545).

As for its content, the *MSD* contains 211 toponyms written in Chinese transliterations, including seven repeated names. Thirty-nine cities, pagodas and pavilions bear no name at all (see Appendix), which might be attributed to the painter's lack of geographical references or confusion about them. The scroll covers a wide range of toponyms, from the Jiayu guan 嘉峪關 (Jiayu Pass in the Gansu Corridor) to the so-called 'Rong dimian 戎地面', a Chinese translation of Persian term *bilād-i Rūm* (regions of Rum), a reference to the regions under the domination of the Ottoman Empire (r. 1299–1922/3).[4]

---

[3] The original name of this long scroll painting is under question because it depicts the middle era of the Ming Dynasty and a large number of the toponyms cannot be traced back to the Mongol era. A considerable name of this work might be as Bai Yi 白乙 (2018: https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_2110593, last access: 10 February 2021) assumed: 'The Map from Jiayu Pass to the Muslim tribal area, Badakhshān, Mecca, Western Sea and the territory of Rum, etc.' (嘉峪關至回部巴達山城天方西海戎地面等處圖) (Bai 2018). The latter map belonged to the royal collection of the Qing Dynasty under the title *Luotu huicui* 蘿圖薈萃 ('A royal compilation of territorial maps'). Its bibliography was compiled in 1795, the sixtieth year of the Qianlong reign (Minorsky 2007: 5).

[4] Lin Meicun and Liu Yingsheng believe that the itinerary in the *MSD* scroll ends at Mecca (Tianfang guo 天方國) in Arabia. Lin (2011: 80–81; 2015: 232) speculates that the since the scroll was divided in two parts and remounted, a complete version should end at Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire . However, both of them seem to neglect the fact that the scroll indeed includes the toponym of the territory of Ottoman Empire. According to the *Mingshilu* 明實錄 (The veritable records of the Ming), envoys from 'Rong dimian' took audiences on the Ming Court in 1437, 1459 respectively (*Mingshilu* 1964: Yingzong, *juan* 111, 112, 2244, 2263). Besides, the painter of the *MSD* depicted a city named *Buersi* 卜兒思 before Rong dimian, and doubtlessly, it refers to Bursa (in Anatolia), the city selected as the capital of the Ottoman empire between 1335 and 1363.

It is noteworthy that the general north-south orientation of the *MSD* occasionally reverses; the scroll's painter occasionally placed south at the top of the page, as Islamic cartographers used to do. In addition, he illustrated the cities and buildings of this Central and Western Asian map in traditional Chinese style, reflecting a reliance on imagination rather than accurate geographic knowledge.

b) 'The Commentary on the Territories and Peoples of the Western Regions' (*Xiyu tudi renwu lüe* 西域土地人物略)*, hereafter XTLR*

The text contains 311 toponyms, including nineteen repeated names such as Kashgar, which appears three times. The earliest edition was published as a chapter of the *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 ('Gazetteer of Shaanxi [province]') in 1542.[5] The commentary includes a list of the major cities in the Western Regions – which stretch from the Jiayu Pass in China to 'Rūmī' (Lumi 魯迷), i.e. Anatolia – the distance between them, a delineation of the routes linking them, and a description of surrounding landscapes.

The geographic information of the *XTLR* is mainly based on the same source which was referred to by the painter of the *MSD*. Most of the western toponyms of both maps were transliterated with the same Chinese characters (or their homophones). Even in some cases, the same typo appeared in the transliterations of the same toponym. Besides, the *XTLR* adds a substantial supplement of toponyms to those listed in the *MSD* for the route stretching between Jiayu Pass and Baicheng (today's Baicheng county in Xinjiang province) and the area of Khwarāzm. It seems that the editor acquired more updated information from governmental documents or envoy reports.

In addition to toponyms, the editor of the *XTRL* supplied narrative descriptions of features important to each locality, including the local rulers and peoples, local rarities, animals and religions. He may have been seeking to provide a brief introduction to the Western Regions through this work. Because of this, just five years later, in 1547, Zhang Yu 張雨 cited the complete text of the *XTRL* in his work *Bianzheng kao* 邊政考 (Research on border administration), and it was completely quoted again in 1617 in *Suzhen huayizhi* 蕭鎮華夷志 (Accounts of Chinese and foreigners in Suzhou province) by Li Yingkui 李應魁.[6]

Compared with the *XTRL*, Zhang Yu and Li Yingkui's quotations provide information that was up-to-date for their times. The *Bianzheng kao* tabulates data on the Western Regions under three rubrics: geography (*dili* 地理), local production (*wuchan* 物產), and landscape (*shanchuan* 山川). Here, author Zhang Yu (1968: 589–618) mainly addresses Western Asia: for example, the text initially introduces the 'Black Sea' as 'Heihai' 黑海 and supplies more detailed information about Anatolia or 'Lumi'.

---

[5] Lin Meicun and Liu Yingsheng believe that the itinerary in the *MSD* scroll ends at Mecca (Tianfang guo 天方國) in Arabia. Lin (2011: 80–81; 2015: 232) speculates that the since the scroll was divided in two parts and remounted, a complete version should end at Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire . However, both of them seem to neglect the fact that the scroll indeed includes the toponym of the territory of Ottoman Empire. According to the *Mingshilu* 明實錄 (The veritable records of the Ming), envoys from 'Rong dimian' took audiences on the Ming Court in 1437, 1459 respectively (*Mingshilu* 1964: Yingzong, *juan* 111, 112, 2244, 2263). Besides, the painter of the *MSD* depicted a city named *Buersi* 卜兒思 before Rong dimian, and doubtlessly, it refers to Bursa (in Anatolia), the city selected as the capital of the Ottoman empire between 1335 and 1363.

[6] For the modern editions of both above-mentioned works, see Zhang (1968) and Li (2006). Bretschneider (1876–1877) published an English translation of the *XTRL*, based on a later edition. Hori (1978) compared the differences in the accounts of the *XTRL* and *Bianzhen kao*, while Liu Yinsheng (2015) published his studies on the cities and routes of the Ferghana Valley.

As for the *Suzhen huayizhi*, its major distinction appears in the commentary on the itinerary between the Juyong Pass and Qamul (*Hami*) – unlike the *XTRL* and *Bianzheng kao*, the author introduced the three main routes through narrative description rather than by simply listing names. This thereby explains the reason for the repetition of toponyms in the *MSD* and *XTRL*: as the starting point for more than one itinerary, each repeated toponym had to be mentioned two or three times. The author also emphasizes the population and economic decline that occurred in Qamul in his day (Li 2006: 59).

c) 'The Illustrated Map of the Territories and Peoples of the Western Regions' *(Xiyu tudi renwu tu* 西域土地人物圖), hereafter *XTRT*.

There are two main versions of the *XTRT*: the first one is included in the *Shaanxi tongzhi* (Shaanxi gazetteer), *juan* 卷 (or volume) ten, which was published in 1542 (hereinafter *XTRT*-1); the second one, held in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, is an appendix to an illustrated booklet entitled *Gansu zhanshou tushuo* 甘肅戰守圖說 ('Illustrated atlas of the offensive and defensive affairs of Gansu province') which was created in 1544–1555 (and hereafter referred to as *XTRT*-2). The *XTRT*-2 consists of five pages, and each page measures approximately 90 cm × 52 cm.

Both of these two versions are cognate, however the painting in *XTRT*-2 is coloured and more exquisite. It includes 171 toponyms and within them, nine are repeated. The *XTRT*, following the Chinese cartographic tradition, places the north on top. Nevertheless, in some cases, the overall effect of north-south direction in the *XTRT* is only nominal. For example, the map plots Herat (Heilou 黑樓) north of Samarqand.

As for content, the *XTRT* seems to be an abridgement of the *XTRL*, based on the geographical information available. Some traces of evidence indicate that the *XTRT* and the *MSD* share a common source, such as a gazetteer or guidebook. For instance, near the city of Qamul, the painters of both these works drew three pagoda-like buildings (Lin 2011: 230; *XTRT*-1 2012: 51; *XTRT*-2, 19b). The painter of the *XTRT*, drew various caricatures of foreign people, including those who wore Islamic clothes.

By contrast, although nomadic tents are realistically depicted, buildings, towers and pagodas are portrayed in typical Chinese style. Some characteristics of this style, such as the method of depicting lakes or marking important cities in a red colour, indicate that the influence of the Yuan dynasty's cartographic style persisted, especially concerning to the famous 'Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals' (*Hunyi jiangli lidai guodu zhi tu* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖). In addition to the painting style, the *XTRT*'s cartographer moved toponyms that were depicted inaccurately in the *MSD* to their correct location.

In sum, the above-mentioned three documents greatly expanded the geographical knowledge of Central and Western Asia that the Ming dynasty inherited from the Mongol. According to Sugiyama (2007: 57–58), a total of 46 toponyms of Central Asia, namely the area comprised of Turkistan, Transoxiana, Khurāsān and Sīstan, appear in the 'Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals'. Yet, the *MSD* records 107 toponyms, the *XTRL* mentions 109 and the *XTRT* 56. Comparing these documents, it is apparent that the Ming court added more geographical information about the Western Regions, especially about areas in modern Afghanistan, to what it had inherited from the Mongol court.

A comparison of the *MSD*, *XTRL* and *XTRT* with two other accounts edited in the earlier Ming era, the 'Itinerary of Travel in the Western Regions' (*Xiyu xingchengji* 西域行程記) by Chen Cheng

陳誠[7] and the 'Uyghur-Turkic Lexicon' (*Weiwu'er yiyu* 委兀兒譯語)[8] demonstrates how authors (or editors) of later eras updated older geographical works with new information. When Chen Cheng drafted his itinerary (1413–1415) shortly after a return to Beijing, he had to record some unknown place names by describing their geographical features, like 'Small Pool' (Xiaoshuiku 小水窟) or 'Small Spring' (Xiaoquankong 小泉孔; Chen 2000: 36). Nonetheless, along the same route, the authors of the *MSD*, *XTRL* and *XTRT* supply more accurate place names. This helps us to list the relationship among the aforementioned documents in the following chart (see Table 1).

Table 1
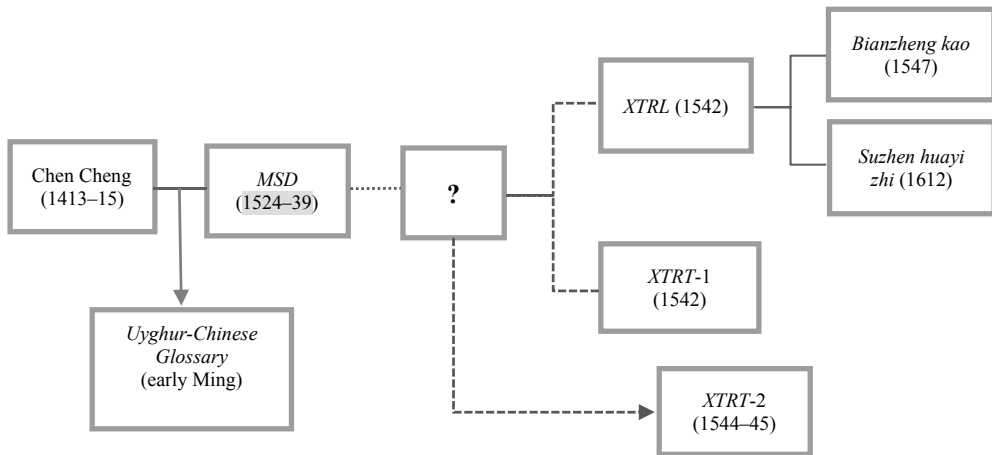
TOPONYMS AND ROUTES ACROSS THE EASTERN PART OF THE TIMURID EMPIRE

It is apparent that the collected documents under study contain many reversals, inaccuracies and repeats, and, therefore, it is inadvisable to discuss all toponyms in their original order. This author first listed all toponyms that could be identified clearly, along with both Chinese transliterations and/or original Persian forms, and then re-plotted places onto route-maps like the *MSD* and *XTRL* (see Table 2, 3 and 4). Meanwhile, the toponyms that previous authors had plotted inaccurately are marked with a dotted box.

Toponyms and Routes in the MSD

Table 2 indicates that a main route from the Ferghana Valley turns southward to the area of Badakhshān, then runs across Afghanistan from east to west.[9] This route links three core regions

---

[7] For a modern annotation of Chen Cheng's report, see Zhou (2000). For English translations of his travel journal and compilation of treaties with 'barbarian' countries, see Church (2015) and Rossabi (1976).

[8] For the most recent study of this bilingual lexicon, see Hu and Ding (2018). As for Chen Cheng's itinerary, Michel Didier contributed a new French translation with commentary (2012).

[9] On the identification of the toponyms for the Ferghana Valley, see Liu 2015.

(Badakhshān, Transoxiana and Herat) and can be separated into four parts: 1) the route from Badakhshān running westward alongside the Kokcha River to Balkh; 2) the route from Balkh leading eastward to Kalāwgān, the confines of Kishm; 3) the route from Balkh crossing the Oxus River (Amū Daryā) and through Darband-i Ahanīn to run northward to Transoxiana; and 4) the route from Balkh leading southward to Herat, the capital of Shahrūkh (r. 1405–1447). Apparently, Balkh acted as the junction connecting Badakhshān, Transoxiana and Herat. This also explains why the name 'Balkh' appears twice on the map, as Balihei 把力黑 and Panhei cheng 盼黑城 (city of Balkh), respectively.

Route 1:
The first station on this route is Khandūd (*handu* 罕都), which also was known as Khamdādh in the Pre-Islamic era,[10] a village located near the left bank of the Panj River (Wakhan District), as an entry of Badakhshān. The second toponym is Zardīū (also as: Zardew [Zalidu 咱力都]), a river which joins the Warduj River from the northeast above Khairabad, and meantime, being named a valley nearby the river as well.[11] The name Zardīū appears twice on the map. The most likely explanation is that the place was an important junction linking with the routes towards different directions.

The *MSD* lists the toponym 'Zibak' (Zipagen 子怕根) after Zardīū. The name refers to a mountainous region in south-eastern Badakhshān. From Zibak one could take a road towards Nuqsan, a pass across the ridge of eastern Hindu Kush (Mīrzā Sang Muḥmmad 1997: 53, 163; Leitner 1996: 11–12). After Zibak, the *MSD* mentions two other place names located in south-eastern Badakhshān, Shihashu 失哈梳[12] and Alun 阿倫,[13] transliterations of the toponyms 'Shikhashim' (or Ishkashim) and 'Ghārān' respectively. Shikhashim, according to local history and gazetteers, was located on both sides of the Wakhan River and approaching the border of Ghārān (or Ghoron), a district in Upper Panja between Shighnan and Ishkashem (Adamec 1972–1985: 1/71, 85). Besides, the *MSD* also mentions several toponyms, like Shuhada (束哈答), Elatuobo 俄剌脫伯 (Alā-Tepe?), Saba 撒巴 and Laba 剌巴 (for Ribāṭ), locating in the south-eastern Badakhshān. Unfortunately, given the lack of documentary evidence, we cannot identify their actual locations.

A question about the itinerary arises from the fact that Shikhashim is suddenly followed by Shīrāz,[14] Bukhārā, Samarqand and the famous Samarqand Observatory (*wangxing lou* 望星樓),[15] all references to the region of Transoxiana. This region is much too distant from Shikhashim along this route to be credible. This is more likely that the product of confusion over the original information referenced by the painter of the *MSD*. After removal of the aforementioned toponyms in Transoxiana, obviously, this route continued to pass through the area of Badakhshān.

[10] See Xuanzang (2000: 976) and *Ḥudūd* (Minorsky 1970: 121, 364). Lin (2011: 158) misspelled the latter's Persian form as 'Khanduṭ'.
[11] Lin and Liu do not identify this name. Yet, Liu (2015: 246) suggests that the toponym *zalidu, handu*, should locate at the north of Khujand River. On the geographical and natural environment of Zardew, see Adamec (1972–1985: 1/194) and Desio (1975: 360, 368).
[12] Lin suggests that the toponym 'Shiheishu' is an Arabic-Turkic compound word, 'Sheyih-Sū.' (Lin's identification is ambiguous. In any case, I consider that his reconstruction should be spelled as 'Sheykh-Sū,' or 'Siyāh-Sū').
[13] Lin identifies the name 'Alun' with Akhrun, and relates it to Hulumo 忽露摩, a place recorded by Xuanzang in his *Da Tang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 [Records from the regions west of the Great Tang], which he located in the area of Sogdia, today's Uzbekistan. (Lin 2011: 158–159).
[14] The toponym 'Shīrāz' here refers to a valley near Samarqand.
[15] This observatory was built in 1429 by order of Ulugh Bek (see Barthold 1963: 132–134).

After this, the *MSD* mentions the toponym 'City of Badakhshān' (Badashan cheng 巴答山城), most likely Kishm, the capital of Badakhshān district during the Timurid era. Passing by the city of Badakhshān, the *MSD* introduces several names for the sub-regions of Badakhshān, as well as the *ribāṭs* (stages, discussion see below) along the route through them. Among them, merely limited toponyms can be clearly identified. The first name is 'Halasipan' 哈剌思盼,[16] which refers to a castle on the bank of Kokcha River. According to Nurlan's identification, it refers to the Persian name 'Qalʿa-yi Ẓafar' (Fort of victory), which was enfeoffed around 1505 in commemoration of the victory over Shaybānī Khan's invasion in Badakhshān (Dughlat and Ross 1895: 220; Kenzheakhmet 2013: 143). Likewise, Vámbéry's journey report confirms that 'Kala-i Zafar' lay close to Kishm (Vámbéry 1899: 67).

The second toponym, 'A'erkun' 阿兒昆, refers to Argū, a large village on the right bank of the tributaries of the Kokcha River, 25 kilometres southwest of Fayzabad (Adamec 1972–1985: v.1, 23–24; Mīrzā Sang Muḥmmad 1997: 110). The third name, 'Dalayuyong' 打剌羽用, can be identified with the Darāim (or Darāyim), a region associated with the Daraim River, a tributary of the Kokcha south of the Argū plain (Adamec 1972–1985: 1/57; Mīrzā Sang Muḥmmad 1997: 121).[17] There is a route connecting Fayzābād and Dariam via Argū. After Darāim, the name 'Bukhara' is repeated inaccurately; the toponym that correctly follows along this itinerary is Mashixia 馬失下. Considering the context, apparently, there is no evidence that relates 'Mashixia' to Mashhad in Iran (today's Raẓavī Khurāsān), the holy city with a famous Shi'ite shrine; instead, it refers to a village in the Kishm valley on the road from Fayzabad to Kundūz. In addition, according to the history of Badakhshān, the local warlord, Mīr Muḥammad Shāh Badakhshī (r. 1207–1237 H. or 1821–1850 CE), divided Badakhshān into three parts, the second part of which included Darāim, Kishm, Mashhad, Gulwagān (Kalāwgān, or Kalafgān),[18] Zardīū, Zibak and Shikashim, (Mīrzā Sang Muḥmmad 1997: 81). As the Table 2 indicates, Route 1 subsequently passes thorough the Kalāwgān to Tāyqān (Taiyahan 台牙罕, AKA Tāliqān) before extending to Balkh (Balihei).

Besides the aforementioned toponyms, we cannot trace any information on the rest of the place names on Route 1 in either contemporary or later historical sources. However, according to the Chinese term *labade* (剌巴的) which derives from the Arabic-Persian word *ribāṭ* (stage)[19]

---

[16] Lin regards this toponym inaccurately as 'Qarahaspin,' without identification (Lin 2011: 162).

[17] Lin suggests that the name *Dalayuyong* is a Persian-Turkic compound word: Darya-Yulghun, which means 'Tamarisk Lake' (Lin 2011: 163).

[18] In Boldyrev's commentary, the place Gulwagān (or Kulwgān) refers to the region to the north of Tāliqan, located on the route toward Kishm and the left bank of the Kokcha River (Mīrzā Sang Muḥmmad 1997: 81, 121; for the Persian text, see Л.86a). Nevertheless, I tend to identify Gulwagān with the Kalāwgān mentioned in Yazdī's *Ẓafarnāma* (Yazdī 2008, p. 375). According to Adamec, this toponym in modern sources is spelt as Kalafgān as well, a village on the road from Keshm to Taliqan (AKA Talogan) (1972–1985: 1/90). Thus the toponym 'Labade kelaogan' 剌巴的克老干 (Ribāṭ Kalāwgān), which the *MSD* places after Mashhad, must refer to the *ribāṭ* (stage) near this area. Lin (2011: 164) records this name incorrectly as 'Labade kezhigan' 剌巴的克志干.

[19] In Ming Chinese sources, the word *ribāṭ* (sing. *rabṭ*>pl. *ribāṭ*) was often transliterated as *labade*. This indicates that the first short vowel was pronounced (or heard) by Chinese translator as *a*–, not *i*– – the latter is standard pronunciation in Persian according to the phonetic transcription. It might attribute to the ablaut in Persian oral speaking: the short vowels frequently change among the *a*–, *i*– and *o/u*–. Therefore, sometimes *ribāṭ* is also phonetically marked as 're(o)bāṭ' in dictionaries. Another fact deserving our attention is that the Chinese translator might have learned this word from a bilingual (i.e. Persian–Turkic or Persian–Mongolian) speaking person, whose pronunciation was interfered by other languages. For instance, from the Mongol conquest till the Timurid era, a certain amount of the Mongol tribes migrated to Afghanistan, especially Herat and surrounding regions (Aubin 1969). Their language mixed the Mongolian and Persian words. As Michael Weiers (1963: 67, 177) recorded, the Moghul people living in Province Herat (in today's Afghanistan) pronounced the word *ribāṭ* as /

Table 2 Routes in the *MSD*
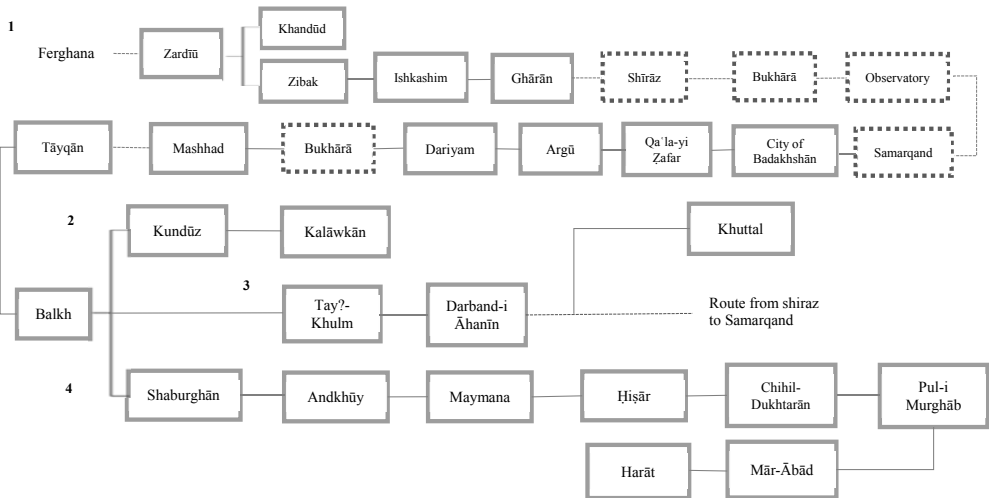
– for example, Labade chetie'er 剌巴的扯帖兒 (Ribāṭ Chitir) and Labade abina 剌巴的阿必納 (Ribāṭ Ābīna) – we can identify that they were 'stages' along this route.

Route 2:
This short itinerary starts from Balkh, then proceeds via Kunduz and Kalāwgān (Kelikong 克力空) to the confines of Kishm on the frontier of Badakhshān (Le Strange 1905: 432).

Route 3:
This route connects the places that lie on both sides of Oxus River. Since the name 'Taihulun' 台戶倫 in the *XTRL* and *XTRT* are written as 'Hulun' (戶倫), it is reasonable to consider that the form 'Taihulun' is just a misspelling. 'Hulun' probably derives from its Persian form, 'Khulm,'[20] the name for a city that lay two days' march from Balkh (Strange, 1905: 427). 'Khulm' also refers to a ferry on the south bank of the River Oxus. The next toponym is 'Tiemenguan' 鐵門關 (Irongate Pass), which texts describe as a pass through a ravine named Darband-i Ahanīn in Persian, or *qa-ɣalɣa* in Mongolian (in Persian sources spelt as 'Qahalgha') (Chen 2000: 46; Yazdī 2008: v.1, p. 268;

rʌbʼot/. Considering that the Ming court tended to assign Mongol officials as the assistants and companions of its ambassadors, it is possible that the Chinese officials learned the aforementioned toponyms via these Mongolian speaking people (Liu 2011: 309–333). I thank the peer-reviewer for reminding me of this possibility.
[20] The medieval Chinese translators usually carefully discerned the phonetic difference between –*m* and –*n* in foreign languages, and chose different Chinese characters to transliterate them. For instance, they chose the Chinese character *han* 寒 to transliterate the syllable ending with –*n* and the way, *lin* 林 corresponding to –*m*. Yet, in early Ming era, Chinese translators sometimes did not distinguish the syllable ending with –*m* from the –*n*, especially in the final syllable. We can easily find such cases in the bilingual lexicons, e.g. the *Huihuiguan yiyu* 回回館譯語 ('Translation Terms of the Muslim Office') and *Huihuiguan zazi* 回回館雜字 ('Persian Glossaries of the Muslim Office'), which were edited to teach official interpreters Persian. The author transliterated *ḥakīm* (judicious) as 黑期尹 (*heiqiyin*), and transliterated *raḥm* (favour) as 勒罕 (*lehan*) (Liu 2008: 87, 111). Therefore, it can be assumed that the Chinese characters 'Hulun' correspond to the place name 'Khulm' in Persian.

Clavijo 2010: 121–122), north of the Oxus and the north-west of Tirmidh. The name Hadaliu 哈打六 should be identified as Khuttal (or Khuttalān), an area on the north bank of the Oxus that lay between its tributaries Vakhsh and Panj River.[21]

Moreover, since according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān was connected by the emporium of Tirmidh (Minorsky, 1970: 114), Hadaliu (i.e. Khuttal) thus should be placed after the Tiemenguan (ᴀᴋᴀ Darband-i Ahanīn). Passing through Darband-i Ahanīn and turning northward, the itinerary proceeds to Samarqand and Bukhara.

Route 4:

From Balkh,[22] the final route heads towards Herat. After Temür's son Shāhrukh defeated his rival Khalīl-Sulṭān and ascended to the throne in 811H./1409 CE, he transferred the Timurid capital from Samarqand to Herat, and thereby made the latter the *de facto* political centre of his empire (Subtelny 2009: 39). After Shāhrukh's death, his successors ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Mirza (b. Baysunqur, 1417–1460) and Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Babur b. Baysunqur (1422–1457) continued to treat Herat as the capital of their realms.[23]

Reflecting this shift in political centre, Herat attained a more prominent status in the governmental archives and geographic records of the Ming Dynasty than Samarqand after Shāhrukh's reign (Chen 2000: 81).[24] Therefore, it is doubtless that the toponyms referring to the itinerary route toward Herat are the most detailed and accurate part in the *MSD*.

According to the *MSD*, the first city after Balkh is Shaburgan ('Shibaligan' 失巴力干), a populous town which can be traced back to the ninth century as the seat of government of the Jūzjān district (Strange 1905: 426). After Shaburgan, the *MSD* mentions the 'City of Andkhuy' ('Andehui cheng' 俺的灰城). After Andkhuy appear Mīr-Būrāqān (Mibuliuhan 米卜六罕)[25] and Ribāṭ Kalai (Labade kelai 剌巴的克來);[26] the actual locations of these two places cannot be identified; however, they probably lay on the route passing through the mountains toward Maymana (Maimana 買馬納), a town located in today's Faryab province and which was called 'Juhudhan' by earlier Islamic geographers ninth and tenth centuries CE (Strange 1905: 431). The toponym that follows Maymana, 'Ḥaysār' (Xisaer 喜撒兒), in today's Qayṣar, refers to a place once situated in southwestern Faryab province. Both Maymana and Ḥaysār were famous during the Timurid era and frequently appeared in the descriptions of contemporary Persian historians such as Ḥāfiż-i Abrū and al-Isfizār (Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: 1/119, 139, 701; Isfizārī 1959: 1/172). They also appear in Chen Cheng's itinerary as Maimuna 買母納 and Haihsaer 海翠兒 (Chen 2000: 48).

---

[21] It is strange that Lin (2011: 166) considers this name as a Chinese transliteration of 'Keder,' which refers to a place in southern Kazakhstan. For information on Khuttalān in medieval Islamic geographical works, see Minorsky 1970: 359.

[22] The toponym 'Balkh' is transliterated as 'Panhei' 盼黑 because the consonant -*l* frequently shifts to –*n* in the oral speech of medieval Chinese. For instance, Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227, also known by his Taoist name, 'Perfected Man of the Long Spring,' or 'Changchun zhenren' 長春真人) mentioned Balkh in his travel report as 'Banli cheng' 班里城 (Li 1983: *juan* 2, 4b). Qiu's contemporary, Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (c.1190–1244) recorded the name as 'Bancheng' 斑城 (Yelü 2000: 3). Lin (2011: 167), in his commentary on the *MSD*, incorrectly identifies the toponym 'Panhei' with the Panjkent in today's Tajikistan.

[23] On the toponyms and the local monuments in Turmurid Herat, see Allen 1981.

[24] Chen emphasized that 'the grandeur of [the city of Samarqand] is not inferior to Herat' (不下於哈烈).

[25] Ḥāfiż-i Abrū (1993: 2/104) recorded that Būrāqān was a *yaylāq* of Shāhrukh .

[26] This toponym cannot be identified.

In the *MSD*, the name that follows Qayṣar is 'Chixiliduheitalan' 赤戲里堵黑塔蘭. Obviously, the original form of this name derives from the Persian form, 'Chihil-dukhtarān,' meaning 'the forty maidens'. However, this toponym has been recorded by a number of middle- and late-Ming authors in a variety of incorrect forms.[27] Moreover, after comparisons made to the other Ming geographic works, including the *XTRL* and the *XTRT*, it has been determined that the *MSD* provides the only correct use. Therefore, we can agree with previous researchers that, judging from the case of the toponym 'Chihil-dukhtarān,' the *MSD* most likely contains more original and accurate information than the other two works.

In Timuird historical works, there are at least two Chihil-dukhtarān: the first one lay 2 kilometres east of Andjian (Bābur/Beveridge 1922: 1/104) and the second one in the area of Badghīs (Yate 1888: 222; Adamec 1972–1985: 3/78). The second place lay a distant 62 miles from Herat, on the main road from Herat to Marū passing along the valley of Kūshk and was more frequently mentioned by the contemporary historians.

The name 'Chihil-dukhtarān' never appears in the Persian sources from the Mongol era; however, it is often mentioned by Timurid historians and thus can be identified with the place-name 'Chixiliduheitalan' in the *MSD*. Some contemporary authors, like al-Isfizār, Ḥāfiż-i Abrū and Wā ʿiż etc., supply the detailed information about the Chihil-dukhtarān, which was depicted as a subordinate district of Badghīs with the prosperous towns and *mazār*s (sepulchres); the city was surrounded by a wall (Isfizārī 1959: 1/145; Krawulsky 1984: 2/31; Wā ʿiż 2007: 53).[28]

Given Chihil-dukhtarān locating on the routes linking the Herat with all the adjacent districts, e.g. Badghīs steppe, Khurāsān, Sīstān, Qāyin etc., since the period of Shāhrukh's reign thereby became an important station in the royal itinerary. As one of the royal winter quarters (*mauża ʿ-i yaylāq-i pādishāh*) along the seasonal itinerary between Herat and Bādghīs pasture, Shāhrukh and his successors used to spend their winter at Chihil-dukhtarān (Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: 2/214; Samarqandī 2004: 2/925; Wāṣifī 1971: 1/275, 499). Therefore, during the reigns of Shāhrukh and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā (r. 1469–1506), Malikat Aghā and Niżām al-Dīn ʿAlīshīr (1441–1501) conducted to build a series of *ribāṭ*s (stages) on the route from Chihil-dukhtarān to Herat (Isfizārī 1959: 1/140, 145; Khwāndamīr 1994: 3/629). Even when Uzbek Khan Shaybānī invaded the regions of Khurāsān in the beginning of the 16th century, he continued to station at Chihil-dukhtarān and wait for his troops to gather from different regions (Qaṭaghān 2006: 81).

After Chihil-dukhtarān, the next place name recorded by the *MSD* is *bulimaerha* 力馬兒哈, which can be identified as the place name 'Pul-i Murghāb' (Bridge over the Murghāb).[29] This toponym was rarely mentioned by classical Persian geographers. According to Juzjānī (1864: 1/371), 'Pul-i Murghāb', located on the way from Fīrūzkūh towards Gharjistān – a region on the north bank of the Murghāb River, corresponds roughly to the modern Badghīs province of Afghanistan.

---

[27] This name was incorrectly recorded in the following forms: 'Chixiheizhuheidalan chenger' 赤戲黑豬黑答蘭城兒 or 'Chixidanheizhuheidalan chenger' 赤戲旦黑豬黑答蘭城兒. Obviously, the Chinese character *li* 里 was frequently confused with *hei* 黑 and *dan* 旦 by later scribes, and likewise *du* 睹 was confused with *zhu* 豬. Lin (2011: 167–168) assumes the toponym derived from a Turkic phrase, 'kichik-khoja-khuttalan' but this assumption lacks definite proof.

[28] In Ḥāfiż-i Abrū's *Geographic Compendium*, this name was spelled as 'Chil-dukhtarān.'

[29] Lin (2011: 168) incorrectly separates the toponym into two parts – 'Bori-merāgha' – and tries to identify the first part, 'Bori,' with the Mongolian word *bori* (meaning *wolf*?) . My gratitude goes to the peer reviewer's instructive comment for identifying this toponym.

In 865/1460-1, when they headed to Herat to seek fight against Mirza Muḥammad Jūkī, Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd's (r. 854–873/1450–1469) troops passed through Ribaṭ Sanjāb, Badghīs and Pul-i Murghāb in sequence, and then stationed at the 'regions of the Chīchaktū' for a few days' rest (Samarqandī 2004: 4/894). Chīchaktū, which derived from Mongolian *Čečektü* ('flowery, with flowers', *chechetu* 車扯禿 in Chinese), lies north to the Murghāb and between the towns of Qayṣār and Chaḥarshamba. When Yate visited Chīchaktū in 1886, he described it as 'the ruins of an old mud-fort on a mound' (Yate 1888: 157; Deny 1957: 269–262; Adamec 1972–1985: 4/163, 286–292; Chen 2000: 48). Thus, we can conclude that 'Pul-i Murghāb' was located on the route between Badghīs and Herat, to the north of Chīchaktū.

From Shāhrukh's reign onwards, Timurid rulers regularly moved from Herat to their *yaylāq* (the winter quarter) which was on the pastures of Bādghīs; their itinerary was almost fixed (Melville 2013: 295–298). As a station on the seasonal itinerary, they might regularly pass through 'Pul-i Murghāb' after Chīchaktū.

The last place-name of Herat area mentioned by the *MSD* is 'Mali'ao' 馬力翿.[30] Doubtlessly, it is the variant form of Chen Cheng's 'Mala'ao' 馬剌奧 in his itinerary report (Chen 2000: 48). Chen Cheng reports that Mala'ao was a large village on the southern side of the mountains near the 'river' (i.e. Harī-Rūd). Based on Chen's description, the location of Mala'ao (C. Mali'ao) most likely refers to Mārwa – also spelled as Mār-Ābād by Ḥāfiż-i Abrū (Krawulsky 1984: 2/29, 107). Mārwa belonged to a succession of towns that sat alongside the banks of the Harī-Rūd east of Herat, while southeast of Marwa lay an opening through the hills (Strange 1905: 410; Adamec 1972–1985: 3/296), as they still do today. Passing through Mārwa, this route proceeded toward its terminus, the city of Herat, the capital of Shāhrukh's empire.
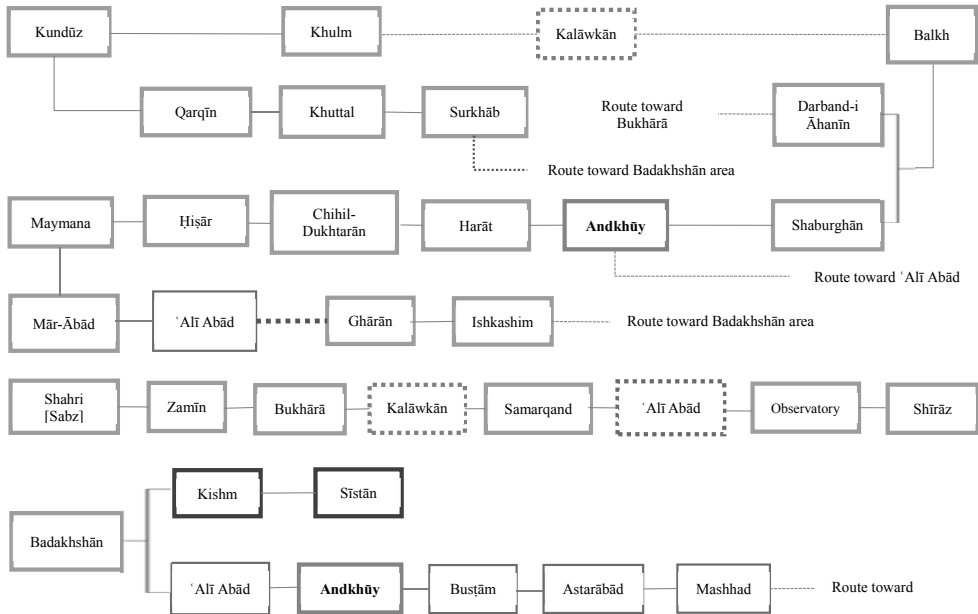
3.2 Toponyms and Routes in the XTRL (XTRT)

The similarities among the *MSD*, *XTRL* and *XTRT* (see Table 4) convince scholars, to a large extent, that the latter two works derived from the *MSD* or at least were based on the same original sources (Lin 2015: 53; Liu 2015: 248). However, according to the comparison of the toponyms and routes recorded in all three of the aforementioned works, the *XTRL* and *XTRT* contain geographic information that most closely reflects the changes in the political situation that occurred from the late fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Therefore, they cannot simply be dismissed as imprecise copies of the *MSD*.

The *XTRL* and *XTRT* both contain a great number of inaccuracies evidently due to scribal errors. Furthermore, the order of the toponyms is sometimes reversed by the editors, which makes it difficult to re-depict the routes linking different areas. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Balkh, Andkhūy and ʿAlī-ābād are treated as the conjunctions of the road networks which link the various subordinate districts locating in Herat, Transoxiana and Badakhshān. In further, based on the geographic position, we can separate the routes lying through Afghanistan in the above two works into the following five parts: 1) the route from Kundūz to Balkh; 2) the route leaving from Balkh northward to Transoxiana (e.g. Samarqand and Bukhara), via Amū Daryā; 3) the route from Balkh running southward to Herat; 4) the route passing through the Badakhshān

---

[30] Lin (2011: 168) identifies this toponym with 'Mālīn'.

Table 3 Routes in the *XTRL*

Kundūz — Khulm —	Kalāwkān (dashed)		Balkh
Qarqīn — Khuttal — Surkhāb	Route toward Bukhārā	Darband-i Āhanīn	
	Route toward Badakhshān area		
Maymana — Ḥiṣār — Chihil-Dukhtarān — Harāt — **Andkhūy** — Shaburghān			
	Route toward ʿAlī Abād		
Mār-Ābād — ʿAlī Abād ···· Ghārān — Ishkashim	Route toward Badakhshān area		
Shahri [Sabz] — Zamīn — Bukhārā — Kalāwkān (dashed) — Samarqand — ʿAlī Abād (dashed) — Observatory — Shīrāz			
Badakhshān — Kishm — Sīstān			
ʿAlī Abād — **Andkhūy** — Busṭām — Astarābād — Mashhad	Route toward		

area; 5) the route from Badakhshān to Sīstān and the route from Badakhshān running across the Khurāsān towards Eastern Iran (see Table 3).

The route network described by the *XTRL* and *XTRT* appears more complex that described in the *MSD*. Through some new routes, Badakhshān area is closely combined with the Khurāsān and Sīstān. Corresponding to the updates, several new toponyms appear in the above two works.

In the *XTRL*, ʿAlī-ābād appears four times in different varieties such as 'Alibai' 阿力伯 or 'Aliabai' 阿里阿伯 on a diversity of routes between the regions of Eastern Khurāsān and Badakhshān.

Excluding the possibility that repetition of the same toponym was caused by scribal error, we can plot the location of ʿAlī-ābād near Balkh, which Ḥāfiż-i Abrū introduced as a village (*dīh*) on the bank of the ʿAlī-ābād River (*nahr*). The history of ʿAlī-ābād can be traced back even further to pre-Islamic times (Krawulsky 1984: 2/50, 52).

According to the commentary in the *XTRL*, ʿAlī-ābād was a Muslim city which was located on the route heading northwards to Busṭām (Bosidan 孛思旦) and the 'city of Astarābād' (Yisitalaba cheng 亦思他剌八城). Meanwhile, ʿAlī-ābād was described as a conjunction of routes from leading from Balkh south to Xindan 新旦 (Sīstān) and east to subordinate districts of Badakhshān such as Ghurun and Ishikhashim (Li 2012: 41; Bretschneider 1897: 238).

The regional highway network that passes across the ʿAlī-ābād can be traced back to Mongol times. Waṣṣāf recorded a long list of places occupied by troops of Chaghataid prince Qutlugh-Khwāja b. Duwā, which included a wide area stretching from Badakhshān to Marwchaq, a village on the banks of Murghāb. Among these places, the position of ʿAlī-ābād was located after the Badakhshān and Ṭāyqān, and before the Andkhūy (Waṣṣāf 1961: 368).

Since the toponym ' ʿAlī-ābād' is very common to Central Asia, it seems the editor of the *XTRL* inevitably produced some confusion over the name. For example, a homonym, 'Ali cheng' 阿力城,[31] which was cited north of Samarqand and close to *Wangri lou* 望日樓 (Wangri Observatory)[32] obviously refers instead to the ʿAlī-abād Shrine (*mazār*) north of Samarqand (Khwāndamīr 1993: 3/413).

The second updated toponym that appears in the *XTRL* and *XTRT* is 'Qiemi cheng' 怯迷城. According to Nurlan (2013: 151), *qiemi* is the Chinese transliteration of 'Kishm', the name of a large village lying on the road from Faizabad to Kundūz (Adamec 1972–1985: 1/112). The commentary for Qiemi 怯迷 mentions that the village is ruled by a 'little prince', that outside the city live four foreign and Chinese families, and that the [country] produces gold and diamonds (Li 2012: 40; Bretschneider 1897: 238).[33]

Kishm also appears in the record of Xuanzang 玄奘 as *Qilisemo* 訖栗瑟摩 and in Marco Polo's work as Casem (Xuan 1985: 967). Xuanzang and Marco Polo also mention new information about local populations and their products. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Kishm was controlled by Chaghataid princes (Waṣṣāf 1961: 476) and during the Timurid Dynasty it became the capital of Badakhshān (Yazdī 2008: 1/268; Vámbéry 1899: 67).

Additionally, a new toponym worthy of attention in the *XTRL* is Surkhāb (Suʾerha 速兒哈). Surkhāb refers to the river formed by the junction of the Bamian, Saighan, and Kahmard streams, and Kunduz is located at the lower reach of it (Adamec 1972–1985: 4/549). As for the toponym Haʾerjin 哈兒斤, it could be identified as 'Qarqīn' (or 'Qarkīn'), a place lying between Kunduz and Surkhāb.

CHANGES IN MING GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

In the wake of the Mongol Empire's collapse, political leaders throughout Eurasia continued to invoke the ideal of the khanate and maintain its worldview as they established political order across the continent. This motivated these new rulers emerging from Chinggisid khan's shadow to assert political authority by not only channelling the Mongol imperial ideal but also appealing to kinship ties, real or metaphorical, with the Chinggisid family. In other words, they could claim the right to step into the arena of steppe politics as a clan member, rather than as an usurper. Interestingly, their ability to summon the imperial idea of the fallen empire and appeal to its still-legitimate dynastic genealogy derived from the political environment inside the old empire rather than outside it. At the same time they preserved facets of their Mongol political heritage, Eurasia's new empire builders continued to experience a form of direct Mongolian influence, at least for some time, in the sense that they maintained some form of relations with the various surviving branches of the Chinggisid family.

China exemplified this pattern of response to the Mongol legacy. One can see the Mongolian worldview prevail in the succeeding Ming court in both practical and ideological ways, influencing the development of its geographical concept of the world and their diplomatic policies toward

---

[31] 'Ali cheng' in the *XTRT* is inscribed as 'A-li bai' 阿力伯, that is, ʿAlī Abād.
[32] *Wangri lou* in the *XTRT* is inscribed as 'Wangxing lou' 望星樓. The Chinese character pronounced *xing* is misspelt as *ri* due to a scribe's error.
[33] 有王子，外邊住有四族番漢，出金子、金剛鑽。

foreign countries. To illustrate, the introduction to the 'Biographies of the Western Regions' (*Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳) in the 'Official History of the Ming' (*Mingshi* 明史) displays sufficient evidence of the Ming court's worldview. It states: 'after Taizu (i.e., Chinggis Khan) conquered the Western Regions, the princes and royal sons-in-law were all appointed as [local] rulers,'[34] and lists the places that Mongol princes dominated, such as Besh-Baliq (Bieshi bali 別失八里), Anding 安定, Shazhou 沙洲 and Qamil (Hami 哈密), as well as territories controlled by tributary clerics or Chinggisid's sons-in-law like Xifan 西番, i.e. Tibet, and the Oirat (Wala 瓦剌). Using a similar perspective, the Ming court regarded Timur as a 'son-in-law of the former Yuan' (*Gu Yuan fuma* 故元駙馬) when it allotted him Samarqand as his fief. This concept influenced other geographical works composed during the Ming era. This is evident in Ming geographical works and maps that sometimes display city and region names bearing the names of local strongmen, most of them Chaghataid and Timurid princes. For example, the authors of the 'Biographies of the Western Regions' adopted Naqsh-Jahān (*nashizhehan* 納失者罕), Shāhrukh (Shahalu 沙哈魯), and Baysunqūr (Baisonghu'er 白松虎兒) to refer respectively to cities east of Shīrāz (near Samarqand), the island in the Sea of Azov, and the state in Transoxiana (Zhang 1974: 98, 8617–18, 8621). In other words, more than simply descriptions of routes, geographical works of the Ming functioned as guides to the political, religious, and environmental landscape of Central and Western Asia.

During the Ming dynasty, the geographical knowledge about foreign countries primarily came from the envoys' reports, e.g., Chen Cheng's 'Itinerary of Travel in the Western Regions' and 'Accounts of the Polities in the Western Regions' (*Xiyu fanguozhi* 西域番國志), and therefore mainly involved politico-geographical information. These envoys' reports were circulated among the diplomats and were counted on to serve as a guide for future missions (Church 2019: 376–377). Meanwhile, the officials in charge of compiling the *Shilu* ('Veritable Records') and the imperial geography of the dynasty (e.g. 'Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Ming Dynasty,' *Da Ming yitongzhi*, 大明一統志) also cited these reports as reference.

Yet, the above three mid-Ming Chinese geographical documents reflect a different type of geographical knowledge. Unlike Chen Cheng's records, most of the toponyms recorded by these three documents never appeared in the imperial geography of the dynasty, nor in the *Shilu*. It indicates that these documents, in all likelihood, were excluded from the sight of the officials who served in the central government. In comparison, they were widely welcomed among the provincial administrators, especially in Shaanxi 陝西 and Gansu 甘肅. Because the *XTRL* and *XTRT* were quoted in the gazetteers which were edited in the above-mentioned two provinces in the following decades. Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1481–1565), as one of a few exceptions, was a high-ranking official of the Ming court who referred to these documents. In a memorial about how to treat the tributary foreigners who arrived at the borders of Gansu province, Yan Song listed several western countries, including Herat (*Heilou* 黑婁), Kishm (*Qiemi* 怯迷), Qazwīn (*Ajimin* 阿即民), Syria ('Shām', *Shami* 沙密) and Baghdad (*Baheidan* 把黑旦). Apart from Herat, the Chinese transliterations of the other four toponyms were consistent with the forms recorded in the *XTRT* and *XTRL* (Yan 2002, *juan* 29: 494–495).

Therefore, the purpose of the above three mid-Ming Chinese geographical documents might relate to the daily administrative affairs of north-western border provinces of the Ming Dynasty – local officials were responsible for identifying the foreign envoys from different countries, before sending them to the capital. According to Xia Yan's 夏言 (1482 – 1548) memorial, from the first

---

[34] 元太祖蕩平西域，盡以諸王、駙馬為之君長 (Zhang 1974: 8597).

decade of Jiajing's 嘉靖 reign (1522 – 1566), Ming officials noticed a surge of the number of local rulers in Central and Western Asia, each of which declared themselves as a 'King' (Xia 2002: *juan* 12, 568).[35] Thus, an updated and detailed guidebook for these provincial officials was necessary. This explains the motivation for compiling the above three geographical works. As these geographical works were compiled in the border provinces, the compilers were able to easily collect relevant information from the foreign envoys, their companions and the merchants who passed through there.

Compared to the envoy's reports, the informants and target groups of the above three geographical documents were obviously different. The latter focused more on practicality and therefore recorded many toponyms that might seem insignificant from the politico-geographical perspective. For example, the editor carefully recorded several 'bridges' (e.g. *Bulasaliwasi* 卜剌撒力瓦思, 'Pul-i Sarwāz' and *Bulisali* 卜力撒力, 'Pul-i Sārī') along the routes (see Table 4). Taking advantage of these geographical documents, Ming intellectuals obtained more extensive and accurate knowledge of the cities and route system that spanned much of today's Afghanistan. Meanwhile, most of the toponyms cited in the above three works can be verified against the contemporary Persian sources such as Ḥāfiż-i Abrū's *Geographical Compendium* and al-Kāshī's *Geographical Table* (Kennedy 1987).

Meanwhile, accounts of the routing system reveal that, from the Mongol era to the later period of Timurid dynasty, the travelling itinerary through Central Asia underwent significant changes. During the Mongol era, travellers utilized two main routes: the first itinerary ran across the regions of 'Uyghuristan–Ili River–Chu River–Transoxiana–Khurāsān' and then headed towards eastern Iran; the second route started from the Suzhou Pass and traversed the Kunlun Mountains via the regions of 'Khotan–Kashghar–Pamir Mountains–Badakhshān–Taliqan–Balkh–Khurāsān' before entering the territory of the Ilkhanate (Shim 2014: 423, 436). Most travellers, like Liu Yu 劉郁 and Rabban Sawma, chose the first itinerary (Chen 2015; Toepel 2008: 56), while Marco Polo appears to have travelled close the second one (Polo 1976: 1/136–143). In any case, both itineraries carefully kept their distance from the areas of Herat and Badghīs.

This was due to the turbulent conditions on China's borders with the Ilkhanate, Chaghatai Khanate and Kart dynasty (1245–1389), a subordinate dynasty under the Ilkhan centred in Herat. During the later thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, the Qaraunas (or Negüderi), a particular group of independent Mongol troops, originally organized as garrisons dispatched to places like Khurāsān, Kundūz and Ghaznīn in the thirteenth century, began to establish residences on the Badghīs steppe (Pelliot 1959: 183–204; Aubin 1969). They frequently launched incursions against the Kart of Herat and marched against Khurāsān and eastern Iran; or invaded southern Iran and the coastal areas of the Persian Gulf by the ways passing southwards via Ghaznīn, Sīstān and Makrān (Qiu 2019). Therefore, for the people who tried to travel back and forth between eastern and western Asia, as part of an official embassy or as individual travellers, the roads passing through the above-mentioned regions were extremely dangerous.

Shāhrukh transferred the imperial residence and government to Herat. The city's surrounding suburban gardens were greatly developed, and Shāhrukh spent adequate times in there to treat the embassies from distant kingdoms (Melville 2013: 310). Therefore, a large quantity of

---

[35] For instance, Xia Yan said that at the 12th year of Jiajing (1533), twenty-seven Kings' [envoys] came from *Tianfang* country (天方國, i.e. Arabic regions) and recently, [the envoys] arrived from Samarqand, which belonged to fifty-three Kings (若今次...天方國則二十七王，而近日續到撒馬兒罕則五十三王.)

first-hand information about their itineraries and geographical situations were supplied by these envoys and their retinues, mostly from their own experiences. In the fifteenth century, embassies traveling back and forth between Ming China and the Timurid Empire used to make a journey through the southbound road from Transoxiana; after passing across the Amū Daryā, then turned southwards to Herat (Chen 2000: 46; Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: 2/819). Yet, if we compare Chen Cheng's itinerary report with the late geographical accounts, e.g. the *MSD* and *XTRL*, there are apparent differences among them, especially concerning the toponyms on the route from Balkh to Herat. The reason probably is that when Chen Cheng left for Herat in 1412 the *ribāṭ*-system was not yet as developed as it became in the later period of Timurids' reign.[36]

According to earlier Islamic geographical works, there were a number of *ribāṭ*s, or 'guarding houses,' operating along the route from Sarakhs, through Marū and on to Balkh and Maymana (Strange 1905: 432; Mustawfī/Strange 1919: 171–172). Timurid princes and their governors also acted as patrons to build a series new *ribāṭ*s, especially on the road leading to Herat (see above). The *MSD* and *XTRT* record a certain number of *ribāṭ*s. Among them, some *ribāṭ*s were named by local rulers or governors, like 'Labade wulunbie' 剌巴的兀倫[?]乩 (Ribāṭ Ulugh-Beg),[37] apparently traceable to the son of Shāhrukh, and 'Labade mo[mi]erzayibula' 剌巴的末[米]兒咱亦不剌 (Ribāṭ Mīrzā-Ibrāhīm). The names of the *ribāṭ*s undoubtedly reflect the historical background of the works in question.

In contrast, the traditional Mongolian term 'ǰam' (in Persian *yām*, the official staging post), rarely appears in Timurid chronicles. Although, as Clavijo (2010: 105) mentioned, under Timur's order, the staging posts were built all along the road from Tabriz to Samarqand at one- or half-day's distances from each other, neither Chen Cheng's report nor the three abovementioned works includes any *yām* on the itineraries. Sometimes we can find the term *yām-ribāṭ* or *yām-khāna* in Timurid chronicles, but it seems no more prevalent than in the Timurid Empire (Yazdī 2008: v.1, 852, 864; Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: 2/282, 745, 873; Samarqandī 2004: 3/331, 346).

The process of acquiring the geographical knowledge of Central Asia in Ming China, to a large extent, synchronised with the process of expanding Timurid influences over the region. Samarqand, as a traditional political centre, won the continuous attention of the Ming court.[38] However, after Shāhrukh'e enthronement, the status of Herat (in Chinese, Halie 哈烈 or Heilou 黑婁 [also written 黑樓]) was observably upgraded in the governmental archives of the Ming Dynasty.[39] Its name intensively appeared in the records referring to the reigns of Shāhrukh (r. 1409–1447) and Ulugh-Beg (r. 1447–1449).

Shāhrukh's successor, Ulugh Beg, continued the dynasty's friendship with the Ming. During the turbulences that erupted after Ulugh Beg's assassination, the Timurid princes who dominated the Herat region, e.g. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Bahādur b. Baysunghur (d.1460, Alawudaola badu'er, as 阿剌兀倒剌把都兒) and Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim Bābur b. Baysunghur (r. 1449–1457, , 'Heilou babu'er

---

[36] According to Allen's study (1981: 162–164), most of the *ribāṭ*s mentioned by Timurid chronicles were built under Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā's reign, depending on ʿAlīshīr's patronage.

[37] Lin (2011: 163) inaccurately records this name as 'Labade ulunbaiyi' 剌巴的兀倫白乙. The *lun* 倫 might be a typo, because Ulugh-beg's name in Chinese sources was usually written as '兀魯伯.' Another possibility is that the Chinese character after *lun* 倫 may be corrupt.

[38] In sum, the name of Samarqand (Sama'erhan 撒馬兒罕) was mentioned by the *Ming shilu* 186 times, from 1387 down to 1618.

[39] The *Ming shilu* mentioned the toponym 'Halie' 36 times, and heilou (in both forms) 11 times, in references dating from 1402 to 1497.

wang' 黑樓把卜兒王 [the king of Herat, Bābur]), still intended to keep the diplomatic relation with the Ming Court (*Ming shilu* 1964: Yinzong, *juan* 84, 1672, 1683; *juan* 239, 241, 5205, 5241). In ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Bahādur's letter addressed to Ming Yingzong (r. 1436–1449, 1457–1464), he even reused the title *Dāy Mīnk Qāān* and the *Qāān-i buzurg ʿālī miqdār* (superior authority, great Qaʾan) to entitle Ming emperor – according to Timurid chronicles, this title had been no longer utilized during Shāhrukh's reign (Nawāʾī 1977: 279).[40]

Geographical knowledge of Badakhshān might have come from reports on embassies. In 1419, envoys from Badakhshān numbered among the members of Shāhrukh's mission to Ming China (Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: v.2, 864). The name of Badakhshān (in Chinese, Badaheishang 八答黑 商 or Badansha 把丹沙) frequently appears in Chinese documents dated between the 1440s and 1460s. To a certain extent, this reflects the strategy of the Timurid princes to enforce their control in Badakhshān's regions gradually.[41] Mīrzā Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Abū Saʿīd (1453–95), who became the ruler of the regions of Ḥaysār, Kundūz, and Badakhshān, dispatched missions to China in 1452 and 1461 (*Ming shilu* 1964: Yingzong, *juan* 224, 324, 4851, 6704; Dughlat and Ross 1895: v.1, 93).[42] After the Chaghataid prince Yunūs Khan submitted to Abū Saʿīd, the connection between the regions of Khotan and Kashghar and Badakhshān became active again. A Ming document reports that in 1483 envoys from Herat, Shiraz, Samarqand and Badakhshān convened with Yunus Khan's envoys to present lions as tributary gifts (*Ming shilu* 1964: Xianzong, *juan* 247, 4183).[43]

In the beginning of the 16th century the Uzbek khanate launched its southward invasions that began a continuous conflict between the Uzbek-Qazaq people and Mughul khan Saʿīd in the regions of Badakhshān. It appears that such changes in the political situation of the region offered a sufficiently compelling reason for Ming geographers to pay attention to this region and update their information. In the meantime, some strategic areas, like Kishm and Qalʿa-yi Ẓafar, primarily appeared in Chinese sources.[44]

[40] From the beginning of 15th century, Timurid princes no longer took the traditional Mongolian titles, e.g. *khān*, *īlkhān* and *kūragān*, but tended to adopt the title of Sultan. Shāhrukh initially contented the title: *al-Sulṭān al-aʿẓam*, however when his brother Iskandar started to adopt the title sultan in 1409, Shāhrukh chose another title *khalīfa* and soon after, he proclaimed his decision to abrogate the Chinggis Khan's yasa and implement the shariʿa (Manz 2007: 28; Binbaş 2013: 295–296). Therefore, in Shāhrukh's letter addressed to Ming Chengzu 明成 祖 (r. 1402–24), he entitled the latter as *Dāy Mīng Pādishāh*, not *Qāān* (the Great Khan) which was considered to be the prerogative of the Emperor of China after Qubilaiʾ reign (Nawāʾī 1977: 133–135; Ḥāfiż-i Abrū 1993: 466–67; Samarqandī 2004: v.3, 62–63). Considering that Shāhrukh had adopted the title *Īlkhān* in his diplomatic letters to Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd, it reveals, under a certain condition, Shāhrukh identified himself as an Ilkhanid. Thus, if Shāhrukh continued to entitle the Ming emperor as *Qāān*, he thereby would signify his subordinative role vis-à-vis the Qaʾān (Nawāʾī 1977: 99, 109; Manz 2007:. 28). In contrast to the relationship with the Ming, Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā treated Chaghtaid Yūnus Khan (r. 1462–87) as his vassal and forbade the latter to write to him in the way of Khan (Dughlat and Ross 1895: 83).
[41] On the era of Shāhrukh, see Manz (2007: 25–26); on the period of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqārā (r. 1469–1506), see Roemer (1986: 6/126).
[42] His name was recorded as Badansha dimian toumu sulutan Maheimu 把丹沙地面頭目速魯壇馬黑木 (the ruler of the regions of Badakhshān, Sultan Maḥmūd) and Badaheishang dimian Mahama wang 八答黑商地面馬 哈麻王 (King Maḥmūd of the regions of Badakhshān) respectively.
[43] 黑婁失剌思兒思撒馬兒罕把丹并羽奴思王遣使來貢獅子。
[44] According to Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the Uzbek people invaded Badakhshān around 1506–1507. The conflicts surrounding Qalʿa-yi Ẓafar pited Uzbek people against the local governor of Badakhshān as well as the Eastern Chaghataid princes (i.e., Saʿīd) (Dughlat and Ross 1895: 202–203, 387–89; Bābur and Beveridge 1922: 242).

CONCLUSION

Through the above investigation, we can presume that geographical knowledge was collected mainly from the recollected experiences of foreign envoys and common travellers. Although the Mongolian and Uyghuric/Chaghatay Turkish continued to serve as the official languages of the Timurid court (Clavijo 2010: 119–120; Samarqandī 2004: 3/160), the toponyms recorded in Ming Chinese geographical documents mainly derived from Persian. I tend to exclude the assumption that Ming editors acquired these toponyms from Turkic or Mongolian languages due to reliance on the interpreter's translation. The reason lies in that accurately transliterating Arabic-Persian names into Turkic-Mongolian languages is a great challenge. Firstly, the vowel harmony in Altaic languages will cause the change of the short vowel in the weak syllable, e.g. the Persian *mujāwir* ('attendant at a mosque') was transliterated in Turkish as *mujavur* (Deny 1957: 264). In addition, people had to add the extra vowel to transliterate the consonant cluster of Arabic-Persian words. For example, Ilkhan's secretary spelt the name of Kartid ruler, Kart Shaykh ʿAlī, in Mongolian as '*Karud Šiy Ali*' (Deorfer 1975: 211). However, the Chinese transliterations in the above three geographical documents reflect the approximately correct pronunciation of original Persian forms.

Furthermore, a comparison between the Persian toponyms in the above three geographical documents and the contemporary Persian-Chinese bilingual glossaries (e.g. *Huihuiguan yiyu* and *Huihuiguan zazi*) indicates that the transliteration of Persian into Chinese had several common characteristics. They can be summarized as follows: 1) the ending consonants were often omitted, e.g. Murghāb was transliterated as *Maʾerha* 馬兒哈; 2) the voiced uvular fricative *gh–* (غ) first-ly turned to voiceless, e.g. Khānbāligh ('the Capital') > *Hanbaliʾe* 罕巴力額 (Liu 2008: 47), and then was omitted, e.g. Ghārān > *Alun* 阿倫 (see Table 4); 3) the distinction of the velar fricatives (e.g. *h/ḥ/kh–*) were ignored in Chinese transliterations, and all of them finally underwent [–χ] (e.g. *ha* 哈 or *hei* 黑) in Chinese; 4) the syllable ending with *–m* was indiscriminately transliter-ated with the character ending with the *–n*, e.g. Busṭām to *Bosidan* 孛思旦; 5) the bilabial plosive (e.g. *–p*) was sometimes used to transliterate the bilabial nasal consonant (e.g. *–m*) (Liu 2008: 62).

Given the above discussion, we may conclude that Persian continued to serve as *lingua franca* in the 16th century Eastern Eurasia. The accent of the Persian speaking group who lived in Ming China was close to the 'Darī Persian', the language spoken by the people of Afghanistan and those of Eastern or North-eastern Iran. On the other hand, the role of Turkic–Mongolian languages in the process of geographical knowledge transmission was noticeable as well. Under the Mongol and Timurid rule, the Turkic-Mongolian names gradually replaced the old Iranian place-names in Central Asia and meanwhile, a certain amount of bilingual (i.e. Persian–Turkic or Persian–Mongolian) speaking people served the Ming dynasty.

As a scholar already pointed out long ago, these three Ming geographical works contain many inaccuracies, such as scribal mistakes and incorrect geographical positions (Bretschneider 1877: 227). Despite this, they still offer abundant useful information that we can still use to reconstruct the active network of transnational routes that connected the Ming empire with its contemporary Eurasian competitors. Furthermore, the main routes and the junctions described in these works can be validated by contemporary Persian chronicles.

As for the differences that exist among these works, this study indicates that the *MSD* focuses more than the other two works on the routes between China and Western Asia and the cities and stages along these routes; while the *XTRL* (of which we can regard the *XTRT* as an illus-trated version) covers the political, religious and economic information in various regions most

thoroughly. In particular, the supplemental toponyms appearing in the *XTRL* relate to the new Eurasian empires that arose after the collapse of the Timurid Empire. Like Yasī (later Turkestan, in the Republic of Kazakhstan), a city on the Qazaq Steppe, and Tūra (or Chinkī-Tūra), a city in Siberia (today's Russia-Tyumen), were further developed during the Uzbek Khan's period (Khunjī 1976: 88; Bināʾī 1997: 5; Ibragimov 1969: 96, 138, 513, 541–542). Therefore, these works under study provide the highly convincing evidence that the Ming court understood the world to the west thanks to the multifarious knowledge it cultivated, and understood its interests there. Finally, the opinion that the *MSD*, *XTRL* and *XTRT* all originated from a guidebook for Chinese Muslims (*Huihui*) on pilgrimage to Mecca (Shen 2009; Zhang 2016) can, to a great extent, be excluded.

Table 4

`	Persian	XTRL	Persian	XTRT	Persian
罕都 Han-du	Khandūd	昆都思 Kun-du-si	Kundūz	阿倫城 A-lun cheng	Ghārān
咱力都 Za-li-du	Zardīū	剌巴的末(米)兒咱亦不剌 La-ba-de-mo[mi-]er-za-yi-bu-la	Ribāṭ Mirza Ibrahīm	黑樓城 Hei-lou cheng	Harāt
束哈答 Shu-ha-da	/	哈兒斤 Ha-er-jin	Qarqīn	剌叭的城 La-ba-de cheng	City of Ribāṭ
子怕根 Zi-pa-gen	Zibak	哈[沙]打六 Ha-[sha]-da-liu	Khuttal	亦卜剌城 Yi-bu-la cheng	City Ibrāhīm
俄剌脫伯 E-la-tuo-bai	ʿAlā-Taba?	戶倫 Hu-lun	Khulm	阿剌佗伯 A-la-tuo-bai	Alā-Tepe
撒巴 Sa-ba	Shāhbāl?	速兒哈 Su-er-ha	Surkhāb	盼黑的 Pan-hei-de	Balkh
失哈梳 Shi-ha-shu	Shikhashim	盼黑的 Pan-hei-de	Balkh	黑鸞城 Hei-man cheng	
剌巴 La-ba	Ribāṭ	鐵門關 Tie-men-guan	Darband-i Āhanīn	維[雜]民城兒 Wei[Za]-min cheng'er	City of Zamīn
阿倫 A-lun	Ghārān	克力干城 Ke-li-gan cheng	Kalāwkān	普哈剌城 Pu-ha-la cheng	Bukhārā
失黑山 Shi-hei-shan	Shikhashim	巴里黑城 Ba-li-hei cheng	Balkh	阿力伯 A-li-bai	ʿAlī-ābād
失剌思 Shi-la-si	Shīrāz	失巴力城 Shi-ba-li cheng	Shibarghān	阿力店子 A-li-dian-zi	/
巴哈剌 Ba-ha-la	Bukhārā	俺的灰城 An-de-hui cheng	Andkhūy	撒馬兒罕城 Sa-ma-er-han cheng	Samarqand
望星樓 Wang-xing-lou	Ulugh Bek's Observatory	黑樓城 Hei-lou cheng	Harāt	馬土力 Ma-tu-li	/
撒馬兒罕城 Sa-ma-er-han cheng	Samarqand	赤戲[旦]黑豬黑答蘭城兒 Chi-xi-[dan]-hei-zhu-hei-da-lan cheng'er	Chihil Dukhtarān	把黑打帖 Ba-hei-da-tie	Bāgh-i takht?
牙兒答兒 Ya-er-da-er	Yardar	喜撒兒 Xi-sa-er	Ḥiṣṣār	撒子城兒 Sa-zi cheng'er	/
馬土力 Ma-tu-li	Badakhshān	買母納 Mai-mu-na	Maymāna	西河城 Xihe cheng	/
巴答山城 Ba-da-shan cheng	Badakhshān	巴巴沙忽 Ba-ba-sha-hu	Bābā Shahr	把答山城 Ba-da-shan cheng	Badakhshān
剌巴的納都 La-ba-de-na-du	Ribāṭ Nadū?	剌巴的剌阿力城 La-ba-de-la-a-li cheng	Ribāṭ ʿAlā ʿAlī	怯迷城Q ie-mi cheng	Kishm
把黑他帖 Ba-hei-ta-tie	Bagh-takht?	馬力城 Ma-li cheng	Mār-Ābād	牙兒打兒 Ya-er-da-er	Yardār
剌巴也力 La-ba-ye-li	Ribāṭ Yalī?	阿倫城 A-lun cheng	Ghārān	阿巴的納都 A-ba-de-na-du	Abād-Nādū
速力迷納 Su-li-mi-na	/	失黑山、河 Shi-hei shan, he	Shikhashim	把答力山城 Ba-da-li-shan cheng (repeated)	Badakhshān
哈剌思盼 Ha-la-si-pan	Qa ʾla-i Ẓafar	火者阿都阿剌黑蠻城 Huo-zhe-a-du-a-la-hei-man cheng	Khwāja Abd al-Allāh Rahman	阿力伯城 A-li-bo cheng (repeated)	ʿAlī-ābād

ʿ	Persian	XTRL	Persian	XTRT	Persian
剌巴的扯帖兒 La-ba-de-che-tie-er	Ribāṭ Chitir	剌叭的城 La-ba-de cheng	Ribāṭ	黑者沙平城兒 Hei-zhe-sha-ping cheng'er	/
罕站 Han-zhan	Cannot identified	阿力伯（纏頭回回）A-li-bo	ʿAlī Ābād	孛思旦城 Bo-si-dan cheng	Busṭām
阿必巴力 A-bi-ba-li	Ābī-Bālīgh	失黑 Shi-hei[44]	Shahr [Sabz]?	新旦城 Xin-dan cheng	Sīstān
阿兒昆 A-er-kun	Argū	雜民城 Za-min cheng	Zamīn	阿力阿伯城 Al-li-a-bai cheng	ʿAlī-ābād
打剌羽用 Da-la-yu-yong	Dariyam	阿思民 A-si-min	/	俺的灰城 An-de-hui cheng	Andkhūy
剌巴的帖失爾干 La-ba-de-tie-shi-er-gan	Ribāṭ Tash[r?]kant	普哈[剌] Pu-ha-la cheng	Bukhārā	剌巴的打爾斤 La-ba-de-da-er-jin	/
剌巴的兀倫� La-ba-de-wu-lun-bie	Ribāṭ Ulugh-Beg	剌巴子火馬黑麻撒力瓦思 La [Gu]-ba-zi-huo-ma[li]-hei-ma-sa-li-wa-si	Ribāṭ [Gumbaz] Khwāja Maḥmmud Sarvāz	亦思他剌八城 Yi-si-ta-la-ba cheng	Astarābād
剌巴的阿必納 La-ba-de-a-bi-na	Ribāṭ Abīna	卜剌撒力瓦思 Bu-la-sa-li-wa-si	Pul-i Sarwāz		
卜哈剌城 Bu-ha-la cheng (repeated)	Bukhārā	克力干城 Ke-li-gan cheng	Kalāwkān		
高山 Gaoshan	High Mountain	撒馬兒罕城 Sa-ma-er-han cheng	Samarqand		
馬失下 Ma-shi-xia	Mashhad	阿力城 A-li-cheng	ʿAlī Abād[45]		
剌巴的克老干 La-ba-de-ke-lao-gan	Ribāṭ Kalāwgān	望日樓 Wangri lou	Ulugh Bek's Observatory		
古巴子火者馬黑麻撒力瓦思 Gu-ba-zi-huo-zhe-ma-hei-ma-sa-li-wa-si	Gumbaz Khwāja Maḥmmud Sarvāz	失剌思城 Shi-la-si cheng	Shīrāz		
撒子城 Sa-zi cheng	/	高山 Gaoshan	High Mountain		
剌巴的火者哈非思 La-ba-de huo-zhe-ha-fei-si	Ribāṭ Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ	馬土力 Ma-tu-li	Madū?		
台牙罕 Tai-ya-han	Ṭāyqān	撒子城兒 Sa-zi cheng'er	/		
火者古巴子 Huo-zhe-gu-ba-zi	Khwāja Gumbaẓ	把黑把[打]帖 Ba-hei-ba[da]-tie	Bāgh-i takht?		
把力黑 Ba-li-hei	Balkh	把答山城 Ba-da-shan cheng	Badakhshān		
昆都思 Kun-du-si	Kundūz	西河城 Xihei cheng	/		
卜力撒力 Bu-li-sa-li	Pul-i Sārī	阿沙巴力 A-sha-ba-li	ʿAshā Bālīgh		
克力空 Ke-li-kong	Kalāwkān	怯迷城 Qie-mi cheng	Kishm		
剌巴的 La-ba-de	Ribāṭ	牙兒打兒 Ya-er-da-er	/		
哈打六 Ha-da-liu	Khuttal	阿巴的納都 A-ba-de-na-du	Abād Nātū?		
台戶倫 Tai-hu-lun	/	新旦城 Xin-dan cheng	Sīstān		

[45] This toponym in the *Bianzheng kao* 邊政考 as Shi-hei-shu 失黑梳.
[46] In the *XTRT*, as A-li bo 阿力伯, i.e. ʿAlī-ābād.

	Persian	XTRL	Persian	XTRT	Persian
鐵門關 Tie-men-guan	Darband-i Āhanīn	巴答力山 Ba-da-li shan	Badakhshān		
的系哈三 De-xi-ha-san	Dih Ḥassan	阿里伯 A-li-bo	ʿAlī Abād		
把都沙忽 Ba-du-sha-hu	Bābā Shahr?	孛思旦城 Bo-si-dan cheng	Busṭām		
剌巴的 La-ba-de	Ribāṭ	阿里阿伯 A-li-a-bo	ʿAlī Abād		
失巴力干 Shi-ba-li-gan	Shaburqān	俺的灰 An-de-hui	Andkhūy		
盼黑城 Pan-hei cheng (repeated)	Balkh	黑者沙平城兒 Hei-zhe-sha-ping cheng'er	/		
俺的灰城 An-de-hui cheng	Andkhūy	亦思他剌八城 Yi-si-ta-la-ba cheng	Astarābād		
米卜六罕 Mi-bu-liu-han	Mīr-Būrāqān				
剌巴的克來 La-ba-de ke-lai	Ribāṭ Kalai				
俺都回 An-du-hui (repeated)	Andkhūy				
買馬納 Mai-ma-na	Maymāna				
海撒兒 Hai-sa-er	Ḥaysār				
赤戲里堵黑塔蘭 Chi-xi-li-du-hei-ta-lan	Chihil Dukhtarān				
卜力馬兒哈 Bu-li-ma-er-ha	Pul-i Murghāb				
馬力翶城 Ma-li-ao cheng	Mār-Ābād				
黑樓城 Hei-lou cheng	Harāt				

Fig. 1. The toponyms mentioned by the *MSD* in the Google Map (Badakhshān to Taliqan)
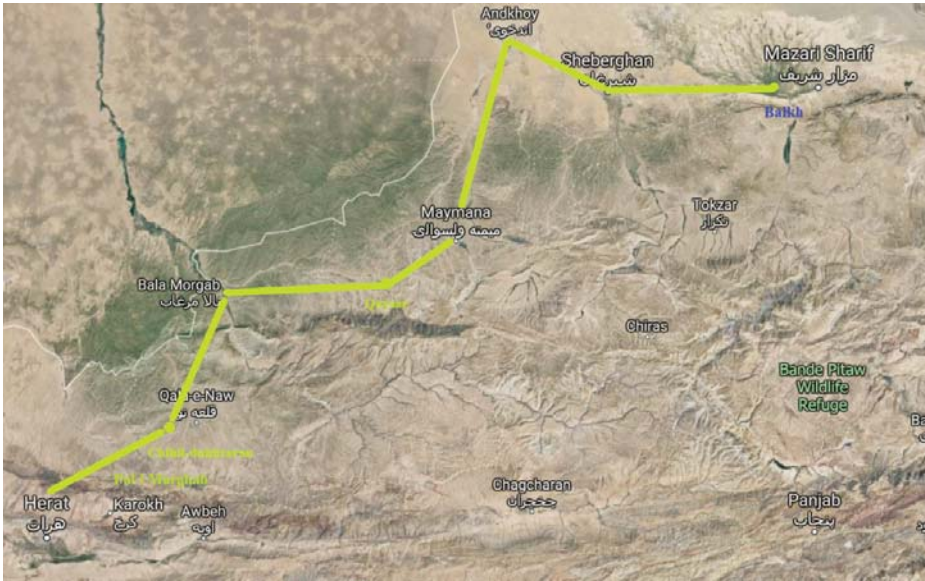
Fig. 2. The toponyms mentioned by the *MSD* in Google Maps (Herat)

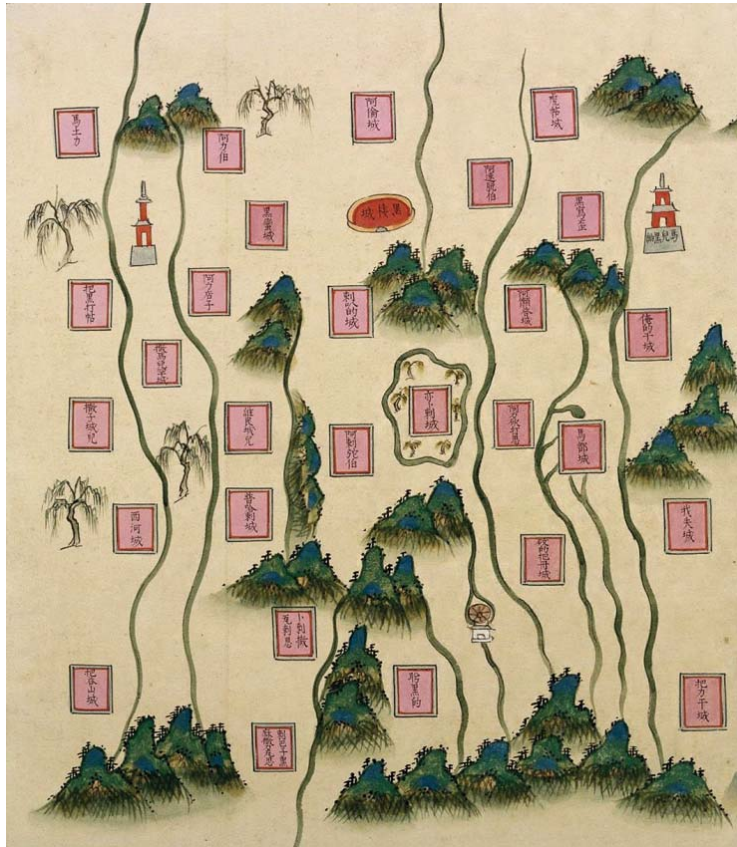Fig. 3. The *MSD*, depicting Andkhūy, Ḥiṣār, Mamayna and Chihil-dukhtarān

Fig. 4. The *MSD*-2, showing the regions of Bukhara, Badakhshān and Herat

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

BĀBUR, Ẓāhir al-Dīn 1922. *The Bāburnāma in English (Memoirs of Bābur)*. [Trans. Annette Susannah BEV-ERIDGE] London: Luzac.

BINĀʾĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī 1997. *Shaybānī-nāma* [Book of the Shaybanids]. Ed. Kazuyuki KUBO. In: *A Syn-thetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period*, 1–93 (Persian text), 61–67 (Japanese and English). [Research Report, Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Japan, Project No. 6301043]. Kyoto: Kyoto University.

CHEN Cheng 陳誠 2000. 'Xiyu xingchengji 西域行程記 [Travel journal to the Western Regions].' In: ZHOU Liankuan 周連寬 (ed.) *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志 [Treaties with the barbarian countries of the West-ern Regions]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

CLAVIJO, Ruy Gonzalez de 2010. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarqand, A.D. 1403–6*. [Trans. Clements R. MARKHAM] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DUGHLAT, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar 1895. *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar*. [Trans. E. Denison Ross, ed. Ney ELIAS] London: Curzon.

ḤĀFIẒ-I ABRŪ 1993. *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* [Cream of the histories]. 2 vols. Ed. Sayyid Kamāl Ḥajj Sayyid JAWĀDĪ. Tehran: Nashir-i Nay.

ISFIZĀRĪ, Muʿīn al-Dīn Zamchī 1959. *Rawżāt al-jannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt* [Gardens of paradise on the descriptions of the city of Herat]. 2 vols. Ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim IMĀM. Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān.

JUZJĀNĪ, Minhāj al-Sirāj 1864. *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣirī* [Generations of Nasirid]. Ed. ʿAbdalḥaiy ḤABĪBĪ, Kabul: Pūhanī Maṭb, 2vols.

KHUNJĪ, Faẓl Allāh b. Rūzbihān 1962. *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* [The guest-book of Bukhara]. Ed. M. SUTŪDA. Tehran, Inshārāt-i ʿIlmīmī wa Farhangī.

KHWĀNDAMĪR, Ghiyāth al-Dīn 1954. *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād bashar* [The beloved of careers reporting on the multitudes of people]. Ed. M. D. SIYĀQĪ. 4 vols. Tehran: Khayyam.

LI Zhichang 李志常 1983. *Changchun zhenren xiyouji jiaozhu* 長春真人西遊記校注 [Commentary of the Report of a Travel of the Spirit Immortal Changchun (i.e. Qiu Chuji)]. In: *Wang Guowei yishu* 王國維遺書 [Posthumous writings of Wang Guowei], vol. 13. Shanghai; Shanghai shudian chubanshe.

LI Yingkui 李應魁 2006. *Suzhen Hua-Yi zhi* 肅鎮華夷志 [Accounts of Chinese and foreigners in Suzhou province]. Ed. GAO Qiʾan 高启安 and TAI Huili 邰惠莉. Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe.

Mingshi 明史 [Official History of the Ming Dynasty] 1974. Ed. ZHANG Tingyu 張廷玉. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Ming shilu 明實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty] 1964. Ed. YANG Shiqi 楊士奇. Taibei: Taiwan shangwu.

Polo, Marco 1976. *Marco Polo, the Description of the World*. A. C. MOULE and P. PELLIOT (eds.). New York: AMS Press.

MĪRZĀ SANG MUḤMMAD, Faẓl ʿAlī Beg Surkh Afshār 1997. *Таʾрих-и Бадахшан. ("Истроииа Бадакхшāна") Факсимиле рукописи. Издание текста, перевод с персидского*. А. Н. Болдырева, С.Е.Григорьева (ред.) Москва: Наука.

MUSTAWFĪ, Ḥamdallāh 1919. *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*. [Trans. G. LE STRANGE] Leiden: Brill.

Nawāʾī, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn 1977. *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīkhī-yi Īrān az Tīmūr tā Shāh Ismāʿīl* [Historical documents and letters from the Timurid reign to Shah-Ismaʿil's reign]. Tehran, Bungāh Tarjumih wa Nashr-i Kitāb.

Qaṭaghān, Muḥammad Yār b. ʿArab 2006. *Musakhkhir al-bilād* [The conqueror of lands]. Ed. Nādara Jalalī. Tehran, Mirās-i Maktūb.

Samarqandī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq 1993. *Maṭlāq al-saʿdayn wa majmaʾ al-baḥrayn* [The rise of the stars and the junction of the two seas]. vol. 1. Ed. ʿAbd Ḥusayn Nawāʾī. Tehran, Pazhuhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-i Insānī wa Mutāliʿāt-i Farhangī.

Samarqandī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq 2004. *Maṭlāq al-saʿdayn wa majmaʾ al-baḥrayn* [The rise of the stars and the junction of the two seas], vol. 1, pt. 2; vol. 2, pts. 1–2. Ed. ʿAbd Ḥusayn Nawāʾī. Tehran, Pazhuhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-i Insānī wa Mutāliʿāt-i Farhangī.

Shaanxi tongzhi 陝西通志 2006. Eds. Zhao Tingrui 趙廷瑞, Ma Li 馬理, and Lü Ran 呂柟. Annotated edition: Dong Jianqiao 董劍翹. Xiʾan: Sanqin chubanshe.

Wāʿiẓ, Sayyid Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh 2007. *Maqṣad al-iqbāl-i sulṭāniyya wa marṣad al-āmāl-i khāqāniyya* [The destination of imperial fortune and station of emperor's expectation]. Ed. Māyil Harāwī. Tehran, Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān.

Wāṣifī, Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd 1971. *Badāyiʿ al-waqāyiʿ* [Marvelous encounters]. Ed. Aleksandr N. Boldyrev. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān.

Waṣṣāf al-Ḥadrāt (ʿAbdallah ibn Faḍlallāh Sharaf al-Dīn Shīrāzī) 1959–60. *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf (Tajzīya al-amṣār wa tazjīya al-aʿsār)* [Waṣṣāf's history: the allocation of cities and the propulsion of epochs]. Ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī. Tehran: Ibn Sīnā.

Xia Yan 夏言 1997. 'Qingyichu jiangda geyichishu chengweishu, 請議處降答各夷敕書稱謂疏 [Memorial of discussing the terms of address on the edict of conferring titles to various foreigners].' In: *Guizhou xiansheng zouyi* 桂洲先生奏議 [Collection of the memorials written by Xia Yan], *juan* 20, In: *Siku-quanshu cunmu congshu: shibu* 四庫全書存目叢書: 史部 [Collections of books listed in the section of surviving titles of *Siku quanshu*: Historical Section]. Jinan: Qilu shushe, Vol. 60, 568–570.

Xuanzang 玄奘 1985. *Da Tang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 [Reports on the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty]. Annotated by Ji Xianlin 季羨林. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Yan Song 嚴嵩 2002. 'Yichu Gansu gongyi 議處甘肅貢夷 [Memorial on treating the tributary foreigners in Gansu province].' In: *Nangong zouyi* 南宮奏議 [Collection of the memorials written by Yan Song], *juan* 29, In: *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 [Continuation of the *Siku quanshu*]. Shanghai, vol. 476, 494–495.

Yazdī, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī 2008. *Ẓafarnāma* [Book of victory]. 2 vols. Ed. ʿAbd Ḥusayn Nawāʾī. Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis..

Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 1981. *Xiyou lu* 西遊錄 [The records of the journey to the West]. Eds. Xiang Da 向達, Chen Dezhi 陳得芝, and Zhang Guangda 張廣達. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju.

Zhang Yü 張雨 1968. *Bianzheng kao* 邊政考 [Research on border administration]. Jiajing edition (1547), repr. Taibei: Taiwan huawen shuju.

Secondary Literature

Adamec, Ludwig W. 1972. *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan.* 6 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.

Allen, Terry 1981. *A Catalogue of the Toponyms and Monuments of Timurid Herat.* [Studies in Islamic architecture, no. 1]. Cambridge, Mass., Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Aubin, Jean 1969. 'L'Ethnogenese des Qaraunas.' *Turcica* 1: 65–94.

Barthold, V. V. 1963. *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Vol. 2. [Trans. V. T. Minorsky] Leiden: Brill.

Bai Yi 白乙 2018. 'Ping Lin Meicun zhu menggu shanshui ditu 評林梅村著蒙古山水地圖 [Review of Lin Meicun's the Mongolian Landscape Map].' *Pengpai xinwen* 澎湃新聞 [Pengpai News]. https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_2110593 (accessed 2018/05/05).

Binbaş, Ilker Evrim 2013. 'Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mīrzā Iskandar, Shah Niʿmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī in 815/1412.' In: Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (ed.) *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 277–303.

Bretschneider, Emil 1877. 'Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia during the Fifteenth, Century. Part II: A Chinese Itinerary of the Ming Period from the Chinese Northwest Frontier to the Mediterranean Sea.' *The China Review* 5: 227–241.

Chen Dezhi 陳得芝 2015. 'Liu Yu Changde xishiji jiaozhu 劉郁常德西使記校注 [Commentary on the Record of Changde's Mission to the West].' *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 117: 67–108.

Church, Sally K. 2015. *Xiyu xingcheng ji* 西域行程記 [Record of the journey to the Western Regions (English translation)]. Unpublished paper. http://www.thelongridersguild.com/Chen%20Cheng's%20Diary%20-%20China%20to%20Herat.pdf (accessed 2019/08/18).

Church, Sally K. 2019. 'A New Look at Chen Cheng's Role in his Diplomatic Missions to Herat (1413–1420).' *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* 67/2: 363–395.

Deny, J. 1957. 'Un Soyurgal du Timouride Šāhruḫ: en Écriture Ouigoure.' *Journal Asiatique* 245: 253–266.

Doerfer, Gerhard 1975. 'Mongolica aus Ardabīl.' *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9: 187–263.

Desio, Ardito 1975. *Geology of Central Badakhshān and Surrounding Countries*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Didier, Michel 2012. *Chen Cheng (1365–1457), Ambassadeur des Premiers Empereurs Ming*. Paris: Édition Peeters.

Fletcher, Joseph F. 1968. 'China and Central Asia, 1368–1884.' In: J. K. Fairbank and Ta-tuan Ch'en (eds.) *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 209–216.

Hori, Sunao 堀直 1978. 'Chūō Ajia oyobi Nishi Ajia-ni kansuru Min-dai-no ichi shiryō: "Saiiki shokoku" to "Saiiki tochi jinbutsu-ryaku" ni tsuite 中央アジア及び西アジアに関する明代の一史料：「西域諸国」と「西域土地人物略」について [A preliminary study of a document about Central and Western Asia in the Ming Period, derived from *Xiyu zhuguo* and *Xiyu tudi renwulüe*].' *Isuramu sekai* イスラム世界 3: 37–55.

Hu Xiaopeng 胡小鵬 and Ding Yangmei 丁楊梅 2018. 'Mingdai sichou zhi lu shuangyu wenxian "wei-wueryiyu-diming" kaoshu 明代絲綢之路雙語文獻委兀兒譯語·地名考述 [Research on a Uyghur–Chinese bilingual lexicon concerning the Silk Road during the Ming period].' *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 28/2: 81–90.

Ibragimov, S. K., N. N. Mingulov, K. A. Pishulina, V. P. Yudin [Ибрагимов, С. К., Мингулов Н. Н., Пищулина, К. А., Юдин В. П.] 1969. *Материалы по истории Казахских ханств XV–XVIII вв. (извлечения из персидских и тюркских сочинений)*. Алма-Ата: Наука.

Kauz, Ralph 2005. *Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden: China, Iran und Zentralasien im Spätmittelalter*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Kennedy, E. S. and M. H. Kennedy 1987. 'Al-Kāshī's Geographical Table.' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 77/7: 1–47.

Kenzheakhmet, Nurlan 2013. 'The Qazaq Khanate as Documented in Ming Dynasty Sources.' *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 8: 131–156.

Kenzheakhmet, Nurlan 2017. 'The Tūqmāq and the Ming China the Tūqmāq and the Chinese Relations during the Ming Period (1394–1456).' *Golden Horde Review* 5/4: 770–785.

Krawulsky, Dorothea 1984. *Ḥorasān zur Timuridenzeit nach dem Tārīkh-e Ḥāfiz-e Abrū (verf. 817–823h.).* [Ed. and trans. Dorothea Krawulsky] 2 vols. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.

Le Strange, Guy 1905. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur.* New York, Barnes and Noble Inc.

Leitner, W. G. 1996. *Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893: Being an Account of the History, Religions, Customs, Legends, Fables and Songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandia (Gabrial) Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Hagyr and Other Parts of the Hindukush.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Li Zhiqing 李之勤 2004. '"Xiyu tudi renwu lüe" de zuizao, zuihao banben 西域土地人物略的最早、最好版本 [On the earliest and best edition of the "Summary of the Land and People of the Western Regions"].' *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 14/1: 118–127.

Li Zhiqing 李之勤 2012. *Xiyu shidi san zhong ziliao jiaozhu* 西域史地三種資料校注 [Commentary on three historico-geographical works]. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe.

Lin Meicun 林梅村 2012. *Menggu shanshui ditu: zai Riben xin faxian de yifu shiliu shiji Sichou zhi lu ditu* 蒙古山水地圖: 在日本新發現的一幅十六世紀絲綢之路地圖, [Mongolian landscape map: A 16th-century Silk Road map recently discovered in Japan]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Lin, Meicun 2015. 'A Study on the Court Cartographers of the Ming Empire.' *Journal of Asian History* 49/1–2: 187–228.

Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝 2008. '*Huihuiguan zazi' yu 'Huihuiguan yiyu' yanjiu* 《回回館雜字》與《回回館譯語》研究 [Studies on the 'Translation Terms of the Muslim Office' and 'Persian Glossaries of the Muslim Office']. Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe.

Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝 2011. '*Bai-a-er-xin-tai ji qi chushi* 白阿兒忻台及其出使 [The diplomatic mission of Bai-a-er-xin-tai].' In: *Hailu yu lulu: zhonggu shidai dongxi jiaoliu yanjiu* 海路與陸路：中古時代東西交流研究 [Maritime and continental routes between east and west]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue chubanshe, 309–334.

Liu, Yingsheng 2015. 'Cities and Routes of Ferghana in the "Xiyu Tudi Renwu Lüe" and the "Xiyu Tudi Renwu Tu".' *Journal of Asian History* 49/1–2: 229–251.

Manz, Beatrice F. 2007. *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Minorsky, V. (trans.) 1970. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam: the Regions of the World.* London: Luzac.

Melville, Charles 2013. 'The Itineraries of Shāhrukh b. Timur (1405–47).' In: David Durand-Guédy (ed.) *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life.* Leiden: Brill, 285–316.

Pelliot, Paul 1959. *Notes on Marco Polo,* vol. 1. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Qiu Yihao 邱軼皓 2019. 'Chahetai hanguo de jiangyu yu bianjie guannian: jiyu wumali "gongwenshuyu zhinan" jishu deyige kaocha 察合台汗國的疆域與邊界觀念: 基於烏馬里《公文術語指南》記述的一則考察 [Some preliminary remarks on the border-making and territorial concept of the Chaghatai Khanate : a case study based on the accounts of al-ʿUmarī's *al-Tāʿrīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*].' *Zhonggu zhongguo yanjiu* 中古中國研究 2: 147–164.

Robinson, David M. 2020a. *In the Shadow of the Mongol Empire: Ming China and Eurasia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, David M. 2020b. *Ming China and its Allies: Imperial Rule in Eurasia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ROEMER, Hans R. 1986. 'The Successors of Tīmūr.' In: Peter JACKSON and Laurence LOCKHART (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 98–146.

ROSSABI, Morris 1976. 'Two Ming Envoys to Inner Asia.' *T'oung Pao* 62: 1–34.

SHEN Yuping 沈玉萍 2009. 'Youguan "Xiyu tudi renwu lüe" zuozhe de kaocha 有關西域土地人物略作者的考察 [An investigation into the author of "Xiyu tudu renwu lüe"].' *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 4: 129–140.

SHIM, Hosung 2014. 'The Postal Roads of the Great Khans in Central Asia under the Mongol-Yuan Empire.' *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 44: 405–469.

SUBTELNY, Maria E. 2009. *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran*. Leiden: Brill.

SUGIYAMA Masaaki 杉山正明 2007. 'Tōzai no sekai-zu ga kataru jinrui saisho no dai-chihei 東西の世界図が語る人類最初の大地平 [The first portrait of the world depicted in the worldmaps in the East and the West].' In: FUJII Jōji 藤井讓治, SUGIYAMA Masaaki 杉山正明 and KINDA Akihiro 金田章裕 (eds.) *Daichi no shōzō: Ezu chizu ga kataru sekai* 大地の肖像: 絵図・地図が語る世界 [Worldview seen from pictorial maps and geographical maps]. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 55–82.

TOEPEL, Alexander 2008. *Die Münche des Kublai Khan: die Reise der Pilger Mar Yahballaha und Rabban Sauma nach Europa*. Darmstadt: WBG.

VÁMBÉRY, Ármin 1899. *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia during the Years 1553–1556*. London: Luzac.

WANG Qianjin 汪前進 (eds.) 2007. '*Luotu huicui* 蘿圖薈萃 [Royal compilation of territorial maps]' (1795 edition).' In: *Zhongguo dituxueshi yanjiu wenxian jicheng* 中國地圖學史研究文獻集成 [Grand compendium of the historical documents of Chinese cartography]. Vol. 5. Xi'an: Xi'an ditu chubanshe, 1878.

WEIERS, Michael 1963. *Die Sprache der Moghol der Provinz Herat in Afghanistan (Sprachmaterial, Grammatik, Wortliste)*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden GmbH.

YATE, Major C. E. 1888. *Northern Afghanistan, or Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood.

ZHANG Wende 張文德 2006. *Ming yu Tiemu'er wangchao guanxishi yanjiu* 明與帖木兒王朝關系史研究 [Studies in the Diplomatic Relations between Ming and Timurid Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

ZHAO Yongfu 趙永復 2006. 'Mingdai "Xiyu tudi renwu lüe" bufen Zhong-Ya, Xi-Ya diming kaoshi 明代《西域土地人物略》部分中亞、西亞地名考釋 [Studies in the Central and Western Asian Toponyms in the 'Xiyutudi renwulue'].' *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 21: 355–365.