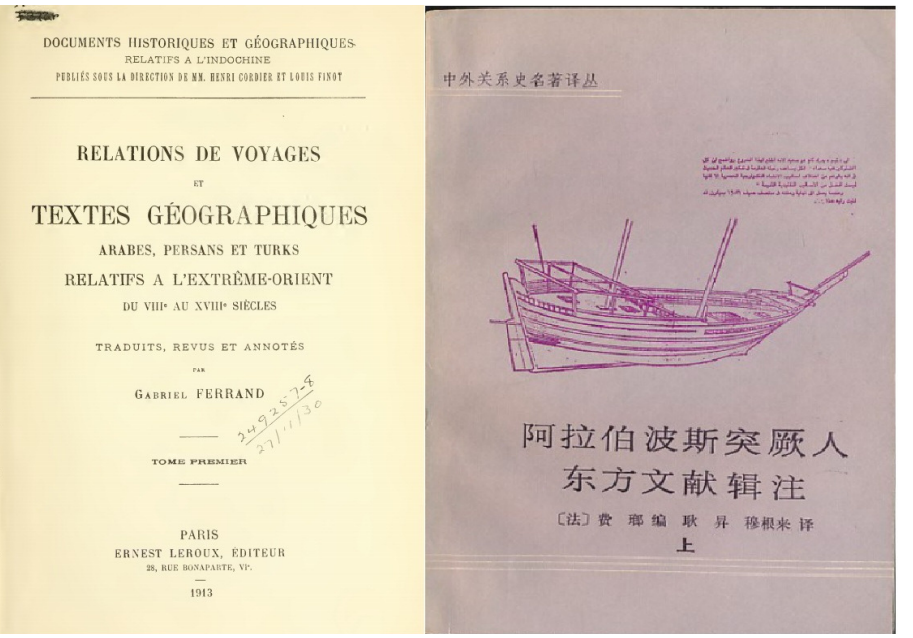
Appellations of China in Medieval Muslim Literature*

Chen Chunxiao 陈春晓
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Muslim literature has been regarded as an important source for studying the relations between ancient China and Iran, apart from an enormous amount of Chinese literature. A lot of accounts about China are found in Iranian poems, travel notes, and literature on history, geography, medicine, gems, etc.; however, the appellations of China vary in them. This phenomenon has drawn the attention of European orientalists since long ago. When studying the origins of the word "China" in European languages, they inevitably came across different appellations of China in ancient Persian and Arabic literature. They identified these appellations, such as "Chīn", "Māchīn", "Ṭamghāj", "Khitāy", "Manzī" and "Nankiyās"; studied their etymologies, meanings, and ways of communication from a linguistic perspective; and finally determined that they were how Persians and Arabs referred to China in the Middle Ages.[1] Chinese scholars have also been interested in this phenomenon. They are adept at researching these appellations by referring to literature in Chinese and the minority languages of China. The challenging yet interesting etymological research on appellations of China has attracted a large number of linguists. For historians, however, the focus is more on the practical use of these appellations in historical materials and how they can be used to study historical issues.

Gabriel Ferrand, a famous French orientalist, has made remarkable achievements in this regard. He wrote *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrême Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles* [**Fig. 1**] in the early 20th century.[2] This book was translated into Chinese by Geng Sheng 耿昇 and Mu Genlai 穆根来 in 1989.[3] For quite a long time, it has served as a major reference for Chinese researchers to make use of Muslim literature. But unfortunately, this book can no longer meet the current needs of scholars. There are two reasons. First, it mentions many Arabic geography books but few Persian historical materials. Second, Ferrand fails to differentiate one appellation of China from another when translating them into French. The same problem exists in the Chinese version, so readers cannot know the original names of "China."

Furthermore, the century following the publishing of Ferrand's book has witnessed tremendous progress in the collation and research of Muslim literature. Higher-quality texts (manuscripts, collated editions, and annotated editions) and translations appeared. New Muslim sources were also discovered. Above all, Chinese scholars have made great progress in the study of Muslim literature


DOCUMENTS HISTORIQUES ET GÉOGRAPHIQUES
RELATIFS A L'INDOCHINE
PUBLIÉS SOUS LA DIRECTION DE MM. HENRI CORDIER ET LOUIS FINOT

RELATIONS DE VOYAGES
ET
TEXTES GÉOGRAPHIQUES
ARABES, PERSANS ET TURKS
RELATIFS A L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
DU VIIIe AU XVIIIe SIÈCLES

TRADUITS, REVUS ET ANNOTÉS
PAR
GABRIEL FERRAND

TOME PREMIER

PARIS
ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR
28, RUE BONAPARTE, VIe
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中外关系史名著译丛

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东方文献辑注
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Fig. 1. French scholar Gabriel Ferrand's Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrême Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles (1913), *along with its Chinese translation (1989).*

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over the past century. They now prefer original texts to those translated into western languages. Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, a Chinese Arabist, has contributed a lot in this regard in his doctoral dissertation, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' yanjiu 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"研究 ["A Study of 'China' in Ancient Arabic Literature"], where he studies the history of ancient Sino-Arab exchanges based on Arabic literature. From 2002 to 2005, 15 serials of his "China in Ancient Arabic Books" were published in the journal *Arab World Studies*. He collects and translates descriptions of China from 29 categories of Arabic works that are not included in Ferrand's book. This is very important because the lexicographical and religious books he collects are often neglected by historians. It needs to be pointed out that Ge's collection is based only on the word "al-Ṣīn," so accounts concerning other appellations of China are not included. Besides, both Ferrand's and Ge's collections center around Arabic non-historical literature instead of Persian historical sources. Therefore, these are the two aspects this article focuses on.

The amount of Medieval Muslim literature containing complicated appellations of China is voluminous. Analyzing each of them is a prerequisite for using these materials. On the one hand, the meaning and usage of an appellation are not constant over the centuries. On the other hand, as time goes by, some appellations disappear while new ones emerge. Mixed usage of new and old ones is also common. Especially during the reign of the Mongols, their usage changed significantly. Therefore, this article discusses the usage of these appellations in medieval Muslim literature before and after the rise of the Mongols and analyzes Muslims' views of China behind each of them.

Appellations of China in Muslim Literature before the Rise of the Mongols

Judging from a mass of Persian and Arabic sources, "Chīn" (per., al-Ṣīn arb.) is the earliest and most widely used appellation of China. It also has the longest history of use. Modern orientalists, after careful textual research, believe that its pronunciation comes from the Chinese character "Qin 秦," which represents the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE). In early Muslim writings, "Chīn" (or Chīnistān) was the only name referring to China. Works written in the 9th and 10th centuries, such as *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa al-Hind*, al-Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān*, Ibn Khurdādhbih's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Iṣṭakhrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Muqaddasī's *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm* and *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, all refer to China as "Chīn" (or Chīnistān). This term is best known to Muslims and has been used since ancient times.

"Chīn" has been a general name of China for a long time in a broad sense; however, when the territories and ruling regimes of ancient China kept changing due to frequent division and unification of the country caused by its nomadic neighbors, Muslim writers in western Islamic regions started to have a different understanding of the word "Chīn" after these changes were disseminated there by land or sea. Derivative names, such as "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," "Chīn-i Māchīn," "Chīn and Māchīn," "Upper Chīn, Middle Chīn, and Lower Chīn," and "Outer Chīn and Inner Chīn" (Chīn-i bīrūnī va Chīn-i andarūnī), were frequently seen in Muslim literature of that time. At the same time, "Ṭamghāj 拓跋" and "khitāy 契丹," the names of two ethnic groups, also became known to the world as synonyms for China. Therefore, it is very common to see mixed usage of these appellations by Muslim writers from the 10th to 13th centuries. The meaning of each appellation varies in different works, which reflects different perceptions of China's territories and regimes. To clarify their meanings and usages, this article extracts some descriptions containing several typical appellations of China from the 10th to 13th centuries.

1) In *Murūj al-Dhaḥab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar* (*The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*), written by al-Mas'ūdī, there is a description of China:

> The Emperor of China (al-Ṣīn) received from his subjects the honorary title of Baghbūr, which means son of heaven (ibn al-samā'). However, the proper title belonging to the monarchs of China, which is usually used when speaking to them, is Tamghamā Jabān (Tamghāj khan) instead of Baghbūr.[4]

Paul Pelliot has made a detailed survey of "Baghbūr." It was a very ancient title and appeared in Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Khotanese, Sogdian, Arabic, and Persian in various forms, meaning "son of God."

Chinese scholars usually translate Faghfūr in Persian into Fa-ge-fu-er 法格富尔 and Baghbūr in Arabic into Ba-ge-bu-er 巴格布尔. That is how people in other ethnic groups called Chinese emperors, which may be a rendering of *Tianzi* 天子 (Son of Heaven) in Chinese. As to "Tamghamā Jabān," Pelliot believes that it is a misspelling of "Tamghāč khan," i.e., Tao-hua-shi-han 桃花石汗.[5]

2) In *Taḥqīq mā lil-Hind* (*Indica*) written by Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, a famous Persian scholar in the 10th to 11th centuries, another appellation "Mahājīn" besides "al-Ṣīn" is used to refer to China. Bīrūnī explained its meaning as Great China (al-Ṣīn al-ʿuẓma).[6]

3) In *Zayn al-Akhbār*, written by Persian author Gardīzī in the 1050s, there are some descriptions of China:

> Mani fled Iran and settled in **Chīn** and **Māchīn**, where he preached publicly and many people joined his sect…
>
> As for the country of China (**Chīn**), it is a great country, [so that] if we should undertake to describe the whole of [it], our book would go beyond the limit [we have] proposed [for it]. As for the routes [leading to] it, [one] goes from Tughuzghuz [country] by way of Jīnānjkath to Qumūl eastwards through the desert country. When [this route] reaches Baghshūr, a river which [has to be] crossed by boat comes [up] in front. On the eighth day [after leaving Jīnānjkath] it arrives at Qumūl. From Qumūl [the route] goes by a road through a plain which is all springs and grass for a seven-day [journey], until it reaches a Chinese city called Sājū. Thence after three days [it] arrives at Sanglākh. [Then going] from Sanglākh for [a distance of] seven days it arrives at Sunḫjū. From there [it goes] for three days to Khājū, from there for eight days to Kujā, and from there for fifteen days to a river, called the Ghiyān which [has to be] crossed by ferry. But from Baghshūr to Khumdān, which is the great[est] city of Chīn, it is [fully] a one-month journey by a road [lined all the way by] inns and flourishing halting places.
>
> Abū Zayd Ḥakīm says as follows: that the Ghuzz Turks are neighbors of the Chinese (Chīnīyān). And [that] of the boundaries of **Chīn** one is [with] Khutan, [a] second [with] Hindūstān, [a] third [with] Bulūr, [a] fourth [with] Gog and Magog (Ya'jūj va Ma'jūj).
>
> 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khurdādhbih says as follows: that whoever goes to **Chīn** becomes wise and great in learning.
>
> **Chīn** has many kings, but the greatest of them is the Faghfūr "Son of Heaven."[7]

4) In *Qūtādğu Bīlīg* (*Wisdom of Royal Glory*) written by Qara-Khanid poet Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib Balasağuni in Turkic in 1069–1070, "Chīn", "Māchīn", "Khitāy", and "Tamghāj" are used in its prose prologue and verse prologue to refer to China. Geng Shimin 耿世民 says that these two prologues might have been written by later generations. Some researchers still believe the prose prologue was at least written by Yūsuf's contemporary, judging from the tone, while the verse prologue was a rewrite of the prose counterpart. For this reason, this article quotes the prose prologue only:

> This book is exceedingly precious. It is adorned with the proverbs of the sages of **Chīn** and the poems of the learned of **Māchīn**. But he who reads its contents and makes known its verses surpasses the book in excellence. The sages of **Chīn** and of **Māchīn** have all agreed, that in the eastern realm and in all the lands of Turkestan, in the tongue of Buġra Khan and in the language of the Turks, no one has ever composed a book finer than this. Whatever sovereigns this book has reached, and whatever climes, the wise and learned of those lands have accepted it because of its utmost excellence and its boundless beauty. And each one has given it a name and a title. The people of **Chīn** call it "Etiquette of Kings"; and the counselors of the king of **Māchīn** call it "Rule of the Kingdom"; the people of the East call it "Adornment of Princes"; the people of Iran call it "Shāhnameh of the Turks"; others call it "Book of Counsel for Kings"; and the people of Turan call it "Wisdom of Royal Glory" (*Kutadgu Bilig*).
>
> The author of this book was a pious and abstinent man from Balasaghun. He completed it in the land of Kāshghar, and presented it to the king of the East, **Tavġach** Buġra Khan.[8]

In the text written by Yūsuf himself, "Khitay" and "Tamghāj" are used to refer to China:

> Brown earth wrapped a veil of green silk over her face; the **Cathay** caravan spread out its **Chinese** wares.[9]

As its Chinese translation notes, "Cathay (Khitāy)" here refers to the Liao Dynasty in the north and "Chinese (Tamghāj)" the Song Dynasty in the south.[10]

5) In *Lughāt al-Turk (Compendium of the Languages of the Turks Dīwān)* written by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, a scholar from the same era as Yūsuf, there is a famous description regarding ancient China's different regions and their names:

> **Tawγāč**. The name for Māṣīn. It lies beyond Ṣīn a distance of four months' travel. Ṣīn is originally threefold: "Upper," in the east, which is **tawγāč**; "Middle," which is **Xiṭāy**; and "Lower", which is **barxān**, the vicinity of Kāšγar. But now Tawγāč is known as Māṣīn, and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn.
>
> **Tawγāč**. The name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions. From this word comes the expression: **tat tawγāč** meaning "Uighur (which is Tat) and Ṣīnī (which is **Tawγāč**).
>
> "Any manufactured item that is ancient and imposing (iḏā kāna qadīman ʿaẓīman)" is called: **Tawγāč ädi**. This is like the Arabic expression šay' 'ādī ("something of ʿ**Ād**"). The word is also used as a name for kings: **tawγāč xān** meaning "of great and inveterate rule (ʿaẓīm al-mulk wa-qadīmuhu)."
>
> They say, as a paired expression: **tat tawγāč**. By "Tat" they mean "Persian (al-fārisī)", and by "tawγāč" they mean "Turk". In my opinion the more correct usage is what I have mentioned [above]. The latter is used in the lands of Islam; the former in that place. Both are correct.[11]

6) In *Ṭabā'i'al-Ḥayawān* (*Nature of Animals*) written by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, a Central Asian native in the 11th to 12th centuries, there are also descriptions of China's territories.

> §3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, **Ṣīn**, **Qitāy**, called by common people **Khitāy**, and **Uyghur**, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Ṣīn (China).
>
> §7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y.njūr 扬州. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called KWFWĀ, but the king resides in Y.njūr. …Their king is called Tafghāj-Khān, and it is he who is called Faghfūr.
>
> §17. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.
>
> §19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

From Kāshghar to Yārkand in 4 days

thence to Khotan in 10 days

thence to K.rwyā (Keriya 克里雅) in 5 days

thence to Sājū (Sha-chou 沙州) in 50 days

There (at Sājū) the roads to **China**, **Qitāy**, and **Uyghur** part:

> A. He who travels to Y.njūr, which is the capital of the king of China Tamghāj-Khān, turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches Qām-jū (= Kan-chou 甘州), then L.ksīn—in forty days—and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of Kho-cho 火州, of which are known Sūlmin 唆里迷 and Chīnānjkath 秦城. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.
>
> Beyond China (**Ṣīn**) there is a nation known as Sh.rghūl, called by the Chinese S.nqū (Sung-kuo 宋国), which is at a month's distance from Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called **Mājīn** (Māchīn 马秦) and the Indians call them Great China (Mahāchīna 摩诃支那).
>
> B. He who intends going to Qocho (Qūjū), which is the city of the **Uyghur-khan**, turns away towards the left after Sājū (Sha-chou).

C. He who intends going to Ūjam, which is the capital of **Qitāy**, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khātūn-san (Khātūn-sīnī 可敦墓) in about 2 months

then to Ūtkīn in a month

then to Ūjam in a month

§29. The great city in which the king of **China** lives is called **Khumdān**, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānjkath to Khumdān there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.

§33. In the environs of **Khumdān**, which is the capital of the king surnamed Faghfūr, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks.[12]

7) In *Jahān-nāma* (*Book of the World*), a geography book written by Persian geographer Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān in 1206, descriptions of "Chīn" and "Khitāy" reflect another understanding of China's territories.

Khiṭā: the Khiṭā tribe comes from the country of Chīn. The pronunciation of "Khiṭā" which is used incorrectly by themselves, should have been "Qitā". Qitā is the name of a large city of Chīn.

Chīn is an extremely huge country with many palaces and cities in its territory. Chīn is said to have three hundred cities, which are large and prosperous. Chīn is divided into two parts: the part with the palaces is called "pure Chīn" (Chīn-i muṭlaq), and some people call it "Outer Chīn" (Chīn-i bīrūnī); the other part located on the east side is called "Inner Chīn" (Chīn-i andarūnī), or "Māchīn."

Later, one Great Amir of the **Qitā**, who was said to have been the monarch of Chīn, left there and fought his way westwards to reach the place of Balasagun. They settled there against no resistance. Then, the pronunciation of Qitā changed, and the place of their residence was named "Qūtū". Their people called themselves "Khitā" by mistake.[13]

Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj are two tribes; the one near the wall (sadd) is "Ya'jūj," and the other farther away is Ma'jūj, similar to **Chīn** and **Māchīn**.[14]

8) In *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa al-Aghdhiya* (*Glossary of Food and Medicine*), one of the two famous medical works written by the renowned pharmacist 'Abd allāh Ibn al-Bayṭār in the first half of the 13th century, a paragraph about the appellations of China is found under the entry "Rhubarb."

The rhubarb roots, well known under the names of Turkish and Persian, come to us from Turkestan and Persia. They, as I have heard from credible people, also grow in **China** (Chīn), but the Chinese ones are better known and more famous. They grow in the northern part of **China**, the region called Turkestan, and the Persians call that place "**Chīn of Māchīn**" (Chīn-i Māchīn), meaning the same as "**Ṣīn of Ṣīn**" (Ṣīn al-Ṣīn). Since they call China "Shīn," Chinese rhubarb is called "rhubarb of Shīn" (Rāvand-i Shīnī).[15]

9) In a supplement to Ptolemy's works on seven climate zones, the 13th-century Arab geographer Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī wrote the following:

In the east of **Ṣīn** stands a mountain that separates **Ṣīn** from **Ṣīn al-Ṣīn**.

The appearance of the **Ṣīn** people is very similar to that of the **Khiṭā** people. They live between Turks and Indians. Their clothes are of poor quality, and they are used to baring their chests. Their Sultan is called Baghbūr, and their capital is Tājā…

The city of **Manzī** is the capital of **Chīn al-Chīn**.[16]

10) In the well-known geography book *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād* (*Monuments of the Lands and Histories of the Peoples*), the 13th-century geographer Zakariyā al-Qazvīnī mentioned the following:

China (Ṣīn). Located in the east, its territory extends from the first to the third climates. Its latitude is greater than longitude. It is said that there are 300 cities in the country of **Ṣīn**, and it is a two-month journey around. There is abundant water, lush trees, fertile land, and rich fruits. It is the best and most beautiful and God blessing city.

> Farghāna. The country is made up of many towns and cities, located just beyond the Transoxiana and close to Turkestan. The people there are beautiful and believe in the Hanafi sect. This place was destroyed in the war between Khwārazm-shāh and the **Khitans** (Khiṭāyiyān). Its residents migrated to Transoxiana and Khorasan.
>
> **Ṭamghāj**. A place name in Turkestan. There are many houses and residents there. Men and women are hairless. There are two springs, one of sweet water, and one of salt water. They merge into a pond, and then two streams flow from the pond, one salty and one sweet, as if they have never been mixed.
>
> Transoxiana (Mā warā' al-Nahr). It had been always prosperous and rich, until it was occupied by Khwārazm-shāh Muḥammad. In 601 Hijri, **Khitans** left there.[17]

The ten quotes above represent the typical usage of appellations of China in Muslim literature down to the Mongol era. The following section analyzes the specific meanings of these appellations and Muslims' views of China reflected by them.

1) **Ṭamghāj.** "Ṭamghāj" 桃花石 was usually used in Chinese and the languages of neighboring ethnic groups and spread westward to Persia, Arabia, and Europe. Both Chinese and western scholars have done a lot of research on the word based on Turkic, Uyghur, and Chinese sources. Paul Pelliot believes that Central Asia used "Ṭamghāj" instead of "Chīn" to refer to China from the 5th to 6th centuries while "Ṭamghāj" was later replaced by "Khitāy" during the 10th century.[18] However, according to the related Persian and Arabic literature, "Ṭamghāj" was never a mainstream name for Muslims to address China in the central and western regions of the Islamic world, not to mention a substitute for the ancient name "Chīn." "Ṭamghāj" occurred in Persian and Arabic literature mostly in the form of "Ṭamghāj Khān" as a title of rulers. This title can refer to the ruler of Qara-Khanid such as "Tavġach Buġra Khan" (in *Qūtādğu Bīlīg*, quoted above) and "Naṣir bin Ibrāhīm Ṭamghāj Khān" (in *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* [*The History of Bukhara*], written by Narshakhī).[19] It can also refer to a Chinese emperor in general, similar to "Faghfūr." Mas'ūdī and Marvazī used this appellation in their works quoted above, and it was even used after the decline of the Mongol Empire.

"Ṭamghāj" also occurred in Muslim literature as a place name in two different situations. First, as an appellation of China, it was far less commonly used than "Chīn" and "Khitāy" in Persian and Arabic literature. It can be found from the quotes above that "Ṭamghāj" actually refers to the Chinese territories ruled by the Han people, especially when it was mentioned together with "Khitāy," as in Kāshgharī's and Yūsuf's writings. However, only Kāshgharī gave a detailed explanation of these territories. This can be attributed to Kāshgharī's special cultural background. He lived in Qara-Khanid in the eastern Islamic world in his early years and later moved to the city of Baghdad, the center of the western Islamic world. He was proficient in Persian, Arabic, and Turkic. He compiled the *Compendium* to explain Turkic vocabulary in Arabic. Therefore, the phrase "Tawγāč is known as Māṣīn and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn" was a translation between Turkic and Arabic. He interpreted Turkic words "Tawγāč" and "Khitāy" with "Māṣīn" and "Ṣīn," which were commonly used by Persians and Arabs. This also proves that "Ṭamghāj" was not a mainstream term to address China in the western Islamic world. Kāshgharī's *Compendium* has had a profound influence on the Persian and Arab worlds. "Ṭamghāj" also became known to Persians and Arabs as an appellation of China.

Second, "Ṭamghāj" refers to a place in Turkestan. Kāshgharī explained the second meaning of "Ṭamghāj": "the name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions." This usage was also seen in Zakariyā Qazvīnī's geography book in which the entry "Ṭamghāj" was clearly defined as a place in Turkestan.

2) **"Khitāy."** Pelliot believes that "Khitāy" originally represented Chi-tan 契丹, a tribe in North China that founded the Liao 辽 Dynasty. Muslims in Central Asia and Western Asia soon used it to refer to North China ruled by the Liao Dynasty.[20] It can be seen from the quotes above that "Khitāy" in Muslim literature of the 10th to 13th centuries had two different meanings: 1. The original meaning—the Khitan tribe and territories ruled by the Liao Dynasty, as in the works of Kāshgharī and Marvazī. It was an appellation of China; 2. The derivative

Kāshgharī	Ṣīn	Upper Ṣīn = Māṣīn = tawγāč
		Middle Ṣīn = Ṣīn = Xiṭāy
		Lower Ṣīn = Barxān
Marvazī	Ṣīn	Ṣīn or Mājīn
		Qitāy or Ṣīn
		Uyghur or Tughuzghuz
Bakran	Chīn	Inner Chīn = Māchīn
		Outer Chīn = Pure Chīn = Qitā
Ibn al-Baytar		the northern part of Chīn = Chīn-i Māchīn = Ṣīn al-Ṣīn
Maghribi		Ṣīn
		Ṣīn al-Ṣīn

Fig. 2. Appellations of ancient China in Muslim literature of the 10th to 13th centuries.

meaning. After the Liao Dynasty was overthrown, one of the noble Yelü Dashi 耶律大石 marched westward to Central Asia with his troops. "Khitāy" was then used to refer to this tribe and their West Liao 西辽 regime in Central Asia, which was later called "Qara-Khitāy" in Muslim literature. This is the case with "Khitāy" in the works of Bakrān and Zakariyā Qazvīnī.

3) **"Chīn."** Different appellations derived from "Chīn" (or Ṣīn): "Māchīn," "Upper Ṣīn," "Middle Ṣīn," "Lower Ṣīn," "Outer Chīn," "Inner Chīn," "Chīn of Chīn" (Ṣīn al-Ṣīn), and "Chīn of Māchīn" (Ṣīn al-Maṣīn). These names reflect how the Islamic world viewed ancient China, which was experiencing frequent division and unification at that time, while various usages of them by different authors reflect the differences in their perceptions of ancient China with multiple regimes.

Figure 2 shows these perceptions. It demonstrates the meaning of "Chīn" in both a broad and narrow sense. "Chīn" in a broad sense is a general name of China, while in a narrow sense it refers to a certain part of China. It is necessary to refer to the related literature and other place names appearing at a specific time to determine which part of China "Chīn" stood for exactly. Another important appellation closely related to "Chīn" in a narrow sense is "Māchīn." Alfred von Gutschmid believes that "Māchīn" in Persian has nothing to do with "Mahāčin 摩诃秦" in Sanskrit, but Pelliot refutes his hypothesis based on the works of Bīrūnī and Rashīd al-Dīn as well as *Āyin-i Akbarī* of the 16th century. All of them prove that "Māchīn" was derived from Mahāčin.[21] Most scholars agree with Pelliot that "Māchīn" is equivalent to Mahāčin, which means "Great China."

When "Chīn" in a narrow sense and "Māchīn" occur in the same context, which region of China do they stand for respectively? There are a lot of different opinions in this regard, but most of them

Fig. 3. Kāshgharī's world map, from the Diwan lughat al-Turk, *Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri 4189, fols. 22b-23a, Istanbul.*

center around the related descriptions in Kāshgharī's works [**Fig. 3**]. V.V. Barthold says that "Ṣīn" and "Māṣīn" were distinguished from each other at the age Kāshgharī lived in. "Ṣīn" referred to North China, and "Māṣīn" referred to South China. "Māṣīn" was also known as "Ṭamghāj," standing for Chinese regions ruled by the Song Dynasty.[22] Pelliot points out that the terms "Upper" and "Lower" in Kāshgharī's map mean "east" and "west" respectively.[23] Zhang Guangda 张广达 also says that Kāshgharī's "Ṣīn" in a narrow sense refers to Khitāy while "Māṣīn" refers to Song. They are east-west adjacent to each other.[24]

However, other writers had different understandings of "Chīn" and "Māchīn." Even the same writer used these two terms inconsistently in the same piece of work. This can be seen in §19 of Marvazī's works. §19 describes the route from Central Asia to China. It starts from Kāshghar to Sājū where the road diverges into three towards Ṣīn, Qitāy, and Uyghur respectively. His descriptions about the routes reflect the view of "China divided into three parts," which is also shown in §3 and §17. "Ṣīn" refers to the region ruled by the Song Dynasty. Marvazī talked about Māṣīn in the second half of the description of the route to Ṣīn in §19. He said Māṣīn was another country, and it was called "S.nqū" (Sung-kuo) by the Ṣīn people. Residents in the country were known as "Sh.rghūl" (Han Chinese). According to Kang Peng's 康鹏 survey, the pronunciations of "S.nqū" and "Sh.rghūl" were derived from the Khitan language.[25] Therefore, those who spoke these two words should be from Khitāy. That is, "Ṣīn" means Khitāy and "Māṣīn" means Song. Why does the meaning of "Ṣīn" change in such a short piece of text? V. Minorsky analyzes the historical sources of Marvazī's narrative and helps to answer this question. He says Marvazī's description of China was a complicated patchwork of quotes from various sources.[26] The descriptions of the route and "Māṣīn" in §19 come from two different historical sources. These two sources adopt two different naming systems for China. In the first system, Song is called "Ṣin" and Liao "Khitāy." In the second system, Song is given the name of "Māṣīn" and Liao "Ṣin." These two systems were clearly explained in the entry "Tawγāč" in Kāshgharī's *Compendium*: "Ṣīn is originally threefold: 'Upper,' in the east, which is tawγāč; 'Middle,' which is Xiṭāy; and 'Lower,' which is Barxān, the vicinity of Kāšyar. But now Tawγāč is known as Māṣīn, and Khiṭāy as Ṣīn." Kāshgharī clarified that these two naming systems were used at different times. Unlike Kāshgharī's research-based writing, Marvazī's accounts can only be regarded as a kind of "compilation." Marvazī's understanding of China was indirect and fragmentary. He put together all the information regardless of their era and background and used these two different naming systems without differentiating one from another. That's why the information is contradictory and confusing. In summary, there are two naming systems for China in Marvazī's works: when used with "Khitāy," "Ṣīn" refers to the Song Dynasty, and when with "Māṣīn," "Ṣīn" refers to Khitāy.

Besides Kāshgharī and Marvazī, Bakrān also had his way of explaining China's territories and appellations. "Chīn" was used in both a broad and a narrow sense in Bakrān's works. In a broad sense, "Chīn" stands for China as a whole, while in a narrow sense, it only refers to the region under the Khitāy's rule (he called the ruler of Khitāy the monarch of Chīn), namely the Liao Dynasty. Furthermore, he divided "Chīn" in a broad sense into two parts: "Inner Chīn" and "Outer Chīn." "Inner and Outer" is similar to "Upper and Lower" in Kāshgharī's view. They were commonly used by Muslims to describe a geographical orientation. Bakrān also explained that "Outer Chīn" referred to the pure Chīn. "Pure Chīn" is not a proper name. "Pure" is an adjective, meaning that Outer Chīn is exactly Chīn, that is, "Chīn" in its narrow sense. "Chīn" in a narrow sense is equivalent to Khitāy because Bakrān used the system of "Chīn = Khitāy and Māchīn = Song." Bakrān is superior to Marvazī in logic in this regard. He integrated different systems but ensured consistent logic, indicating that he had a better understanding of China.

Finally, let us take a look at "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" and "Ṣīn al-Māṣīn" in the works of Ibn al-Bayṭār and al-Maghribī. Pelliot indicates that Ibn al-Bayṭār pointed out the correlations between "Chīn-i Māchīn" in Persian and "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" in Arabic. As for "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," Pelliot infers that it refers to Guangzhou 广州 based on the descriptions by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Ibn Baṭūṭah. However, Ge Tieying holds a different

opinion:

> As for Ṣīn al-Ṣīn, ancient Arab writers have different views on which region it refers to. Some say Guangzhou, and some say Nanjing. Western scholars think it refers to Guangzhou or Yangzhou 扬州. It is even more ambiguous on the side of Chinese researchers and translators. Some transliterate it into Qin-a-Qin 秦阿秦, and some paraphrase it into "little China"小中国. Since the areas listed in this book are countries rather than cities, and "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" is at the same level as "China," it seems appropriate to consider it as southern China, which of course covered not merely the southern part of China today.[27]

Ge selects texts containing "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" from Ibn al-Khatib's *al-'Iḥāṭah fī 'Akhbār Gharnāṭah (The Complete Source on the History of Granada)* and Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (*The Dawn of the Blind*), both of which use "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" together with "Ṣīn." For example, in *al-'Iḥāṭah fī 'Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, it says:

> Ibn Baṭūṭah traveled from his homeland to oriental regions including Egypt (Miṣr), Syria (al-Shām), Iraq (al-ʿIrāq), Iraq of Persia (ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam), Hind (al-Hind), Sind (sl-Sind), Ṣīn, Ṣīn al-Ṣīn, and Yemen (al-Yaman).[28]

"Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" here obviously does not refer to a certain city. Analogous to "Iraq and Iraq of Persia" and "Hind and Sind," "Ṣīn and Ṣīn al-Ṣīn" is more likely a combined expression to refer to China as a whole. This is more obvious in *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* by al-Qalqashandī, which mentions that Genghis Khan ruled Ṣīn and Ṣīn al-Ṣīn.[29] Another evidence is Maghribī's words: "In the east of China (Ṣīn) stands a mountain that separates Ṣīn from Ṣīn al-Ṣīn." This is the same as "Ṣīn and Māṣīn" used by Kāshgharī and Bakrān. Therefore, "Ṣīn al-Ṣīn," when used together with " Ṣīn," is equivalent to "Māṣīn" and is an appellation of China.

As for "Chīn and Māchīn" (Ṣīn and Māṣīn), Liu Yingjun 刘英军 says the following when studying Chinese place names in the Persian epic *Kūshnāma*: "Chīn and Māchīn were often used as appellations of ancient China in Persian historical and geographical documents in the Islamic era, but they referred to different parts of China in the works of different times." He also points out that these two names "form a phrase, referring to the vast area of ancient China."[30] Based on a series of historical records, it is clear that Muslims used "Chīn and Māchīn" in two ways:

1) "Chīn and Māchīn" were regarded as two different regimes in China, that is, the Liao Dynasty and the Song Dynasty, as described by Kāshgharī and Marvazī. They can be used separately in this case.

2) "Chīn and Māchīn" was used as a combined term standing for China in general. They cannot be used separately in this case. Henry Yule points out from a phonological perspective that "Chīn and Māchīn" is an phrase having some analogy to "Sind and Hind" (referring to the whole India) but a stronger one to "Gog and Magog" (referring to the northern nations of Asia).[31]

In short, "Chīn and Māchīn" does not highlight the multi-regime situation in China, but has evolved into a literary expression referring to China as a whole. A lot of examples in Muslim literature have shown that only a handful of Muslim writers knew the real situation in the east. Most authors merely used this phrase to refer to China in general. Even after the Mongols re-unified China, this phrase was still widely used.

In summary, the appellations of China and the descriptions of China's territories in Muslim literature in the 10th-13th centuries have two characteristics:

1) Outdated sources are frequently used, which has been noticed by many scholars. V.V. Bartold says that Arabic geographical literature compiled after the 10th century was mostly a patchwork of quotes from various outdated sources.[32] Michal Biran directly points out that most information about China in many Muslim works of the 10th-12th centuries was based on the outdated knowledge of the Tang Dynasty. For example, Chang'an (Ḥumdān) was still regarded as the capital of China after it lost this position. Literature in the late 11th to early 12th centuries also reveals a confusing understanding of the political situation in China. Most writings at that time were based on Muḥmūd Kāshgharī's *Compendium*. In this book, Ṭamghāj, originally the name of the ruling clan of the Northern Wei Dynasty, was used until the early 13th century.[33] It can also be seen from the literature cited

in this article that apart from Ḥumdān and Ṭamghāj, information about China, such as mention of the Chinese emperors' title "Faghfūr," China's capital as being located at "Yangzhou," and the phrase "Ṣīn has three hundred cities," appeared in various sources of different periods. Some information was still used by Muslim writers even after the Mongol era.

2) The information about a turbulent and divided China was not disseminated to Central and West Asia promptly in the 10th-13th centuries. Muslim writers were aware of this but didn't know the exact progress or details. For instance, although Bakrān accurately recorded in his book *Jahān-nāma* the fact that Yelü Dashi marched west and established the Western Liao Dynasty over half a century later, he still used "Chīn and Māchīn" to refer to China. The reason is that the powerful Western Liao Dynasty in Central Asia spread their stories to Persia and Arabia, but the news about distant China could not reach there in time due to road blockage. This also explains why most Muslim writers had to use works of the previous era as a reference. Regimes in China changed frequently during the 10th to 13th centuries, but the related information was transmitted slowly. Therefore, Muslim writers couldn't update their knowledge and reflect these changes in their works accordingly. Some of them regarded "Chīn" as the regime in South China, some as the regime in North China, and some as the whole of China. Some even used different meanings of "Chin" in the same piece of work without differentiating one from another. It was the division of China that made the meaning of "Chīn" change, and the derivatives of "Chīn" emerge frequently. This shows that the fact of China's division had become common knowledge in the Islamic world, and the various appellations of China are exactly a reflection of the division in essence. On ancient Muslim maps, "upper" and "lower" represented east and west respectively, a 90-degree deviation from Chinese maps. Therefore, some Muslims misunderstood that China was divided into a regime in the east and another in the west. As Pelliot says, the constant changes in the usage of "Chīn and Māchīn" reflect the cognitive confusion among the Islamic world when China was divided into two regimes from north to south and ruled by different ethnic groups.[34]

Appellations of China in Muslim Literature after the Rise of the Mongols

While China was experiencing three hundred years of division, Central Asia and West Asia were also ruled by numerous independent regimes. At the start of the Mongol conquest, there were several powerful regimes from eastern to western Asia, including Jin 金, Western Xia 西夏, Uyghur, Western Liao, Khwarazm, the fortresses of Ismailism in northern Iran and the caliph in Baghdad, as well as a series of small semi-independent regimes in Transoxiana, Khorasan, and Kerman under the rule of the Khwarazm-shah. Three centuries of warfare in the center of Asia resulted in inconvenient land transportation to a certain extent, which was reflected in the chaotic records by Muslim writers of this period. This situation was finally ended by the Mongols. When the Mongol army marched westwards and destroyed all these regimes one after another, the communication barriers caused by the division were broken down and the ancient Silk Road was revived. Along with the military expeditions, merchants, travelers, and scholars exchanged information and updated their knowledge as they moved around. The entire Asian continent was in a state of rapid mobility. A manifestation in Muslim literature of this period is that the accounts of the East suddenly became accurate and clear.

To study the evolution of the appellations of China during this period, the following section lists the descriptions of China in some important Muslim works.

1) 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr wrote his Arabic masterpiece *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* in the early 1230s. China is called "Ṣīn" in this book. In addition, it records a large number of historical events in Khitāy. "Khitāy" here refers to the Khitan tribe who moved westwards and founded the Western Liao Dynasty in Central Asia. For example, the book records what happened in the year 604 (1107-1108) of the Islamic calendar:

> After Khwārazm Shāh had treated the **Khitay** (Khiṭā) as we have described, those of them that survived went to their ruler, for he had not been present at the battle, and they gathered around him. A large group of Tatars had erupted from their homeland, the borders of **China**

(Ṣīn), in the past, and settled beyond Turkestan. There were enmity and hostilities between them and the **Qarakhitay** (Khiṭā),[35] so when they heard what Khwārazm Shāh had done to the **Khitay**, they attacked them, led by their ruler Kuchlug (Kushlī) Khan.[36]

2) *Sīrat al-Suḷṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*, written by Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Nasavī a few years after Ibn al-Athīr's book was finished, is also a masterpiece of history in the early Mongol era. The book describes the history of the Mongols conquering Khwarazm based on the author's personal experience. The use of appellations of China in the book is similar to that in Ibn al-Athīr's book. "Khitāy" refers to the Western Liao Dynasty and is used together with "Qarakhitāy." While "Khitans" (Khitāyīyān) is used to refer to residents in the Western Liao Dynasty, Gur Khan is given the title "Khan of Khans of the Kingdom of Khitay" (Khān-i Khānān Gūr Khān-i Malik-i Khitāy).[37] China is still called "Chīn" in this book. For example, according to the book, when Genghis Khan tried to establish a friendly business relationship with Khwarazm, he asked an envoy to send a message to Khwarazm-shah:

> The envoy said: "Our Great Khan gave regards to you. He said: 'I know your greatness, the vastness of your land, and the wideness of the regions in which your decrees are carried out. I want to make peace with you, and treat you like a child of my own. Tell you the truth, I have seized **Chīn** and conquered the land of Turk adjacent to Chīn. As you all know, my land is the source of troops, gold, and silver. Anyone who comes to my country from other places will become rich. If you accept my kindness and let the businessmen of both sides come and go, we shall be glad to see that all can make great fortunes from it.'"
>
> After hearing the words of the messenger, the Sultan summoned the envoy Maḥmūd Khwārazmī alone at night, and said to him: "You are from Khwarazm, and your heart shall be with us." … The Sultan asked: "Genghis Khan said: 'I seized **Chīn** and conquered **Tūghāj**.' Is that true?" Maḥmūd replied: "The mirror can only tell the truth. Such a big thing is hidden, and you don't know."[38]

3) The Persian history book *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, written by Minhāj Sirāj Jawzjānī ten years later, is another important source that records the history of Central Asia from the period of the Ghurids to the Mongol conquest. The author describes the historical events of the Western Liao Dynasty in detail and uses various appellations to refer to China. He mentions the following when talking about Khitans moving westward in the book:

> A body of people of **Qarākhiṭā**, from **Ṭamghāj** and the country of **Chīn**, entered the confines of Qarāqurum of Turkestan, and solicited Sultan Sanjar to assign them grazing lands.[39]
>
> It is said by trustworthy persons that the first irruption of the Turks was when the tribes of **Qarākhiṭā** issued from the territory of **Chīn** and the land of the East, and came out upon the confines of Qayāliq and Balāsāghūn, and withdrew their allegiance from the sovereign of **Ṭamghāj**, and made the frontier tracts of Islam their dwelling place and their grazing grounds.[40]

When talking about the battle between Khwarazm-shah Muḥammad and the Western Liao Dynasty:

> Sultan Muḥammad having gained such a great success, the second year after, again assembled an army, and led a force of 400,000 effective cavalry, both horses and riders arrayed in defensive armour, into the land of **Khitāy**, and completely overthrew Gūr Khān, who was the Great Khān of [Qarā] **Khitāy**. The whole of the horses, camels, and other cattle, baggage, and followers of the army of **Khitāy** were captured, and the Great Khān retreated discomfited before him.[41]

Jawzjānī also mentions the situation in China when describing the rise of the Mongols and their military expeditions:

> The Mongol Chingiz Khān had a son, the eldest of all his sons, Tūshī by name. At this time, this Tūshī, by command of Genghis Khan, his father, had come out of the territory of **Chīn**, in pursuit of an army of Tatār, and Sultan Muḥammad, from Transoxiana and Khorasan, had likewise pushed on in the same direction; and the two armies fell in with each other.[42] …

> Chingiz Khān broke out into revolt in the land of **Chīn**, and **Ṭamghāj** and the **Greater Turkestan** (a-ʻālī Turkistān), and Altūn Khān of **Ṭamghāj**, who was sovereign of Upper Turkestan (Turkistān-i bālā), and the lineal monarch of **Qarākhiṭā**, was overcome by him, and the territories of **Ṭamghāj**, Tangut, and Ūyghūr and Tatār, all fell into his hands.[43]

When describing the Utrār incident, which triggered the war between the Mongols and Khwarazm, Jawzjānī wrote the following:

> Of that party [of merchants], there was one person, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the [public] hot baths, and he succeeded in making his escape by way of the fire place. He, having taken to the wilds, returned back to **Chīn**, and made Chingiz acquainted with the perfidious conduct of Qadr Khān of Utrār and the slaughter of the party. Chingiz Khān prepared to take revenge, and he caused the forces of **Chīn** and Turkistān to be got ready for that purpose.[44]

In addition, "Chīn and Māchīn" appears twice in this book. The first time is when describing the territories ruled by Ghiyās̲ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the monarch of the Ghurids:

> His dominions became wide and extended, and from the east [eastern extremity] of Hindūstān, from the frontier of **Chīn and Māchīn**, as far as ʻIrāk, and from the river Jīhūn and Khurāsān to the sea-shore of Hurmuz, the Khutbah was adorned by his auspicious name.[45]

The second time is when Güyük Khan, the Mongol Khan, persecuted Muslims:

> When such tyranny and barbarity took root in the mind of Kyuk, and his decision in this course was come to, he commanded that a mandate should be issued, to this effect, throughout all parts of the Mongol dominions, from the extreme limits of **Chīn and Māchīn**[46] to the farthest parts of ʻAjam, ʼIrāk, Rūm, and Shām, and the whole of the Mongol rulers, who were located in different parts, were directed to obey it, and hold it necessary to be carried out.[47]

The quotes above from three books show the word choice style in Muslim history books of the early Mongol era.

First, "Chīn" was still the most commonly used appellation of North China, which in these three historical sources referred specifically to the territories ruled by the Liao Dynasty and the Jin Dynasty. In addition to "Chīn," "Ṭamghāj" was also used to refer to North China. It is worth noting that in previous Muslim works by Kāshgharī, Marvazī, and others, "Ṭamghāj" usually referred to South China, which was ruled by the Han people. In the three books mentioned above, however, the meaning of "Ṭamghāj" changed. It was either used in conjunction with "Chīn" or referred to North China on its own. Besides "Chīn" and "Ṭamghāj", "Upper Turkestan" is another appellation in *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* that stands for China. Jawzjānī calls Altūn Khān of Ṭamghāj the monarch of Upper Turkestan. "Altūn" means "gold" in Turkic, and "Altūn Khān" refers to the emperor of the Jin Dynasty.[48] Therefore, "Upper Turkestan" is equivalent to North China, although it is not so commonly used as other appellations. A similar usage appears in Ibn al-Bayṭar's works mentioned in the first part of this article, where the northern part of Chīn is called Turkestan. Although the territories of "Chīn" and "Turkistān" are different in the above two documents, it can be seen that they overlapped with each other. Ibn al-Bayṭar was a contemporary of Jawzjānī. Therefore, it can be inferred that some Muslims thought that North China overlapped with Turkestan in their territories in the 13th century.

Second, it can be seen from the records concerning Genghis Khan's conquest of China that apart from "Chīn" (or "Ṭamghāj" and "Upper Turkestan") ruled by the Jin Dynasty, there were Uyghur, Tangut, and other regimes not within Jin's territories in North China. The scope of "Chīn" here was quite limited and almost equivalent to "Han regions 汉地."

Third, "Khitāy" didn't mean North China at that time. As Yelü Dashi marched westward with his troops, the concepts of "residents of Khitāy" and "land of Khitāy" were disseminated there. They referred to the residents of the Western Liao Dynasty and their dominion in Central Asia respectively. "Khitāy" was equivalent to the term "Qarakhitāy."

Fourth, "Māchīn" was no longer used alone. "Chīn and Māchīn" became a fixed expression to refer to

the whole of China.

4) *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, written by ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn ʻAṭā Malik Juvaynī, is one of the most important and representative historical works of the Mongol era. The appellations of China used in this book have reflected the word choice characteristics of the era. "Chīn," the most commonly used appellation of China in the past, rarely appeared in this book. It was only used as a literary expression in poems or as a fixed collocation with "Māchīn." For example:

> As the lights of the dawn of his equity were without the dust of the darkness of evening, so the extent of his empire reached from farthest **Chīn and Māchīn** to the uttermost districts of Syria (Shām).[49]

> He who to vigilant fortune has united meekness and modesty and to daily increasing felicity the virtue of guiding wisdom. Confronted with his world-adorning counsel the sun has no beauty and in the presence of his generosity the clouds have no sustenance. Where are the khans of **Chin and Machin** that they may learn the rites of kingship?[50]

An appellation of China frequently used in this book is "Khitāy." This term was transitioning from an ethnic group name to a place name when Juvaynī wrote this book. It had two different meanings:

1. It referred to the Western Liao Dynasty, including the regime, its territories, and residents. It can be replaced by "Qarakhitāy." For instance, "Khitāy" referred to Qarakhitāy in the chapters titled "Of the origin of the dynasty of the Sultans of Khorazm" and "Of the accession of ʿAla-ad-din Khorazm-shah" of this book.[51]

2. "Khitāy" replaced "Chīn" and referred to North China, the area ruled by the Jin Dynasty as shown in the following:

> The home of the Tatars, and their origin and birthplace, is an immense valley, whose area is a journey of seven or eight months both in length and breadth. In the east it marches with the land of **Khitai (Khitāy)**, in the west with the country of the Uighur, in the north with the Qirqiz and the river Selengei, and in the south with the Tangut and the Tibetans.[52]

> In short, when these regions had been purged of rebels and all the tribes had become as his army, he dispatched ambassadors to **Khitai**, and afterwards went there in person, and slew Altun-Khan, the Emperor of **Khitai**, and subjugated the country.[53]

Another example was in the chapter "Of the campaign of the world-emperor Qa'an against Khitai and the conquest of that country," which describes the battle of the Mongols against the Jin Dynasty. After the Jin Dynasty was defeated, "Ogetei left ʿAziz Yalavach in Khitai."[54] "Khitai" here stands for the Central Plains under the rule of the Jin Dynasty. However, after the fall of the Jin Dynasty, "Khitāy" referred to the Han regions in North China, while South China, ruled by the Song Dynasty, was called "Manzī 蛮子":

> He (Möngke Khan) appointed armies for the East and the West, for the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The Eastern countries and the provinces of **Khitai**, **Manzi**, Solangai and Tangut he entrusted to Qubilai Oghul, who is distinguished by his wisdom and sagacity, his intelligence and shrewdness.[55]

Here, "Khitai" (Khitāy) stood for the Central Plains under the rule of the Jin Dynasty. Former territories of the Southern Song Dynasty were called "Manzī" instead of previously used appellations such as "Chīn," "Māchīn," and "Ṭamghāj." "Māchīn," just like "Chīn," appeared only in fixed collocations, while "Ṭamghāj" didn't appear as a place name in this book.

5) *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* is not only the most important achievement of the prolific writer Rashīd al-Dīn, but also the pinnacle of the official historiography of the Il-Khanate. It was finished in the heyday of the Il-Khanate and comprehensively showcased the word choice characteristics of Persian in the Mongol era. The accounts of China in the book were also the most detailed among all the historical sources outside China at that time. In the book, Rashīd al-Dīn used various names, such as "Khitāy," "Chīn," "Manzī," "Māchīn," and "Nangiyās" to refer to China.

First, "Khitāy." In Rashīd al-Dīn's book, it only represents the Han regions in the Central Plains of China. It is used as a place name instead of an ethnic group name which stands for the Khitan tribe

and the Western Liao regime. Rashīd al-Dīn distinguished ethnic group names from place names, calling the Khitan ethnic group "Qarākhitāy." "Qarākhitāy" stands not only for the Western Liao Dynasty established by Yelü Dashi in Central Asia, but also for the people of the Khitan tribe within the territories of China. Bartold once said that in some Muslim historical sources, "Qarākhitāy" refers to both the Khitans who moved westward and the Khitans who were subordinate to the Jurchen regime in China.[56] This was how Rashīd al-Dīn used this word. For instance, when describing how Genghis Khan marched south from the Mongolian Plateau [**Fig. 4**], he wrote the following:

> After this precaution had been taken and the army had been arranged, in autumn of that year he (Genghis Khan) mounted on campaign under good auspices and set out to conquer the territories of **Cathay** (Khitay), **Qarakhitai** (Qarākhitāy), and Jurcha (Jūrja), which the Mongols call Cha'uqut (Jāūqūt). In the idiom of the people of **Cathay** (ahl-i Khiāy), **Cathay** is called Khan-zi (Khān zhī).[57]

This paragraph shows the difference between "Khitāy" and "Qarākhitāy." "Khitāy" refers to the Han regions in the Central Plains of China, while "the people of Khitāy" does not stand for the Khitan ethnic group but refers to the residents living in the Han regions. People in the Khitan ethnic group were given the name of "Qarākhitāy." There is another example in the descriptions of Liuge 留哥 betraying the Jin Dynasty:

> Around the same time, when a Qarakhitai named Liuga (Līūka) saw that the territory of Cathay (Khitāy) was *bulghaq* [in insurrection], he seized the province and large cities of Jurcha, which are adjacent to the yurts of the Qarakhitai tribes—that territory is called Tung Ging [Dongjing] 东京 and Qamping [Xianping] 咸平 and called himself Li[ao] Wang 辽王, meaning the ruler of a realm.[58]

Liuge was mentioned in the *Standard History of the Yuan* (*Yuan Shi* 元史). He was a Khitan and a commander of a thousand soldiers who guarded the northern frontier of the Jin Dynasty.[59] He was an adherent of the Liao Dynasty, so he was called "Qarākhitāy" by Rashīd al-Dīn. The army he commanded was called the Qarākhitāy army. It can be

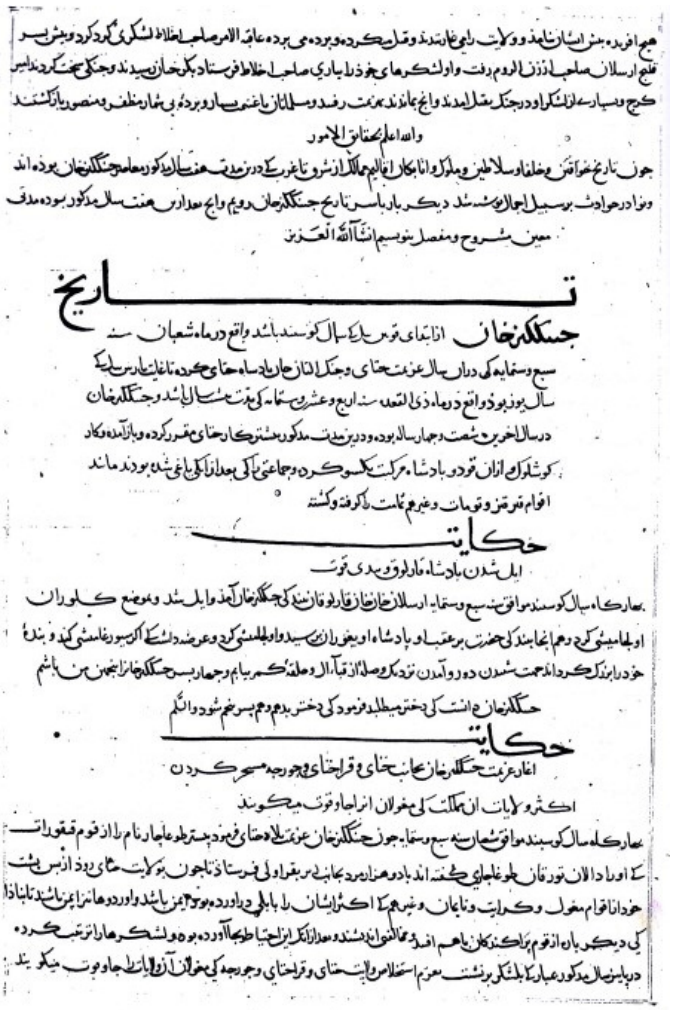

Fig. 4. Account about China, from the Jami' al-tavarikh, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS. Revan 1518, fol. 94b, Istanbul.*

seen that Rashīd al-Dīn completely distinguished place names from ethnic group names. "Khitāy" in Rashīd al-Dīn's works no longer referred to the Khitan tribe but North China.

As for South China, Rashīd al-Dīn used several appellations such as "Māchīn," "Manzī," and "Nangiyās." He explained many times that these three appellations all stood for the same region:

> Māchīn, which the Khitans call Manzī and the Mongols call Nangiyās.[60]

This sentence explains the origins of these three names. "Manzī" was how residents in Han regions of North China called residents in the South Song Dynasty. "Nangiyās" was used by the Mongols, while "Māchīn" was an appellation that Muslims used to refer to South China for a long time.

As for "Chīn," it was another ancient name well known to Muslims and was still used by Rashīd al-

Dīn in two ways. The first way was the same as how Muslim geographers (such as Kāshgharī) before the 13th century used it, thinking that "Chīn" was equivalent to Khitāy, that is North China. In his book, Rashīd al-Dīn explained the origins of "Chīn" and "Māchīn," believing they both came from India:

> In the language of India and Kashmir that province (Qarajang) is called Kandar, the province of **Cathay** is **Chin**, and the province of **Machin** is **Mahachin** (Mahāchīn), meaning "big Chin." Since our realm is near India and there is much commercial traffic, in these realms those areas are also called **Chin and Machin** in the idiom of the people of India, but the origin of the word is Mahachin.[61]

A similar viewpoint can also be found in Rashīd al-Dīn's *History of China* in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*:

> About the history of the nation of **Khitāy**, which is called "**Chīn**," and "**Māchīn**," important events recorded in their historical books, and the origins of various names of their major provinces.
>
> In that country there is a vast and prosperous area which is the seat of the capital city for most of its history. It is called "Khān zhū [r] Jūn tū 汉儿中土" by the local people, "Jāuqūt" by the Mongols, "**Chīn**" by the Indians, and is known as "**Khitāy**" in our realm.[62]

The second way was to use it to stand for South China just like Māchīn. Rashīd al-Dīn once said: "Manzī, which is also called Chīn, Māchīn, and Nankiyās."[63] This usage is more common than the previous one. In most cases in Rashīd al-Dīn's works, including *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* and *Āṯār va Aḥyā'*, "Chīn" referred to South China and "Khitāy" to North China. Prof. Hua Tao 华涛 once studied the Chinese appellations in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh* and noticed that "Chīn" in *History of China* had a meaning different from other parts of *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. He explains that the pattern of "North Khitāy and South Māchīn" formed under the influence of Islamic geographical traditions. However, the usage of "Chīn" referring to North China was based on Rashīd al-Dīn's research on Chinese history books.[64]

In general, "Khitāy" has evolved from a tribal name to a place name in the works of Rashīd al-Dīn. It referred to the Han regions in North China. "Māchīn," "Manzī," and "Nangiyās" were appellations of South China. "Chīn" referred to South China in most cases but also referred to North China in some particular context. Besides, Rashīd al-Dīn didn't use "Ṭamghāj," which used to stand for China. In a word, Rashīd al-Dīn was a historian who kept up with the times. He possessed the most favorable conditions to understand what was happening around the world and to get the latest information about different countries and places. Therefore, his writings were not based on the books of his predecessors. Instead, they were a faithful reflection of world events.

6) *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū* (*History of Uljaytu*), written by Abū al-Qāsim ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻAlī Qāshānī, is a chronicle compiled in the period of the Il-Khanate, which records the historical events during the reign of Sultan Uljāytū (1304–1316) in chronological order. It is regarded as a continuation of *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. Appellations of China in this book are similar to but more concise than those in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*. The most commonly used one is "Khitāy," which referred to North China. For example, the emperor of the Jin Dynasty was called "Altan Khan of Khitāy" (Altān Khān-i Khitāy).[65] Another example can be found in the accounts of the event when the mission sent by the Yuan court to the Il-Khanate in 1313 was held in custody by Yisan Buqa, the Chagatai Khan:

> Another mission from the land of **Khitāy** arrived, who brought tigers, hawks (chargh), Gyrfalcons (sunqūr), royal falcons (shāhīn) and precious treasures to dedicate to Sultan Uljāytū Muḥammad. By order (of Yisan Buqa), the ambassadors were arrested and tortured, and the treasures were taken away.[66]

The appellation of South China used in *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū* is "Chīn," especially when used in conjunction with "Khitāy":

> On Tuesday, January 19, (710) a store in Baghdad filled with goods from Egypt, **Chīn and Khitāy** was on fire. Millions of furniture, fabrics and goods were burned.[67]

Nevertheless, in some literary descriptions, such as the expressions "brocade of China" (dībā-yi Chīn) and "paintings of China" (arzhang-i Chīn), "Chīn"

didn't refer to the northern or southern part of China but to the whole of China.[68]

7) *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat* [**Fig. 5**], written by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl-Allāh Sharaf Shīrāzī and aiming to continue the history in Jūvaynī's book, records the historical events during the Mongols' reign. It not only focuses on the history of the Il-Khanate but also describes the conditions in the Yuan Dynasty and other Mongol khanates in detail. In this book, "Khitāy" refers to North China and "Manzī" to South China. In Volume 1, which mentions the Mongols attacking the Southern Song Dynasty, it says:

> In the year 655 (1257), when Möngke Khan dispatched troops to attack the kingdom of **Manzī**, the distant eastern country, his brother Kublai was ordered with a right wing of the mighty, well-equipped army to march to the border of **Khitāy**.[69]

In Volume 4, which describes Möngke Khan issuing a decree concerning the *qupchur* tax, it says:

> In Transoxiana and Khorasan, the rates of *qopchur* are fixed at 10 dinars per rich man, and 1 dinar per poor man; while in **Khitāy** and **Manzī**, 11 dinars per rich man, and 1 dinar per poor man.[70]

Like *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*, "Khitāy" in this book refers only to the Han regions in North China. The Western Liao Dynasty is called "Qarākhitāy." For example, in the section on Genghis Khan exterminating Kuchlug, it mentions Gur Khan of Qarakhitay as follows:

> Kuchlug (Kūchluk), son of Naiman, was defeated with Ong Khan's army at the battle of Bāljūna. Then he fled to Gur Khan in **Qarākhitāy** and was awarded the title of Kūchluk Khān.[71]

When referring to South China, Vaṣṣāf often used the ancient appellation "Chīn" alongside "Manzī." When describing the country of Chīn, Vaṣṣāf wrote the following:

> Khanzāy 行在 is the capital city of the country of **Chīn**, which is 24 farsang around.[72]

Vaṣṣāf explained that "Chīn is Manzī,"[73] proving these two words were both appellations of South China. When referring to the whole of Yuan China,

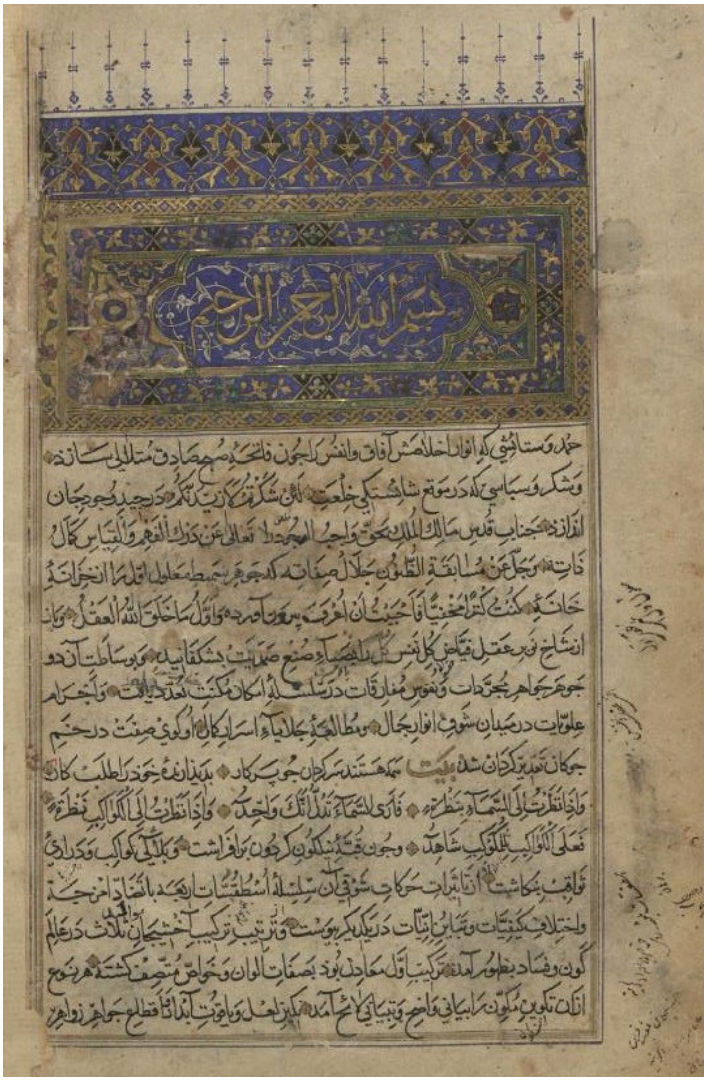

Fig. 5. First folio of Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat*, Malek National Librabry, Ms 3900, Iran.*

he used several appellations of South and North China together, as in Volume 5, which is about the lineage of the Mongol Khans:

> Today, in the year 727, **Chīn**, and **Khitāy** until the distant border of **Manzī** are all under the role of Yesün Temür, son of Gammala, son of Jinkim, son of Kublai Qaan.[74]

It is worth mentioning that "Māchīn" seldom appears in *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat*. It is only used in conjunction with "Chīn" to refer to China in general. For example, in the paragraph "Kublai ascended the throne" in Volume 1, Vaṣṣāf praised Kublai:

> From **Chīn** and **Māchīn** to Syria and to the westernmost, his justice and benevolence are widely spread in all of the countries at any moment.[75]

8) *Majma' al-Ansāb* is a comprehensive history book written by Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkāra'ī in the late period of Il-Khanate. The second half of the book describes the history of the Mongol Empire, including the lineage of Genghis Khan and his descendants and their conquest of the world, the rule over Ögedei, Güyük, and Möngke, the monarchs of the Il-Khanate, and the history of local regimes, including the Chupanids and Jalairids after the Il-Khanate fell. The contents in this book are different from those in the books of Jūvaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Vaṣṣāf; therefore, it has unique historical value. The use of the appellations of China in the book are more standard and unified than in previous works.

The author differentiated various names such as "Khitāy," "Qarākhitāy," and "Chīn." "Khitāy" was used as a place name to refer to North China. For example, the Jin Dynasty was called "The Kingdom of Khitāy" (Mamālik-i Khitāy) and its emperor "Altan Khan" was called "Khan of Khitāy" (Khān-i Khitāy). "Qarākhitāy" referred to the Western Liao regime in Central Asia, and the area under the rule of Gur Khan was called "The Kingdom of Qarākhitāy" (Mamālik-i Qarākhitāy).[76] "People of Khitāy" (Khitāyī) referred to both the residents in North China and the Qarakhitans in Central Asia and Iran. For example, the book mentioned that Barāq, who established a regime in Kerman, were the people of Khitāy (Khiṭāyiyān) from Qarākhitāy.[77] "Chīn" was rarely used in this book and only appeared in the section "character of the people of Chīn." It was used to refer to South China, and the word "Chīnī" referred to the residents there.[78] Appellations commonly used by Muslims, such as "Ṭamghāj" and "Māchīn," didn't appear in this book.

The accounts above are all extracted from history books in the Mongol era. As Ferrand has extracted a lot from Muslim geographical sources in his book, this article will not talk much about this aspect. The following section lists the appellations of China in a Muslim geography book.

9) *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, written by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, is one of the most famous geography books from the Il-Khanate era. It describes the administrative divisions, geographical locations, economic conditions, taxation, and all aspects of life in Iran under the Mongols' rule, as well as the historical and geographical conditions of neighboring countries and regions, including China. It also introduces China's regions, including "Chīn," "Māchīn," "Khitāy," "Tangut," "Tibet," "Uyghūr," and "Khutan" in order of climate zones. About "Chīn," "Māchīn," and "Khitāy," the author wrote the following:

> **China (Chīn)**. The Mongols call this land Manzī, while the Arabs name it Ṣīn. It is a broad wide kingdom stretching over the Second, Third, and Fourth Climes. Its capital is called Machīn, and it lies in the Second Clime, in longitude 125°, and latitude 22°. The population for the most part worship idols of the sect of Mānī the painter. Among them live Moslems and Christians, but there are no Jews, and by reason of the fewness of the Moslems and the greater number of the idolaters, the preponderance in power is theirs. In this kingdom all arts and crafts have reached a high degree of perfection, and throughout the land are numerous great cities.[79]
>
> **Cathay (Khitāy)**. This is a great kingdom of the Fourth and Fifth Climes. Its capital is Khān Bālīgh in the Fifth Clime, whose longitude is 124°, and latitude 37°. This is a mighty city, and it was called originally Changdū; and Qubilāy Khān built another city outside the same. Of other great towns and well-known districts are the following: Nanking, where a great river runs through the city, Tabaksīk, Qalʿah Shīkāt and Ṭalmaskū. Further, and besides these there are many others.[80]
>
> **Māchīn**. A great and extensive kingdom which the Mongols know as Nankiyās. It is of the First and Second Climes, and its capital is the city of Khansāy, which some call Siyāhān. They say that in all the habitable world there is no greater city than this, or at any rate that in the regions of the east there is no larger town. There is a lake in the midst of the city, six leagues in circumference, and the houses of the town stand round its borders. The climate is warm, and both the sugar-cane and the rice crop produce abundantly; but dates are so rare, and difficult to come by, that one *Mann*-weight of these is bartered for ten *Manns* of sugar. Most

> of their meat is fish, but beef is eaten, and the mutton is excellent, being exceedingly expensive. The population is so great that they have several thousand—some say ten thousand—watchmen and guards to oversee the city. Most of the people are Infidels, yet the Moslems though so few in number have the power in their hands.[81]

These three paragraphs combine new information about China with old knowledge. Mustawfī Qazvīnī was a writer, historian, and geographer. Before this geography book, he finished compiling a history book, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, and an epic, *Ẓafar-nāma*. Both record many historical events in China. He was quite familiar with what was happening in China. In this book, "Manzī," "Nankiyās," "Changdū," "Khān Bālīgh," and "Nanking" were new information. At the same time, old knowledge of China, which had been well-known in the Islamic world for a long time, also appeared, such as differentiating Chīn from Māchīn and introducing Manichaeism in China. Mustawfī Qazvīnī tried to integrate new information with old knowledge by using "Manzī" and "Nankiyās," which referred to the same area, as the names of two different places to correspond with "Chīn" and "Māchīn" respectively. This phenomenon is common in Muslim geography books. *Taqwīm al-Buldān* is a book written by Qazvīnī's contemporary Abū al-Fidā'. Abū al-Fidā' acquired the latest information about Khwarazm and Tatars from Nasavī's *Sīrat al-Suḷṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī* but also absorbed the outdated knowledge that Yanjū was the capital of Chīn and that the monarch of Chīn was Tamghāj Khān.[82] Unlike history books, geography books are usually less time-sensitive but more comprehensive, so they combine a lot of information from various sources. The same is true with Muslim gem books, medical books, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other similar types of documents. When using such materials, caution should be exerted to distinguish new information from old knowledge; otherwise, wrong conclusions may be drawn.

The above quotes show that the appellations of China in the Mongol era are more concise and unified than those used before the Mongol era. "Khitāy" and "Chīn" became mainstream appellations of China. "Khitāy," originally a tribal name and often confused with "Qarākhitāy," evolved into a geographical term referring to North China. It was completely distinguished from "Qarākhitāy." "Chīn" was not as stable as "Khitāy" in meaning, but in most cases, it was a synonym for South China. "Manzī" and "Nankiyās," which emerged in a special historical context, appeared in Muslim literature referring to South China. "Māchīn" and " Ṭamghāj," widely used in the previous era, were used less and less and almost abandoned by time-sensitive official political and historical works. They only appeared in the form of "Chīn and Māchīn" and "Khitāy and Ṭamghāj" in some geographical, medical, gemological, and literary works that needed to inherit previous knowledge. As for various derivative appellations from "Chīn" that were commonly used in the past, they rarely appeared anymore. The appellations of China in the Muslim literature became concise and unified in the Mongol era.

These changes can be attributed to the Mongols' conquest of the world. The Mongol army's expeditions promoted the exchanges of information between the East and the West. The Islamic world acquired the latest information about China during this period. On the one hand, the once-obscure Oriental world suddenly became clear, making it possible to sort out complicated and contradictory information about China. As Rashīd al-Dīn said in *History of China* in *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*: "In the past, we didn't know much about this country (China) and thought that 'Chīn' and 'Khitāy' were two different regions, but now we realize that they actually refer to the same region, only that they have different names."[83] Similar to Rashīd al-Dīn's argument, *Majmaʿ al-Ansāb* described the new and old titles of Chinese emperors like this: "Their monarchs, known in ancient times as 'Faghfūr' and later as 'Ṭamghāj,' are now called 'Khān'."[84] On the other hand, as new information flooded into the Islamic regions, old outdated knowledge was gradually discarded. More factual descriptions appeared in Muslim historical and geographical works, making them especially valuable for studying the history of that time.

Conclusion

This article sorts out various appellations of China in medieval Muslim literature before and after the rise of the Mongols and summarizes their mean-

ings, usages, and evolution. "China" is constantly changing as a country and a geographic concept, and so are its appellations. "Chīn," "Māchīn," "Ṭamghāj," "Khitāy," "Manzī," and other names emerged and disappeared during the progress of history. They were the embodiments of Westerners' cognition and imagination of China during medieval times. However, it is worth noting that China was in a state of division for a long time before the Mongol era. Therefore, the concept of North China and South China was prevailing in Western Islamic regions. It was deep-rooted and lasted even until the Mongols unified China.

Medieval Muslim literature used a series of geographical terms to describe China, including "Khitāy," "Chīn" (or "Manzī"), "Mughūlistān," "Tangut," "Qarājānk," "Tibet," "Ūyghūl," and so on, but there wasn't any generic term. This phenomenon occurred not only in Muslim works but also in Mongolian and European writings. Although there wasn't a generic term for China from a geographical perspective, the political concept of China was very clear in the literature. As Professor Yao Dali 姚大力 points out: "There may be no term that can embody the concept of 'China' in the Mongolian language during the Yuan period, but it does not prevent us from identifying the Yuan Dynasty as China."[85] Muslim writers in the Mongol era used a special expression, "the land of Qāān," to represent China under the Mongol Qāns' rule. It referred to the territories controlled by Ögedei Khan and Möngke Khan before the Yuan Dynasty was established and later referred to the Yuan Court. It was a colloquial expression instead of a proper noun, but it best described China from a political perspective. It is similar to "Beijing (or Peking)," which is used to represent the Chinese government in the international community.

In ancient times, information that was transmitted over a long distance and across geographical regions often revealed its channels of transmission. All the appellations of China that were spread to the West by land and sea were originally derived from the Chinese character "Qin 秦." With the changes of regimes brought by the rise of ethnic groups in the north of China, a series of new appellations of China came into being and were spread westward to the Islamic regions by land. Different from the turbulent situation on the Asian mainland, maritime transportation was more stable. Therefore, "Chīn," the first name used on the sea, remained the way people at the sea referred to China. When it came to China's sea, Muslim writers usually called it "Sea of Chīn" (daryā-yi Chīn). It didn't change to various names used on the mainland such as "Ṭamghāj," "Khitāy," "Manzī," etc.

In summary, "Chīn" remained a popular appellation of China in Muslim literature both before and after the Mongol era. It was used to refer to South China, North China, or the whole of China. Especially in historical descriptions regarding the marine life, folks, trade, legends, culture, and other issues spanning a long period of time, "Chīn" has played an irreplaceable role. Today, "Chīn" (or "Ṣīn") are still the standard translation of "China" in Persian and Arabic. This appellation has been used for more than 2,000 years and has become a symbol of the Chinese civilization that has been disseminated to the west without interruption since ancient times.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Chen Chunxiao 陈春晓 is an assistant researcher at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. E-mail: <chenchunxiao01986@foxmail.com>.

ENDNOTES

[1] Henry Yule, Berthold Laufer, and Paul Pelliot did a lot of work on it. They collated various opinions of previous scholars and formed the most influential arguments.

[2] Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913).

[3] Geng Sheng 耿昇 and Mu Genlai 穆根来, trans., *Alabo Bosi Tujue ren dongfang wenxian jizhu* 阿拉伯波斯突厥人东方文献辑注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989).

[4] 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or*, vol. 1, tr. & ed. by Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), p. 306.

[5] Paul Pelliot, "Facfur," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), pp. 652-61.

[6] Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq mā lil-Hind* (Beirut: 'Ālа al-kutub, 1983), p. 147; for English translation, see *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, tr. & ed. by Edward C. Sachau (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910), p. 207.

[7] 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Żaḥḥāk Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-

i Irān, 1968), pp. 23, 268-69. For English translation, see A. P. Martinez, "Gardīzī's Two Chapters on the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, ed. by P. B. Golden, T. Halasi-Kun and Th. S. Noonan, Tomus II, 1982, pp. 136-38.

[8] Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. and ed. by Robert Dankoff (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 260.

[9] Ibid., p. 41.

[10] Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib 优素福·哈斯·哈吉甫, *Fule zhihui* 福乐智慧, tr. by Hao Guanzhong 郝关中, Zhang Hongchao 张宏超, and Liu Bin 刘宾 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1986), p. 13.

[11] Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, tr. & ed. by Robert Dankoff & James Kelly, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Print Office, 1982), p. 341.

[12] Marvazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, tr. & ed. by Vladimir Minorsky (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942). For the English translation, see pp. 14-15, 18, 25-26; for the Arabic text, see pp. 2-3, 6-7, 13-14.

[13] Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān, *Jahān-nāma: Matn-i Jughrāfiyā-yī*, ed. by Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī (Tihrān: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Ibn Sīnā, 1963), pp. 71-72.

[14] Bakrān, *Jahān-nāma: Matn-i Jughrāfiyā-yī*, p. 112.

[15] Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heilund Nahrungsmittel*, vol. 2, tr. by Joseph von Sontheimer (Stuttgart: Hallberger'sche Verlagshandlung, 1840), p. 482; *Traité des simples*, vol. 2, tr. by Lucien Leclerc (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881), p. 159. Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à L'Extrème Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, p. 269.

[16] Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, pp. 350, 352.

[17] Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Aṯār al-Bilād va Akhbār al-'Ibād*, tr. by Jahāngīr Mīrzā Qājār, ed. by Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ (Tehran: Mu'assasah-'i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1994), pp. 97, 291, 479, 638.

[18] Paul Pelliot, "Catai," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959), pp. 216-20.

[19] *History of Bukhara* was originally written in Arabic by Narshakhī in 943-944. It was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Naṣr al-Qabāvī in 1128-1129 and abbreviated by Muḥammad ibn Zafar ibn 'Umar in 1178-1179. An unknown writer wrote a continuation of it, concluding the events until the Mongolian conquest. This is the version that survives today. See Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Narshakhī, *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Naṣr al-Qabāvī, ed. by Mudarris. Raẓavī (Tehran: Tūs, 1984).

[20] Paul Pelliot, "Catai," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 216-17.

[21] Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 273.

[22] V.V. Barthold 维·维·巴尔托里德, Geng Shimin 耿世民 trans., *Zhongya jianshi* 中亚简史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 119; V.V. Barthold 巴托尔德, Luo Zhiping 罗致平 trans., *Zhongya tujueshi shi'erjiang* 中亚突厥史十二讲 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 1984), p. 101.

[23] Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 273-274.

[24] Zhang Guangda 张广达, "Guanyu Mahemu Kashigali de tujueyu cihui yu jianyu ci shu de yuanxing ditu" 关于马合木·喀什噶里的〈突厥语词汇〉与见于此书的圆形地图, in *Zhang Guangda wenji: wenshu, dianji yu xiyu shidi* 张广达文集：文书、典籍与西域史地 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 63.

[25] Kang Peng 康鹏, "Maweiji shu zhong de qidan yuci 'Sh.rghūr'" 《马卫集书》中的契丹语词 "Sh.rghūr (汉人)," *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, 2016, No. 3, pp. 30-37.

[26] Minorsky recognizes six primary sources as follows: (a) Some ancient (8th to 9th century) accounts of Arab mariners; (b) Some overland travelers to the capital of Khumdān under the Tang (early 9th century); (c) Some merchants who visited the capital of Y.njūr probably in the beginning of the 10th century; (d) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early 10th century); (e) Data of an embassy from Qitāy in 418/1027; (f) Marvazī's own remarks. And Minorsky categorizes §3 and 19 to the (e) source, which describes the situation after the rise of Khitāy. Marvazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, pp. 61-65.

[27] Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (11)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十一）[China in Ancient Arabic Books] *Alabo Shijie* 阿拉伯世界, 2004, No. 3, pp. 51-52.

[28] Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (15)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十五）[China in Ancient Arabic Books] *Alabo Shijie* 阿拉伯世界, 2005, No. 2, p. 58. For the Arabic text, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, vol. 3, ed. by Yūsuf 'Alī Ṭawīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2003), p. 206.

[29] Ge Tieying 葛铁鹰, "Alabo guji zhong de 'Zhongguo' (11)" 阿拉伯古籍中的"中国"（十一）[China in Ancient Arabic Books], p. 51.

[30] Liu Yingjun 刘英军, "Yilang shihi Kushiwang ji suo zai gudai zhongguo dili xinxi chuyi" 伊朗史诗《库什王纪》所载古代中国地理信息刍议 [A Study of the Geographic Information on Ancient China Contained in the Iranian Epic *Kūsh-nāma*], *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, No. 10 (2015), Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, p. 241.

[31] Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913), p. 151.

[32] V.V. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed. (London: Luzac & Co. 1928), p. 34.

[33] Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: between China and the Islamic World*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 97-98.

[34] Paul Pelliot, "Cin," *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 273.

[35] It should be noted that the English version translates the Arabic text "Khiṭā" into two words: "Khitay" and "Qarakhitay." In fact, the original text is the same word.

[36] 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 12 (Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, 1965), pp. 269-70. For an English version, see 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh*, pt. 3, tr. & ed. by D.S. Richards (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p. 134.

[37] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnkubirnī*, ed. by Mujtabā Mīnūvī (Tehran: Sharkat-i Intisharāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhang, 1986), p. 11.

[38] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mīnkubirnī*, pp. 49-50.
[39] Minhāj Sirāj Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, ed. by ʻAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1984), p. 261. For the English version, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri: a General History of the Muḥammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindūstān, From A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islām*, tr. & ed. by Major H. G. Raverty (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881), p. 154.
[40] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 2, p. 94. For the English translation see, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 900.
[41] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, pp. 308-9. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 262-64.
[42] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 310. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, pp. 268-69.
[43] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 310. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, p. 270.
[44] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 311. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol.1, p. 272.
[45] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 1, p. 361. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 1, p. 383.
[46] The English version uses "Turkistān" instead of "Māchīn."
[47] Jawzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 2, p. 172. For the English translation, see *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, vol. 2, p. 1158. The English translation omits the word "Māchīn."
[48] In fact, Genghis Khan did not kill the Jin emperor, but this saying was popular in some Muslim literature. For example, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* records that Genghis Khan killed the Khitan emperor Altan Khan and conquered Khitan. See below for details.
[49] ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn ʻAṭā Malik Juvaynī, *Tarikh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. 1, ed. by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdu 'l-Wahhāb-i-Qazvini (Leiden: Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1912), p. 159. For an English version, see ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn ʻAṭā Mali Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, tr. and ed. by John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 201.
[50] Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 2, p. 607.
[51] Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, pp. 280, 289-92, 324.
[52] Ibid., pp. 20-21.
[53] Ibid., p. 39.
[54] Ibid., p. 195.
[55] Juvaynī, *History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 2, p. 596.
[56] V.V. Barthold 巴托尔德, Luo Zhiping 罗致平 trans., *Zhongya tujueshi shi'erjiang* 中亚突厥史十二讲, pp. 125-26.
[57] Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh, *Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi), MS. Revan 1518, ff. 94b-95a; Thackston tr. and ed., *Jamiʻu't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1998), p. 213.
[58] *Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, ff. 96b-97a; Thackston, vol. 1, p. 222.
[59] *Yuan shi* 元史 [Standard History of the Yuan], vol. 149 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 3511.
[60] *Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, f. 67b; Thackston, vol. 1, p. 154.
[61] *Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh*, MS. Istanbul, f. 95a; Thackston, vol. 1, p. 214.
[62] Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh, *Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khitāy*, ed. by Muḥammad Rawshan (Tehran: Mīrāṯ-i Maktūb, 2006), p. 1.
[63] Thackston, vol. 1, p. 153.
[64] Hua Tao 华涛, "Shiji zhong "Zhongguo" de mingcheng ji qi hanyi" 《史集》中"中国"的名称及其含义, *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域历史语言研究集刊, No. 7, 2014, pp. 129-34.
[65] Abū al-Qāsim ʻAbd-Allāh b. Muḥammad Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*, ed. by Mahīn Hambalī (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1969), p. 18.
[66] Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāytū*, p. 205.
[67] Ibid., p. 109.
[68] Ibid., pp. 46, 48.
[69] Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat, *Geschichte Wassaf's*, vol. 1, tr. & ed. by Hammer-Purgstall (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), p. 22; for the Persian text, see p. 20.
[70] al-Ḥażrat, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat* (Bombay: Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī, 1853), p. 578.
[71] al-Ḥażrat, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat*, p. 563.
[72] Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat, *Geschichte Wassaf's*, vol. 1, p. 42; for the Persian text, see p. 42.
[73] al-Ḥażrat, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat*, p. 576.
[74] Ibid., p. 607.
[75] Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥażrat, *Geschichte Wassaf's*, vol. 1, p. 36; for the Persian text, see p. 36.
[76] Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʻ al-Ansāb*, ed. by Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1984), pp. 230-31.
[77] Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʻ al-Ansāb*, p. 195.
[78] Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʻ al-Ansāb*, pp. 50-51.
[79] Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb: al-Maqāla al-Thālittha dar Ṣift-i Buldān wa Wilāyat wa Buqāʻ*, ed. by G. Le Strange (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1983), p. 257. For the English translation, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, tr. by G. Le Strange (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1915), p. 250.
[80] Qazvīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, pp. 257-58; G. Le Strange, pp. 250-51.
[81] Qazvīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 261; G. Le Strange, p. 254.
[82] Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʻīl ibn ʻAlī, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. and ed. by J. T. Reinaud and W. M. Slane (Paris: Imprimérie Royale, 1840), vol. 1, pp. 344-45; vol. 2, p. 123.
[83] Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khitāy*, ed. by Muḥammad Rawshan, pp. 1-2.
[84] Shabānkāraʾī, *Majmaʻ al-Ansāb*, p. 50.
[85] Yao Dali 姚大力, "Lue wu qu jing, ke wei wo yong: jian da Wang Rongzu" 略芜取精，可为我用——兼答汪荣祖, *Dongfang zaobao· Shanghai shuping* 东方早报·上海书评, May 31, 2015.