Qarakhanid Roads to China

Handbook of Oriental Studies

Handbuch der Orientalistik

SECTION EIGHT
Uralic and Central Asian Studies

Edited by

Paolo Sartori
Sören Stark
David Brophy

VOLUME 28

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/ho8*

Qarakhanid Roads to China

A History of Sino-Turkic Relations

By

Dilnoza Duturaeva

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

This book was supported by *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (*DFG*), *since 2019* and was published open access with the support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation, Düsseldorf.

Cover illustration: *Qarakhanid Female Image on a Ceramic Fragment*. Courtesy of Jambyl Region History Museum, Kazakhstan.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021060979
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021060980

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-8524
ISBN 978-90-04-50852-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-51033-3 (e-book)

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

To my parents

Contents

Foreword

The publication of the book of Dilnoza Duturaeva is very good news for the ongoing elaboration of a *longue durée* history of trans-Asian trade. Many books have been written on earlier or later periods, but no one has dared to deal with the eleventh–twelfth centuries, which appear as a nadir in this history. Indeed the lack of sources is transforming the attempt in a Herculean task of collecting tiny bits of evidence, whose main characteristics are both dispersion and discontinuity. This book makes the most of these small pieces of texts or archaeological discoveries, Liao porcelains for instance. It opens new venues in research, especially in the relationship of the Qarakhanids with the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom in Qinghai, or the diplomatic exchanges of the various Chinese dynasties with the West, Qarakhanids or Seljuks. But more importantly, it provides us with a chronology of East-West contacts – although mostly from a Chinese point of view due to the dearth of Qarakhanid written sources. And here, I would point that many if not most of the testimonies gathered by Dilnoza Duturaeva belong to a brief and powerful burst of contacts in the last quarter of the eleventh century. Before that, in the late Samanid and early Qarakhanid periods, there are very limited proofs of actual contacts, although the author most convincingly demonstrates that some links were kept alive. From this high point of the last quarter of the eleventh century, and although there was a decline in the first half of the twelfth century, trade would flow anew. This chronology is extremely interesting for the history of globalization, and the reasons presiding to its development. It is as if the mental map of the Asian world created during the previous centuries, especially during the Sogdian period of control of international trade in Central Asia, was still enshrined in the texts and mentalities of the administrators and traders, only ready to renew long-distance links beyond periods of low-level exchanges. The wire was still there, only to be reanimated by a new burst of current. Usually, the Mongol period was regarded as the period of renewal of East-West links. Dilnoza Duturaeva demonstrates that such was not the case and that trade restarted in a purely diplomatic and commercial setting in the end of the eleventh century well before and independently from the heavily military and political context of the Mongol conquest. In a way, it demonstrates the autonomy of economic history in Central Asia, quite different from the theory of embedment.

Étienne de la Vaissière

Acknowledgments

The long gestation of this work has allowed me to accumulate many debts of gratitude. This book originated from the first chapter of my PhD dissertation at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. I am deeply grateful to my advisor and friend Elyor Karimov for the foundations of knowledge in Central Asian history he generously revealed and for providing me with innumerable recommendations and other assistance through the years. The directors of the Institute, Dilorom Alimova and Ravshan Abdullaev supported this project from the very beginning and tolerated my frequent absences from the institution, enabling me to conduct research abroad. I am thankful for their generosity and patience.

My dissertation research involved a very productive and joyful year at the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg in Germany and a highly intensive term at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the US. It offered me the unique opportunity to work with Jürgen Paul and David Morgan, who considerately volunteered their time to teach me the nuances of primary sources concerning the medieval history of Central Asia and Iran, and supported my numerous grant applications over the years. I am tremendously grateful for their mentorship and guiding me on the right path. My *ustad* for Persian Nader Purnaqcheband, and colleagues Paolo Sartori, Francesca Petricca, Christina Turzer, and Philipp Reichmuth made my sojourn in Halle a happy and pleasant experience. Uli Schamiloglu and Jeremi Suri helped me to engage in interdisciplinary circles in Madison.

The initial outlines of this book first appeared when a Gerda Henkel Fellowship allowed me to spend a year at the School of History at Nanjing University in China. I am grateful to Liu Yingsheng, Hua Tao and Yang Xiaochun for discussions and seminars, where I presented rough materials of my work that later became parts of Chapter 2. My sojourn in Nanjing was combined with intensive Chinese language studies, generously supported by the Confucius Institute Headquarters.

Most of the research was done during my 3-year postdoctoral studies at the Department of Sinology at Bonn University supported by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Ralph Kauz, Li Wen and Christian Schwermann magnanimously offered their time to teach me various aspects of Classical Chinese language and literature. I am deeply grateful to Ralph Kauz, who read initial drafts of the several chapters and provided thoughtful comments and suggestions. I am thankful to Li Wen for her generous help in interpreting diplomatic language of Song documents that were used in this book. I also owe thanks

to Stefani Jürries, Stefan Georg, and Cui Peiling for making my stay in Bonn a thrilling collegial experience.

I owe special thanks to Farhad Maksudov, the director of the National Center of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan for introducing me the new archaeological data on the Qarakhanids and organizing a short expedition to the Qarakhanid highland towns in Tashbulaq and Tughanbulaq.

Much of the writing was done at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris within the framework of the project supported by the German Research Foundation. Étienne de la Vaissière read the entire manuscript and challenged me with his criticism, which deepened my knowledge in economic and migration history of Eurasia and helped to strengthen my arguments discussed in Chapter 6. I am deeply indebted to him for his support and belief in my scholarship. I also want to thank Marc Aymes, Marc Toutant, Alexandre Papas, and Vincent Fourniau at the Centre of Turkish, Ottoman, Balkan and Central Asian Studies for their warm welcome and for providing arenas to present and discuss a part of this book.

In addition to talks I offered at the institutions mentioned above, parts of this research were presented at the following scholarship gatherings: the Asian and African Studies Conference in Saint Petersburg, the European Society for Central Asian Studies Conference in Budapest, Cambridge and Zurich, the Central Eurasian Studies Society Conference in Bloomington, the German Congress of Oriental Studies in Marburg, Summer School at the Institute of Iranian studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Leiden University Centre for the Study of Islam and Society Conference, the Iran and Central Asia Symposium at the University of Notre Dame in London, the China and Central Asia Conference at the School of Chinese Classics at Renmin University of China, the Visiting Program for Young Sinologists at the Institute for Western Frontier Region of China at Shaanxi Normal University in Xi'an, the Bilimkent Seminar at the Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, the Migration and Identity History Symposium at the Institute of History of the Romanian Academy in Iasi, and the Qarakhanid Webinar at Washington University in St. Louis. I am thankful to audiences of these academic events for providing useful remarks and feedback on earlier versions of the chapters.

This book also benefited from the following individuals, who read and commented on various parts of the book: Chen Chunxiao, Chen Zhu, Yang Shaoyun, Maddalena Barenghi, Nurlan Kenzheakhmet, Stephen G. Haw, and my *tongxue* in Xi'an, Nikolai Rudenko. I am thankful for their time and efforts.

I am grateful for material support from a number of sources. I would like to thank the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for dissertation

research in Halle and for their generous Scientific Literature Programme that allows me to purchase books relevant to my research every year, the Confucius Institute Headquarters (HANBAN) for Chinese language studies in Nanjing, the Gerda Henkel Foundation for the research stay in Nanjing and the open access publication grant for this book, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for postdoctoral studies in Bonn and the return fellowship in Tashkent, and the German Research Foundation (DFG) for the research stay in Paris and for the publishing aid within the project DU 1953/1-1.

A great number of libraries and museums helped me in my research and allowed me to use their resources. I extend special thanks to the team of the East Asian Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for their committed work in providing the CrossAsia virtual library. Without access to the excellent online databases and resources, especially while when physical libraries were closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, this book would not be completed yet. I am grateful to the Jambyl Region History Museum for allowing me to reproduce the image of a female Qarakhanid figure that appears on the cover of this book. I also owe thanks to Yu Yusen, who helped me to obtain the image of a *huren* figurine from the Jiangxi Provincial Museum, which also kindly allowed its reproduction. Special thanks are due to Saida Iliasova, who generously shared the image of a Qarakhanid siren.

My long historical journey along the Eurasian steppe and cities with the Qarakhanids led me to the Steppe Sisters Network, whose members had a crucial impact in my writing on female mobility and visibility in the Qarakhanid world in Chapter 3. I am grateful to Alicia Ventresca Miller, Ashleigh Haruda, Ainash Childebayeva and Kristen Hopper for our intellectual exchanges and dreams of the future of women in academia.

Some of my previous work represents initial attempts to formulate different aspects of the Qarakhanid diplomacy and trade in the East. However, along the long path to production, my ideas and arguments developed and changed somewhat over time and I present my work in its entirety for the first time in this book. I am grateful to the editors and publishers for allowing me to reproduce and adapt passages from the following articles: "From Turkistan to Tibet: The Qarakhanid Khaganate and the Tsongkha Kingdom," in *The History and Culture of Iran and Central Asia from the Pre-Islamic to the Islamic Period*, ed. by Deborah Tor and Minoru Inaba (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2022); "The Amber Road to China: Trade and Migration of Culture in Pre-Modern Eurasia," in *Migration and Identity in Eurasia from the Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, ed. by Victor Cojocaru and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2021); "Qarakhanid Envoys to Song China," *Journal of Asian History* 52, 2 (2018); "Cengtan and Fulin: The Saljuqs in Chinese Sources," *Crossroads: Studies*

on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World 15 (2017); "Between the Silk and Fur Roads: the Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade," *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 28 (2016).

I extend special thanks to Paolo Sartori for introducing my book proposal to Brill Publishers, and to David Brophy and Sören Stark for their positive reception, and also to Patricia Radder, whose editorial assistance and support were crucial along the way of preparation for publication. Thank you for believing in this book and your efforts to get it published. I am also thankful to the anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for their insightful feedback. Special thanks are due to Evelyn Thompson for careful copyediting and proofreading of the manuscript. I am solely responsible for any remaining errors.

My deepest gratitude belongs to my family, especially to my parents Shukur Akbarov and Saida Akbarova for their endless love, support, and encouragement in all my pursuits and projects. It is to them I dedicate this book.

Paris
16 July 2021

Maps, Tables and Figures

Maps

Tables

Figures

Abbreviations Used in the Tables

BS	*Bei shi*
HHS	*Hou Han shu*
HS	*Han shu*
JS	*Jin shi*
JTS	*Jiu Tang shu*
LS	*Liao shi*
NS	*Nan shi*
SHY: FY	*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi*
SS	*Song shi*
WT	*Wenxian tongkao*
XTS	*Xin Tang shu*
XZTC	*Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*

Note on Transliterations and Measures

Throughout the book, Arabic words have been transliterated according to the system used by the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Persian words have been transliterated as if they were Arabic. Common terms, place names, and names of ethnic groups and persons are mainly written without diacritical marks, except for authors and titles of primary sources. For Russian, I have used a simplified version of the Library of Congress transliteration system. Chinese names and terms have been transliterated according to the *pinyin* Romanization system, with certain exceptions. I have left transliterations of Chinese names and terms in the titles of cited publications as originally published, which are commonly rendered in the Wade-Giles system. Pronunciations of Chinese characters in Late Middle Chinese have been given according to a system modified from Edwin G. Pulleyblank's *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. I have retained or not included punctuation in Chinese texts following the editions from which they were extracted.

Place names have generally been given in their widely accepted English spelling. For geographical references of Central Asia during the Qarakhanid period I have followed Yuri Bregel's *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Samarqand, Kashghar, Balasaghun, etc.). For identification and translation of ancient non-Chinese place names I have used Feng Chengjun and Lu Jungling's *Xiyu diming* and Chen Jiarong, Xie Fang, and Lu Junling's *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi*. Non-Chinese personal and place names known only in their Chinese transcriptions have been provided in *pinyin* and in some cases, with its certain or possible reading in the original language. Chinese official titles have been translated into English mostly according to Charles Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.*

The following Chinese weights and measures circulated during the Song period have been used in the book:

Weight
1 *liang* (tael) = 40 gm
1 *jin* (catty) = 16 *liang* = 640 gm
Liang is the basic unit of traditional Chinese silver measurement.
Capacity
1 *dan* = 10 *dou* = 100 *sheng*
1 *sheng* = 720 ml

Dan is the basic unit of the traditional Chinese volume measurement for grain.

Length and Distance

1 *zhang* = 10 *chi* = 3.14 meters

1 *chi* = 10 *cun* = 100 *fen* = 31.4 cm

1 *li* = 565.2 meters

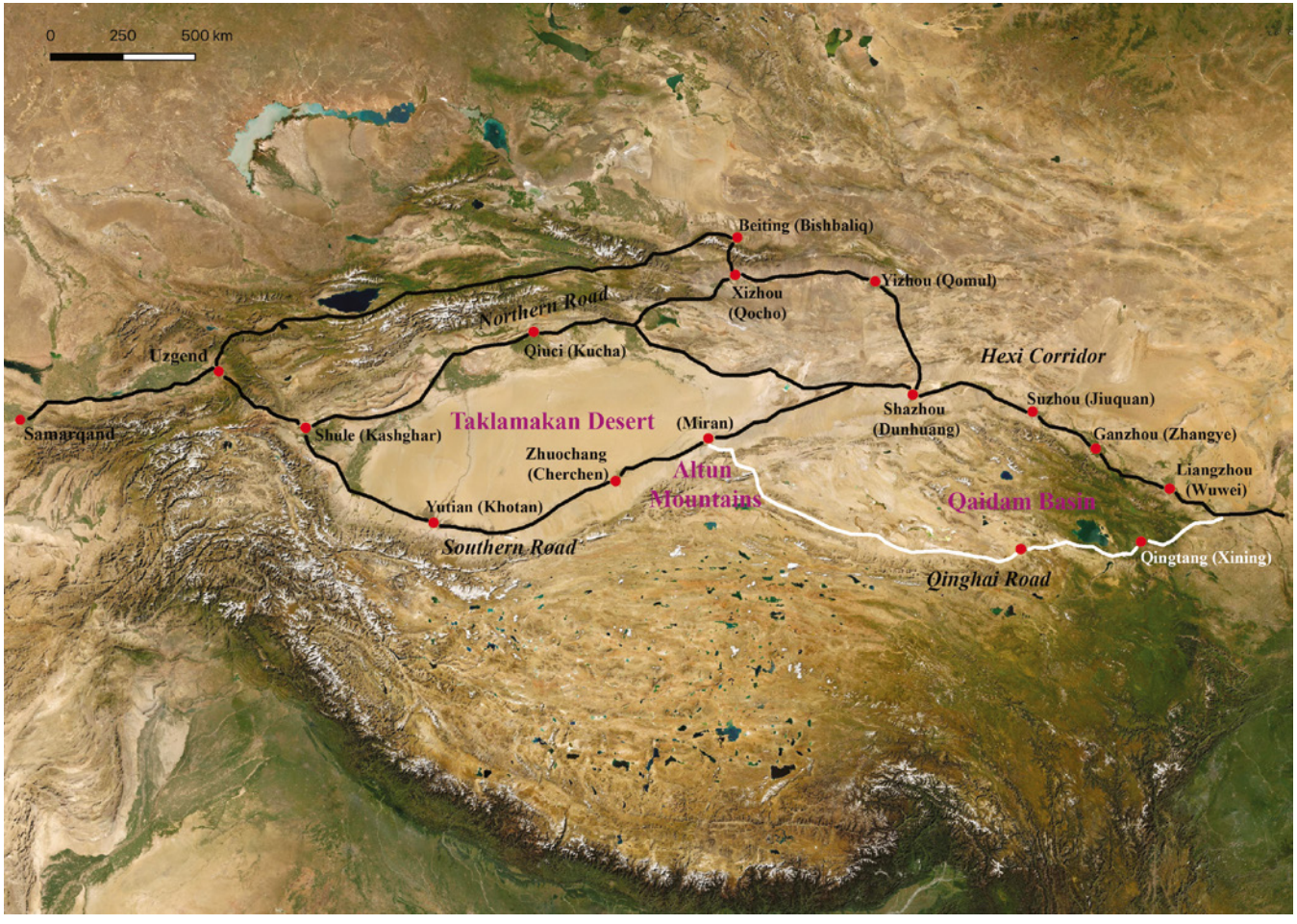
Counters

1 *pi* – a bolt of silk had a standard length and value, roughly 56 cm wide and 12 m long

1 *guan* – a string of 1000 coins (*wen*)

In the Song period, 1 *guan* often contained fewer coins but was counted as equivalent to a full string of 1000 coins. The counter *guan* sometimes can be omitted in Chinese texts, particularly when it refers to a large amount of cash. For instance, the counter *wanguan*, which is equivalent to 10,000 *guan* is often written as *wan*. In this book, for simplicity reasons, all amounts have been given in *guan*.

MAP 1 Central Eurasia in the eleventh century



MAP 2 Qarakhanid roads to China

Introduction

Toğardın batarḳa yorıp tezginür,
Tilemiş tilekiŋ saŋa keldürür

They travel round from East to West,
Bringing you whatever you may wish.
YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀJIB BALĀSĀGHŪNĪ[1]

∴

By the end of the first millennium CE, a vast portion of Central Eurasia was controlled by nomadic powers: the Sinicized Khitans (907–1125), who were later replaced by the Jurchens (1115–1234) and the Tanguts (1038–1227) in North and Northwest China; and the Turko-Islamic dynasties such as the Qarakhanids (840–1212), the Ghaznavids (977–1163) and the Saljuqs (1037–1194, and 1077–1308), whose domains stretched from Northern India to Asia Minor. This was the beginning of "the age of transregional nomadic empires," as Jerry Bentley named the period in world history from 1000 to 1500.[2] Nomadic peoples established powerful empires and sponsored direct trade relations and cultural interactions between distant places. The Mongol Empire era (1206–1368) is the age in which the nomads reached their height in terms of influence on world history, as no other nomad dynasty had succeeded in holding such a huge Eurasian landmass: at its peak, it stretched from Korea to Hungary. This situation brought the two ends of the Eurasian region into sustained cultural and commercial contact. The Mongol Empire has therefore attracted a great deal of scholarly attention over the past few decades. Significant research on the Mongol Empire, highlighting the extensive cultural exchange that took place under its rule, was done by Thomas T. Allsen, who used Islamic and Chinese sources equally.[3]

1 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 58; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 445.

2 Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 756, 766–68.

3 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997); Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001).

With direct access to the trade along the Silk Roads, however, the Qarakhanids shaped the largest nomadic polity before the Mongols, stretching their political and economic power from Western China to the north of Iran. Conversely, diplomacy, trade, and cultural exchange in the pre-Mongol era, especially the period of the Qarakhanids, is less well-documented, and for this reason, remains one of the least studied stages of Silk Road history.[4] Moreover, studies of international relations in the pre-Mongol period often give the impression that overland trade roads between China and Central Asia[5] declined and lost their previous splendor. This is mainly explained by citing political instability in Central and North Asia and the withdrawal of the Tang dynasty (618–907) from the Western Regions, which caused a switch from the traditional overland trade roads to the maritime roads during the period of the Song dynasty (960–1279) in China.[6] The lack of sources also often caused a "jump" from the Turks and Sogdians in Sui-Tang China to the Mongol globalization in works related to the history of the Silk Roads and Chinese-Western relations, completely skipping the Qarakhanids or giving just a short overview of international relations in the tenth–twelfth centuries.[7]

Indeed, both the lack of primary sources and the scarcity of literature make the Qarakhanid period a largely neglected field in the history of Central Asia and China. All researchers who have studied the Qarakhanids claim that their history is poorly documented and very fragmentary. The majority of sources were written outside of the Qarakhanid realm, and consist, for the most part, of information on relations with their neighbors in the Islamic and Sinitic

4 Jürgen Paul, *Zentralasien*, Neue Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 10 (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2012), 175; Michal Biran, "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange: Preliminary Notes on the Silk Roads in the eleventh and twelfth centuries," in *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the first millennium CE*, ed. Jan Bemman, and Michael Schmauder (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universiät Bonn, 2015), 575.

5 In this study, "Central Asia" refers to the area between the Amu Darya and the eastern border of modern Xinjiang.

6 For instance, see Angela Schottenhammer, "China's Emergence as a Maritime Power," in *The Cambridge History of China: The Five Dynasties and Sung China, 960–1279*, ed. John W. Chaffee, and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vol. 5, part 2, 437–40; Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 76.

7 For instance, Éteinne de la Vaissière argues that long-distance Central Asian trade, which declined in the middle of the eighth century, was reconstituted at a low level during the ninth century, and after that no continental Silk Road trade reemerged before the Mongol Empire. Éteinne de la Vaissière, "Central Asia and the Silk Road," in *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity,* ed. Scott F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 158.

worlds.[8] This also explains the variety of source languages, mainly Arabic, Persian, and Chinese. However, due to the traditional division of academic fields in English- and Russian-language academia, the Qarakhanid dynasty has always been mainly the purview of Turkologists. Therefore, Chinese primary and secondary sources have not usually been consulted. But the history of the Qarakhanid dynasty is included in the multi-volume publication *Zhongguo lishi* (*History of China*) published in Beijing.[9] Moreover, Chinese historical records are usually consulted and well-known to historians working on ancient and early medieval Central Asia. For particular periods, Chinese texts are one of the most important – often the only – written sources related to pre-Islamic Central Asia.

Scholars on Islamic Central Asia seldom consult Chinese primary sources. This has restricted research not only on the Qarakhanids, but also on the Saljuqs, the Ghaznavids and other polities in Central Asia. Any research on Saljuq and/or Ghaznavid history is considered a subject for Iranists and mainly based on Islamic sources.[10] The history of medieval Central Asia from the tenth to the twelfth centuries has usually been written without consulting Chinese primary or secondary sources. However, China was one of the Turks' closest neighbors and a source of luxury goods that were highly prized in the Islamic world. This book demonstrates that the Uyghur and Qarakhanid Khagans, as well as the Saljuq and Ghaznavid Sultans (although probably to a lesser extent), sought to establish direct economic contacts with China by sending official envoys. Chinese texts recorded data about official envoys from a vast swath

8 To define what I mean by the "Islamic" and "Sinitic worlds," this study uses cultural and geographic markers that reflect the two societies' perceptions of each other. The "Islamic world" refers to the Arabs and Arabian conquests as well as later Islamized non-Arabian cultures, including the regions of modern-day North and East Africa, West and Central Asia. The "Sinitic world" refers to China proper as well as to the parts of the world that used Chinese script and classical language, including regions of modern-day Altaic-speaking Korea and Japan, Sino-Tibetan-speaking China, and Austroasiatic-speaking Vietnam.

9 Wei Liangtao. *Kalahan wangchao shi, Xi Liao shi* 喀喇汗王朝史, 西辽史 [History of the Qarakhanid Dynasty, History of the Western Liao], *Zhongguo lishi* 中国历史 11 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2010).

10 For instance, for the Ghaznavids, see Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963); Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay: The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India, 1040–1186* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977). For the most recent and comprehensive study on history of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia, see Andrew C.S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yildiz, eds., *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Andrew C.S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

of the Turko-Islamic world and provided information on diplomacy and trade with China that cannot be obtained from other sources. Furthermore, Chinese records give us an understanding of how the Turko-Islamic dynasties were viewed in the Sinitic world. The main accounts of these dynasties, as for any nomadic peoples, were written mainly by the settled people they conquered, who held an uncomprehending and often hostile view of these alien invaders. Chinese sources provide perceptions of the Turks outside their realm, which can be used to counteract these biased views. Paradoxically, these sources have remained largely overlooked until now and in particular cases, completely unknown in the contemporary scholarship of Qarakhanid Central Asia.

Qarakhanid studies have been developed in the pioneering works of Vasily Bartold and Omeljan Pritsak, and their works continue to be relevant in the field.[11] Among later works, there are monographs in Turkish by Reşat Genç, in Russian by Omurkul Karaev, and in Chinese by Wei Liangtao.[12] Over the last few years certain aspects of the Qarakhanid history have been given a fresh look using Islamic sources on an equal footing with Chinese ones. In particular, Qarakhanid trade with China, specifically with the Liao dynasty, was examined by Valerie Hansen and Michal Biran.[13] Biran's work on the Qara Khitai Empire based on Islamic and Chinese sources contains much information about the region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[14] Significant research on Song China's foreign relations, although not focused on the Qarakhanids, can be found in a volume edited by Morris Rossabi.[15] Generally, these publications do not include the many numismatic and archaeological materials from the Qarakhanid period that have been recently discovered, or the Silk Road

11 Vasily V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademia nauk, 1900), rpt. in *Sochineniia* I (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1963); Omeljan Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam* 31, no. 1 (1953): 2–68.

12 Reşat Genç, *Karahanlı devlet teşkilâtı: XI. yüzıl Türk hâkimiyet anlayışı ve Karahanlılar* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981, rpt. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002); Omurkul Karaev, *Istoriia karakhanidskogo kaganata* (Frunze: Ilim, 1983); Wei Liangtao 魏良弢, *Kalahan wangchao shi gao* 喀喇汗王朝史稿 [A Draft history of the Qarakhanid Dynasty] (Ürümqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986).

13 Valerie Hansen, "International Gifting and the Khitan World, 907–1125," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 288–302; Michal Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 221–51; Biran, "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange," 575–595.

14 Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005).

15 Morris Rossabi, ed., *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th centuries* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1983).

artifacts from Liao and Song tombs that mostly appear in Russian and Chinese archaeological publications.

Recent scholarly interests in Qarakhanid studies can be also observed in publication of two major works in English. The complete English translation of the *Tazkīrah-i Bughrā Khān* has been recently published in the book *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids* by Jeff Eden.[16] Richard McClary's *Medieval Monuments of Central Asia: Qarakhanid Architecture of the 11th and 12th Centuries* provides the first solid overview of the Qarakhanid monuments that demonstrate urban developments in Central Asia under their rule.[17] Recent works from archaeological excavations in the Qarakhanid sites make equal mention of economic solidity and urban development in Central Asia during the tenth–twelfth centuries.[18] It would have been impossible without the economic growth that resulted from Qarakhanid international trade and policy, including their commercial activities in the East.

This book provides a detailed study of Chinese records on the Qarakhanids and their allies in Islamic and non-Islamic Central Asia and includes relevant texts with translation and notes. It also incorporates relevant Muslim sources on China and Tibet. Additionally, it utilizes related archaeological discoveries in Central Asia and China that allow for deeper insight into the history of international relations in the tenth–twelfth centuries, supplementing information

16 Jeff Eden, *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

17 Richard P. McClary, *Medieval Monuments of Central Asia: Qarakhanid Architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries* (Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

18 For the economic and political zenith of Bukhara that started in the tenth century during the Samanid period and continued during the Qarakhanid period, see Rocco Rante, and Djamal Mirzaakhmedov, *The Oasis of Bukhara: Population, Depopulation and Settlement Evolution* (Brill: Leiden, 2019), vol. 1, 266–267; for the study of the development of highland urbanism during the Qarakhanids, see Maksudov, Farhod et al., "Nomadic Urbanism at Tashbulak: A New Highland Town of the Karakhanids," in *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries,* ed. Christoph Baumer, and Mirko Novák (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 283–305; for the economic dynamism in Taraz under the Qarakhanids, see Giles Dawkes, and Gaygysyz Jorayev, "A Case of an Early Islamic city in Transoxiana: Excavations at the Medieval citadel in Taraz, Kazakhstan," *Archaeological Research in Asia* 4 (2015): 23; for the nomadic control and manipulation of regional trade interactions in the mountains of southeastern Uzbekistan, including the Qarakhanid period, see Michael, Frachetti, and Farhod Maksudov, "The Landscape of Ancient Mobile Pastoralism in the Highlands of Uzbekistan, 2000 B.C.–A.D. 1400," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 39, no. 3 (2014): 195–212; for the Qarakhanid cities in Transoxiana, also see Yury Karev, "Qarakhanid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarqand: First Report and Preliminary Observations," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 45–84; Yury Karev, "Western Qarakhanids between Bukhara and Samarqand," in *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99–147.

given in written sources. This book is, to my knowledge, the first detailed narrative history of the Silk Road during the Qarakhanid period written in any language. In this sense, it fills a gap in the research of the history of the Silk Roads and diplomatic relations of China and Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period. In addition, the book aims to prove that Qarakhanid international commerce and diplomacy not only maintained extant overland trade routes but also developed new networks.

The main sources for the current work are official histories and encyclopedias, scholarly treatises and artworks, and memoirs and travelogues compiled by officials and scholars who served at Chinese and Central Asian courts. Documentary sources, specifically on trade commodities and foreign images, are supplemented by archaeological records, which are mainly available in Russian and Chinese. Central Asian sources on the Qarakhanid history are well known due to the lack of this type of material. These include the famous and the only Turkic sources of the period: the Qarakhanid dictionary *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (1008–1102), which includes the Qarakhanid world map including East Asia; and the Qarakhanid Mirror for Princes *Qutadghu Bilig* by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib (d. 1077). Additionally, works compiled by historians and scholars who served in the neighboring dynasties, particularly at the Saljuq and the Ghaznavid courts, as well as general histories and geographies of other Muslim authors, are also incorporated into the book. Short introductions to the sources and their authors are given when it is essential to understand the information. It should be mentioned that Central Asian sources do not provide many materials on Qarakhanid relations with China. Moreover, descriptions of China available in Muslim sources are very fragmentary and give only a general understanding on existence of contacts between China and Central Asia during the Qarakhanid period. However, these materials are also essential to interpreting the data given in Chinese records.

Chinese sources that contain historical and geographical information on medieval Central Asia during the Qarakhanid period can be divided into several categories. These include a series of official histories of successive dynasties, the so-called *zhengshi* "Standard Histories." This kind of history was compiled by the official office of a dynasty that was headed by a well-known scholar and established to write the history of its predecessors. The chief sources for this work, *Song shi*, *Liao shi*, and *Jin shi,* were compiled by a group of scholars led by the Yuan official Toqto'a (Chin. Tuotuo, 1314–1356). The imperial annals include sections devoted to foreign countries and peoples, their rulers, and their relations with China. Important countries are given sections of their own while lesser ones are grouped together. The Qarakhanids appeared in their own section in *Song shi* under the name "Khotan," which can be divided into two

parts. The first part is devoted to the history of the ancient Khotan kingdom up to the beginning of the eleventh century, and the second part deals with the Qarakhanid period from the eleventh to the twelfth century. *Song shi* furthermore provides separate sections on the Ganzhou Uyghurs and the Uyghur Idiquts in Turfan, known as the Xizhou Uyghurs during the Song period. These sections contain data on commodity exchanges with the Qarakhanids. There are also sections on Anatolia and India, which are essential in discussions on possible Saljuq and Ghaznavid envoys to Song China. *Liao shi* and *Jin shi* are less informative on the contacts with the Qarakhanids compared to *Song shi,* but contain useful information not found elsewhere.

The Chinese often shortened or omitted important information when compiling imperial histories. Therefore, the standard histories were used together with a type of source known as *biannianti,* "Chronological History," compiled during the Song period, and texts called *huiyao,* "Collected Matters of Importance," which is a compilation of imperial documents. In this term, the Song chronicle *Xu Zizhi tongzian changbian* by Li Tao (1115–1184) becomes increasingly important for this work. It covers the period of 960–1100 and contains essential information that is not found in other sources. For instance, Li Tao recorded a detailed interview between Emperor Shenzong of Song (1068–1085) and the Qarakhanid envoy that appears in a shortened version in *Song shi*. The Song-era document collection *Song huiyao* was partly extracted from the *Yongle Encyclopedia* of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and compiled by the Qing official Xu Song (1781–1848) as *Song huiyao jigao.* This collection of Song imperial documents also includes edicts and memorials related to Qarakhanid trade in Song China. Other important Chinese sources used for this work are histories known as *zashi,* "Miscellaneous Histories," which also include ethnographic works, travelogues, and diaries based on private observations.

The book attempts to demonstrate the complexity of interaction and exchange during the tenth–twelfth centuries and introduce Chinese records on this issue. The first four chapters are devoted to Qarakhanid diplomacy and trade in China, discussing Qarakhanid policy in the East in general, including their contacts with the Uyghurs and Tibetans. The fifth chapter deals with Chinese records on Qarakhanid allies in the Turko-Islamic world such as the Saljuqs, Ghaznavids, and Khwarazmshahs, including the role of the Qarakhanids as middlemen between China and the Islamic world. The last chapter describes Qarakhanid activity along the Silk Roads and beyond, including their activities in the international amber, frankincense and tea trades. Throughout the book, I focus on three interrelated themes: (1) each group's image and knowledge of each other's societies; (2) imperial encounters and emissary missions; and (3) trade-cultural transfer and exchange.

(1) *The Representation of Sinitic and Turko-Islamic Worlds.* This question seeks answers in works by medieval Chinese and Muslim historians, travelers, and geographers. The research shows that both Chinese and Muslim historians of the era documented the increase of knowledge in their societies about each other. Central Asia was a bridge between two worlds in this process and facilitated the rise of Chinese knowledge about the Islamic world. In the meantime, political and cultural contacts between Liao-Song China and Qarakhanid Central Asia transmitted knowledge about China to the Islamic world. Central Asian scholars of the eleventh century had access to more recent data on China. It should be noted that the Central Asian texts that we have at our disposal are not very informative; they contain general records on China. But in comparison with tenth-century geographical works that mostly utilized data collected during the Tang period, we can observe updates in political, commercial and cultural issues. For instance, al-Bīrūnī provided detailed information on commodities from the Khitan (Qitāy) realm and Song China (al-Ṣīn) that are not found in earlier sources. He served at the Ghaznavid court and personally met with foreign envoys and merchants to obtain relevant information about distant places, including China.[19] At the same time, Chinese texts of this period demonstrate that the term "Dashi," which initially applied to the Arabs and Arabia, was mainly used to refer to the Qarakhanids in Khitan and Tangut sources and in Song China applied not only to the Arabs but also to non-Arab Islamic dynasties and apparently, to non-Muslims under their rule as well. This study will lead to an understanding of the role of China in pre-Mongol Islamic Central Asia, as well as what China knew about Islamic Central Asia. The understanding of the Qarakhanid image in China helps to identify different names applied to them by Chinese authors, which may introduce more new data about them. The most complicated part of utilizing Chinese sources is to identify terms applied to foreign peoples and ethnic groups. For this reason, a significant part of data in Chinese sources on various foreign regions and peoples remain unknown.

(2) *Imperial Encounters and Emissary Missions.* I focus on the Qarakhanid diplomacy in the East and specifically their relations with the Song dynasty and the Liao dynasty through the study of emissary exchange. Chinese records prove that the Qarakhanids sent more than forty delegations to the Song court, mainly using two roads via the Hexi Corridor and Tibet; the latter is also known as the Qinghai Road. The Qarakhanid emissary missions were mostly commercial and played a key role in promoting trade between Central Asia and China.

19 I discuss al-Bīrūnī's accounts on Chinese commodities and the image of China in Central Asian sources during the Qarakhanids in detail in Chapter 5.

The true number of commercial envoys and caravans sent by the Qarakhanids may have been much higher than reported in Chinese official records. I also seek to illustrate that the Qarakhanids served as middlemen between the Sino-Tibetan and the Turko-Islamic worlds. For instance, the Qarakhanids accompanied foreign missions to Tibet and China or issued special documents that allowed foreign delegations to travel to the region and obtain access for trade. This study contributes to the field by providing detailed investigation and translation of some Qarakhanid written documents sent to Chinese emperors and Chinese imperial edicts on Qarakhanid trade. I also discuss official envoys from Anatolia and Northern India to Song China that may refer to the Saljuqs and the Ghaznavids.

(*3*) *Trade-Cultural Contacts and Exchange.* This topic combines studies of different kinds of sources: official and non-official histories, chronicles, travelogues, and scientific works, as well as archaeological data. It seeks to explore extant and new trade networks in the Qarakhanid world. I also investigated the question of how far the Qarakhanid trade reached. Trade and movement of commodities between Qarakhanid Central Asia and China offer unique opportunity to discover Qarakhanid activities beyond the Silk Roads, for instance, along the amber, frankincense, and tea-horse trade. Through a basic word search in the Scripta Sinica database, it can be observed that some commodities that were transported by the Qarakhanids, such as amber, flowed to China along the overland trade roads, especially during the Northern Song period. Trade commodities often brought cultural patterns and aesthetics connected with them to new territories and later could become "local." This research discusses some examples of cultural exchange through trade that are still visible. It will also lead to an understanding of how the Khitans, as non-Muslims, were later able to establish their authority in Islamic Central Asia and ruled the region for almost a century.

This book is not only about politics and trade but also about a history of mutual understanding, cultural bridges, and peace between the peoples of Central Asia and China.

CHAPTER 1

The Qarakhanid World

1 Introduction

The mass migrations westward that resulted from the fall of the Turk Khaganate (552–740) and the Uyghur Khaganate (744–840) brought Turkic peoples closer to the borders of the Islamic cities than ever before. For instance, the Qarluqs and other Turkic groups started to settle in the Zhetysu region in present southeastern Kazakhstan by the mid-eighth century, during the first wave of migrations. Later the Qarluqs were united in a confederacy including Yaghma, Chigil, and other groups, expanding into the Kashghar and Ferghana regions that resulted the founding of the Qarakhanid Khaganate. The Oghuz appeared in the Syr Darya region around the same time, in the second half of the eighth century, and after conversion to Islam, rose from groups dwelling in the west Eurasian steppes to rulers of an empire that dominated the Middle East and Central Asia, known as the Saljuq Empire. The Bulghars, who moved to the Volga Region in the seventh century, established themselves as the dominant population in the region by the ninth century and united other Turkic groups as well as Slavic and Finno-Ugric elements living in this territory.[1] They converted to Islam in the early tenth century and the Volga Bulghars became one of the main controllers of trade between Europe and the Islamic world in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The formation of a frontier between the Islamic world and the Eurasian steppes sparked great interest of central Islamic rulers in the geography of the Turkic lands. Scholars who served at the Islamic courts collected information on the roads, cities, and peoples of this region, known as Atrāk (the plural form of the word 'Turk"). One of the earliest descriptions of the Turkic peoples was written by Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 913), who served at the ʿAbbasid court and composed a book about roads to provinces and cities of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate (750–1258); he also provided the early image of Turkic peoples in the Islamic world.[2]

1 Gerald Mako, "The Islamization of the Volga Bulghars: A Question Reconsidered," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (2011): 201.

2 *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, trans. Velikhanova, 60, 65–66, 69. For the discussion of Arabic sources on the Turks, see Yehoshua Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

Thus, in the ninth century the Turkic confederations became the closest neighbors of the Samanid Emirate (875–999) in Transoxiana and Khurasan, which together with the Khazar Khaganate (ca. 650–969), was the main supplier of slaves to the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. The Samanid role in spreading Islam into the Turkic territories was significant, and the Central Asian frontier was the most important arena for jihad.[3] Moreover, the Samanids' slave trade incited numerous attacks to the territories of the Turks, who were captured and sold to the ʿAbbasid Caliphate to fill its armies and administration. The Samanids presented these conquests as part of the expansions of Islam. The newcomers, known in Arabic as *ghulāms* or *mamlūks*, were assimilated in the central Islamic lands through conversion to Islam and reaching high-ranking positions. Many of Turkic *ghulāms* who served at the ʿAbbasid Caliphate (as well as other Islamic courts) moved up in the ranks and established their own polities such as the Ghaznavid Sultanate in large parts of Iran, Afghanistan and northwest India, and the Khwarazmshahs (1077–1231), who founded an empire in a vast region of present-day Central Asia and Iran, and later, the famous Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517) of Egypt.

The Muslim conquest of Turkic territories and the *ghulām* institution were not the main methods of Islamization among Turkic peoples. Peter Golden pointed out the role of merchants and Sufis in this process, particularly among the Qarakhanids.[4] According to Jürgen Paul, the common assumption about Islamizing Sufis during the pre-Mongol period was probably first circulated by Bartold and cannot be properly proven as there is no evidence for early Sufi activities among the Turks. He stated that islamizers mentioned in the relevant records were not Sufis, "but defenders of Sunni orthodoxy and observance who had therefore come into conflicts with the authorities in Balkh and Tirmith."[5]

The mass Islamization of Turkic peoples led to the founding of the first Turko-Islamic dynasties from Kashgharia to Anatolia and from northern India to the Volga Region beginning in the early tenth century. When dealing with the reasons for the mass conversion of Turkic peoples to Islam in the early tenth century, scholarship tends to share a predominant theory that can be summarized as follows: 1) through the adoption to Islam Turks sought to become independent; 2) it was an act towards legalization of their conquests; 3) they sought to protect their trade routes and improve relations with commercial

3 Deborah G. Tor, "The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid Era and Reshaping of the Muslim World," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, no. 2 (2009): 284.

4 Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2011), 69.

5 Jürgen Paul, "Islamizing Sufis in Pre-Mongol Central Asia," in *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^e^ au XI^e^ siècle* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39), ed. Étienne de la Vaissière (Paris Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 314.

partners in the Islamic world. It should be also noted that the Islamization of Turkic peoples was crucial to both their representation in China and connecting the Islamic and the Sinitic worlds.

In this chapter, I discuss the Qarakhanids and their main trade partners in the Turko-Islamic world together with early Qarakhanid history, as this is important for an understanding of their situation between China and the Islamic world. I will also outline the Qarakhanids' neighbors to the East.

2 Notes on the Qarakhanid Image and Origin

The names by which the Qarakhanids are known to us were not their own. The Qarakhanids were recorded in medieval Islamic texts as al-Khāqāniyya[6] and Āl-i Āfrāsiyāb.[7] The Qarakhanid period marked a turning point of Islamization of the Turkic world and the Turkification of Transoxiana. The present political shape of Central Asia was formed during this period; it became Turkic and Islamic. All these events reflected the image of Central Asia and its relationship to the outside world.

In most modern scholarly works, Qarakhanid history is usually considered to have started in the middle of the tenth century, around the time of their Islamization. This can be explained by the lack of data sources, both written and archaeological, on the pre-Islamic history of the Qarakhanids. This approach makes the Qarakhanids more "western" and pulls them away from their eastern heritage, which is crucial to understanding their image and acceptance in the non-Islamic Turko-Sinitic world. However, some scholars mark the beginning of the Qarakhanids as starting in the year 840, when a

6 al-Khāqāniyya ("The Khaqanian Dynasty"), named after the title of the Qarakhanid rulers. *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 908.

7 Āl-i Āfrāsiyāb ("The House of Afrasiyab"), named after the legendary king of Turan in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma.* The name of Afrasiyab, who was a king of Turan in ancient Iranian mythology, is closely associated with the Turks in tenth- to eleventh-century Arabic and Persian literature. Therefore, the Turks who came to power after the Samanids in Central Asia were considered to be descendants of Afrasiyab. According to the Qarakhanid scholars, Afrasiyab was known among the Turks as Tonga Alp Er ("The Man Brave as a Tiger"), also known as Alp Er Tonga. *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 851, 1014; *Qutadghu Bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 48; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 43. Hua Tao suggested that the Qarakhanids connected themselves with Afrasiyab under a Saljuq influence. Hua Tao, "The Muslim Qarakhanids and Their Invented Ethnic Identity," in *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^e^ au XI^e^ siècle* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39), ed. Étienne de la Vaissière (Paris Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 344.

new Turkic confederation in Zhetysu emerged after the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate.[8] In this study, I follow this hypothesis.

Due to the multi-tribal components of the new confederation, the origins of the Qarakhanid ruling elite are debatable.[9] The most recent theory, based on numismatic evidence, has been suggested by Boris Kochnev, who claimed that the Qarakhanid origin was related to the Igdish (Idgish) clan of the Chigil group, which was one of the components of the Qarluq confederation.[10] At the same time Chinese sources from the Song period viewed the Qarakhanids as the descendants of the Uyghur Khaganate along with the Xizhou Uyghurs (9th–13th centuries) and Ganzhou Uyghurs (9th–11th centuries):

> 初，回鶻西奔，族種散處。故甘州有可汗王，西州有克韓王，新復州有黑韓王，皆其後焉。[11]
>
> In the beginning, when Huigu [Uyghurs] ran to the west, their tribes and clans scattered in different places. Therefore, there were *kehan* [Khagan] in Ganzhou [Zhangye], *kehan* in Xizhou [Turfan] and *heihan* [Qarakhan] in Xinfuzhou [Khotan]. They are all descendants of Huigu.

Following this tradition, the Qarakhanids are often considered to be of Uyghur origin in Chinese scholarship.[12] However, the Song authors in this passage mainly referred to the historical event that caused mass migrations of the Turkic peoples to the west, rather than to the origin of the Qarakhanid ruling elite.

---

8 Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 84; Wei, *Kalahan wangchao*, 62; Peter B. Golden, "The Karakhanids and Early Islam," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia,* ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 354–358. This hypothesis was also followed in the multivolume UNESCO History of Civilisations of Central Asia, see Elena A. Davidovich, "The Karakhanids," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Age of Achievement A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century,* ed. Muhammad S. Asimov, and Clifford E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), vol. 1, part 1, 126.

9 For different theories of the origins of the Qarakhanids, see Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 21–22; Muhammet Kemaloğlu, "Karahanlıların Menşe ve Kuruluş Faraziyeleri," *Hikmet Yurdu* 6, no. 11 (2013): 415–424.

10 Boris D. Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia Karakhanidskogo kaganata, 991–1209 gg* (Moscow: Sofiia, 2006), 148. Liu Yingsheng also proposed, based on Jin sources that the ruling elite of the Qarakhanids might be of Chigil origin. Liu Yingsheng, "A Century of Chinese Research on Islamic Central Asian History in Retrospect," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 9 (2001): 121.

11 *Song shi*, 490: 14117.

12 Liu Yingsheng rejects the Uyghur hypothesis. For the discussion of this issue, see Liu, "A Century of Chinese Research," 119–120.

If we accept that the history of the Qarakhanids started in 840 after the Uyghur collapse, when the Qarluqs in Zhetysu claimed leadership of the Turkic nomads calling themselves as Khagans, then we can also assume a shift of a century in Qarakhanid history, because the Qarluqs started to reside in Zhetysu after the fall of the Turk Khaganate in 740. For this reason, Ömer Soner Hunkan proposed beginning Qarakhanid history from 766, when the Qarluqs replaced the western Turks as a leading local power. He also suggested dividing Qarakhanid history into three periods: from Yabghunate to Khaganate (766–840), pre-Islamic Khaganate (840–920), and the Islamic Khaganate (920–1212).[13] Moreover, by summarizing names applied to the Qarakhanids in Islamic sources, he claimed that the polity founded by them should be called the Turk Khaganate (Türk Hakanliği).[14]

But even if we start Qarakhanid history from 840, we still have a period of around one hundred and fifty years that is almost completely undocumented and offers no numismatic materials.[15] It should be mentioned here that there are, in fact, some rare coins datable to the tenth century found in Zhetysu that resemble Chinese coins (with the characteristic square hole), but the most interesting fact about them is that the words placed along the four sides of the hole are written in Kufi. Vladimir Nastich, who has studied these specimens and suggested to term them "proto-Qarakhanid coins," identified the words *malik*, *arām*, *yīnāl* and *jīg/chīg* or *chīh*.[16] However, Boris Kochnev assumed that these materials have yet not been sufficiently studied and thus cannot be used as a source for Qarakhanid history.[17] Nevertheless, these specimens are unique and illustrate the Islamic and Sinitic features of the Qarakhanids. Chinese-style coins with local scripts had also widely been minted in that region before the time of the Qarakhanids.[18] However, the "proto-Qarakhanid" coins are the only example of Chinese-style coins with Arabic inscriptions that belonged to the newly Islamized transitional coinage of Central Asia. These coins demonstrate that the new Islamic dynasty in the region was allowed to use Arabic inscriptions on the familiar cash form before an entirely new coinage was introduced.

13 For the periodization, see Ömer Soner Hunkan, *Türk Hakanliği* (*Karahanlilar*)*: Kuruluş-Gelişme-Çöküş, 766–1212* (Istanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2011).

14 Ibid, 59–64.

15 Paul, *Zentralasien*, 148.

16 Vladimir N. Nastich, "Monetnye nakhodki iz Kazakhstana i Kirgizii," in *Vtoraia Vsesoiuznaia Numizmaticheskaia Konferentsiia* (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1987), 52–53.

17 Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia*, 149.

18 Aleksandr Kamyshev, "Novye arkheologicheskie nakhodki s gorodischa Sadyr-Kurgan," *Izvestia Natsional'noi Akademii nauk Respubliki Kazakhstan* 1 (2009): 286–287.

Muslim written sources on the "proto-Qarakhanids" or pre-Islamic Qarakhanids provide detailed information on the flourishing trade roads and cities in Zhetysu that already connected the Islamic world with China.[19] Close to the Islamization period of the Qarakhanids, however, geographical information in Islamic sources on Zhetysu became very fragmentary.

More written sources, as well as numismatic materials, appear starting from the time of the Islamization of the Qarakhanids. The tenth century marked a turning point in the Islamization of Turkic Central Asia, starting from the Qarakhanid ruler Satuq Bughra Khan (d. 955–56), who probably converted to Islam around the middle of the tenth century or even earlier. When a leader converted, his kinship group usually followed suit,[20] and this explains the mass conversions among Turkic nomads in this period as depicted in Islamic sources. The Qarakhanid rulers had a reputation as true and pious Muslims in Islamic sources.[21] The first Islamic coinage of the Qarakhanids appeared after the successful conquest of the Samanid territories in Transoxiana, showing that a new Islamic power was established in this region. Newly islamized Qarakhanid rulers emphasized their status using the title *Mawla Amīr al-Muʾminīn* and *Mawla Rasūl Allāh*, which can be understood to mean "Agent of the Caliph" and "Agent of the Prophet."[22] The *Mawla* status was a very important one in early Islamic history, which had been previously used to mean freed slaves and non-Arabian converts to Islam, but its meaning had shifted by the ʿAbbasid period. The term *Mawla Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, which emerged during al-Mansur's reign (754–775), was used as an honorary political title and should not be confused with the term *Mawla* from earlier periods that indicated a low social status. The new title implied nothing about the social origin or the current status of the owner. The usage of these titles by the Qarakhanids is essential to understanding how they might have presented themselves at the Chinese court.

19 *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, trans. Minorsky, 97–99; *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, trans. Velikhanova, 65–66; *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 102.

20 Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, 70.

21 According to the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr, the Qarakhanid rulers were pure Muslims, who drank no wine, fought for their religion, and patronized science. *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 210–213; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, trans Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 184–186. The Gaznavid historian Gardizī also noted that the Qarakhanid ruler, Yusuf Qadir Khan (998–1026/1026–1032), drank no wine, "as it is not customary for the kings of Transoxiana, especially the Turkic kings (*malikān Turkān*)." *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 188. Tamghach Khan Ibrahim (1040–1068) was called "Steadfast in Faith" (*mutadāʿiyīn*), who acted according to Islamic law. *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb fi muʿjam al-alqāb*, ed. Jawar, vol. 4, 650–651.

22 *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 70; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 158; Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia*, 132, 150.

The Qarakhanid arrival in Transoxiana, starting from the 992 conquest of Bukhara the capital of the Samanids, signaled a definitive shift from Iranian to Turkic dominance in Central Asia. At the same time, through the Qarakhanids, the Tarim Basin became closely linked to the Islamic world that started the Islamization process in present-day Xinjiang. The Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan and Kucha marked the end of the Turkification process in the Tarim Basin, which had been started by mass nomad migrations touched off by the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate in Mongolia. The political shape of present-day Central Asia had indeed been formed during the time of the Qarakhanids. The exact date of the conquest of the Khotan and Kucha kingdoms remains in dispute. The reign title of the last Khotan king was used until 1006, therefore, Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang suggested that the Qarakhanids conquered Khotan in 1006.[23] However, the Qarakhanid military presence in Khotan can be observed much earlier. For instance, in 971 the Khotan king sent a letter to Emperor Taizu of Song (960–976) to inform him about their victory over the Qarakhanids.[24]

Another title that appeared on early Islamic Qarakhanid coins, *Malik al-Mashriq* ("King of the East"), looks like a claim to sovereignty in Transoxiana and Khurasan. However, these ambitions were stopped by the alliance between the Qarakhanids and the Ghaznavids, another newly islamized Turkic dynasty in Central Asia and former Samanid territories had been divided between them, indicating the Amu Darya as a border.

The Qarakhanids continued their Turkic political traditions, viewing the state as the collective property of the royal clan and dividing the state into a western part with the capital in Samarqand and an eastern part with the centers in Balasaghun and Kashghar around 1040. While Islamic sources of this period contain more detailed information on the western Qarakhanids, accounts in Chinese sources focus on the eastern part of this state. Therefore, it is necessary to combine information provided in these two types of sources.

The Qarakhanid rulers, together with the Islamic honorary titles *Malik al-Mashriq wa al-Ṣīn* "King of the East and China" and *Sulṭān al-Sharq wa al-Ṣīn* "Sultan of the East and China," used also a Turkic title, namely Tabghach Khan,

23 Zhang Guangda 张广达, and Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Guanyu Tangmo Songchu Yutian guo de guohao nianhao ji qi wangjia shixi wenti 关于唐末宋初于阗国国号 年号及其王家世系问题 [On the Issue of the reign title of the Khotan kingdom and its dynasty in the late Tang and early Song periods]," in *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐鲁番文献研究论集 [Collected Essays on Dunhuang and Turfan Texts] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 183–185.

24 *Song shi* 490: 14107.

meaning "Khan of China."[25] The Turkic name of China "Tawghāj/Tabghāch" is considered to be derived from Tuoba, the clan name of the non-Han Northern Wei (386–584) emperors.[26]

Why did the Qarakhanids refer to themselves as "Khans, Kings and Sultans of China"? The Tang dynasty built an empire whose territory and protectorates extended to Turfan, Kashgharia, and even to Transoxiana and Khurasan. Some of these territories were not under Tang civil administration, but the Tang army ensured that the local rulers accepted the Tang as their master and thus supported Tang interests in the Silk Road trade.[27] Islamic sources of the Qarakhanid period also recorded that these lands once belonged to China.[28] Moreover, in the Qarakhanid world people believed that China had originally been divided into three parts: Tawghāj (south China), Khitāy (north China) and Barkhān (in Kashghar).[29] This shows that people still remembered the glory of Tang China and explains why the Qarakhanids – who ruled in Kashgharia and Transoxiana, which had once been a part of the Tang protectorate – used the titles to indicate that these territories now belonged to them and this fact gave them a sense of prestige and pride.

---

25 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 424.

26 However, some scholars link the word Tawghāj/Tabghāch with Tangjia "The House of Tang." Yang Shao-yun claims that the Tangjia theory is more appropriate than the Tuoba theory, relying on the eleventh-century Chinese source *Juanyou lu* (Records on the Weariness of Traveling), some fragments of which survived in the encyclopedia *Songchao shishi leiyuan* from the Southern Song period, which states that "until today in Guangzhou foreigners refer to China as 'The House of Tang and to Chinese as "The language of Tang" (至今廣州胡人，呼中國為唐家，華言為唐言). *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 77: 1009; Yang Shao-yun, "Fan and Han: The Origins and Uses of a Conceptual Dichotomy in Mid-Imperial China, ca. 500–1200," in *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China,* ed. Francesca Fiaschetti, and Julia Schneider (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 27–28. The Tangjia theory is not acceptable due to the fact that the term appeared in the work of the early seventh-century Byzantine historian Theophylact Simocatta, who wrote about historical events during the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602). In his *History*, Simocatta mentioned a place called Taugas or Taugast that refers to China and was derived form the Turkic name for China. The author stated that he utilized the letter of the Turkic Khagan that was received in 598. This means that the term Tabghāch had been used among the Turks before the Tang dynasty. For the description of Taugas by Theophylact Simocatta, see Michael and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 191–192. For the name Taugas/Taugast (Ταυγάς/Ταυγάστ) and various theories of the origin of the Turkic word Tabghāch, see Zhang Xushan, "On the origin of "Taugast" in Theophylact Simocatta and the Later Sources," *Byzantion* 80 (2010): 485–501.

27 Harold M. Tanner, *China: A History* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009), 167, 174–176.

28 *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, trans. Minorsky, 83–86; *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 18.

29 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 424.

The fall of the dynasty is connected with the Qarakhanid-Khwarazmshah confrontation, which ended with the victory of Muhammad Khwarazmshah (1200–1220) in 1212. Muhammad Khwarazmshah gave the order to kill not only his opponent ʻUthman ibn Ibrahim (1203–1212), but also other members of the Qarakhanid dynasty.[30] However, some Qarakhanid dynastic members continued to rule as Mongol governors. For instance, Darhan Kidirali and Gaybullah Babayar suggested that a tomb in the mausoleum known as "Daut-bek Kesenesi" belongs to the one of the last Qarakhanids, Isfihsalar ibn Ilyas, who was a governor in Talas (also known as Taraz) until 1262.[31]

3 The Qarakhanid Trade Partners in the West

The mass conversion to Islam among the Turkic peoples was an important step to emerging the first Turko-Islamic empires in Eurasian history. The Qarakhanids had established diplomatic relations with most of the neighboring Turko-Islamic dynasties, namely the Ghaznavids, the Saljuqs, the Khwarazmshahs, and the Volga Bulghars, strengthened in certain cases by marriage alliances. The main driving force behind the political alliance was the economic interest of the Qarakhanids.

The Qarakhanids sought to establish themselves as middlemen in international trade between the Turko-Islamic and Sino-Tibetan worlds. In addition to the typical nomadic products, the Qarakhanids exported commodities obtained from other places. Chinese fabrics were highly prized in the Islamic world, and the Qarakhanids exported silk and other types of fine fabric from China to the west. However, Chinese silk was no longer the primary commodity. This book demonstrates that Qarakhanid merchants brought precious metals, herbs and medicines, including tea from China. At the same time, rarities that the Qarakhanids obtained from their neighbors in the Islamic world were transferred to China. Since the pre-Islamic period, the Qarakhanids had sought to obtain various types of rarities and spices from sedentary societies. For instance, Ughuljaq (Oghulchak) Qadir Khan personally liked the brocade, sugar, and sweets that had been introduced by Samanid merchants.[32]

By the eleventh century, the Qarakhanids were involved in the international trade network, which had already been rather complex before the Mongol

30 Bartold, *Turkestan,* 430–431.

31 Darhan Kidirali, and Gaybullah Babayar, "Taraz'da bulunan son Karahanli hükümdarlarindan birine ait mezar aniti," *Gazi Türkiyat* 18 (2016): 19–41.

32 *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 102.

globalization. This gave the Qarakhanids access to Chinese trade networks and commodities through diplomatic relations with the Liao and the Song, India through the Ghaznavids, Iran and Asia Minor through the Saljuqs, and Europe through Khwarazm and Volga Bulgharia.

3.1 *The Volga Bulghars*

Trade, specifically the fur trade, was the main impetus for the emergence of the Volga Bulghars and their conversion to Islam.[33] The geographical location in the center of the so-called Fur Road turned Volga Bulgharia into a key region between northern Europe and Central Asia. The Volga Bulghar Khaganate became the first empire located in the center of the Fur Road.[34] The term "Fur Road," also known as the "Steppe Road," is applied in contemporary scholarship to the Northern Eurasian trade networks in the pre-modern period. They were used for transportation of pastoral products as well as furs and fur items to other parts of the world, including the Middle East, Central Asia and East Asia, linking the Eurasian grassland and agricultural regions, and were much wider than the Silk Road.[35] The Volga Bulghars were involved in trade with the Vikings, who sailed from Northern Europe to Iceland and Greenland, even reaching North America around the year 1000.[36] The Vikings actively traded in the Slavic and newly Islamized Bulghar worlds.[37] They shipped various goods from their realm in exchange for commodities of the Islamic world, including woven silk, which was produced in Central Asia and has been found in Viking burial sites.[38]

The Volga Bulghars' main trade partners in Central Asia were the Samanids and later the Qarakhanids continued commercial relations with them. The importance of Volga Bulgharia in the Qarakhanid world is confirmed by its inclusion on a map of the Turks and their neighbors that appeared in *Dīwān*

33 Mako, "The Islamization of the Volga Bulghars," 199–223.

34 Ibid, 209.

35 For the term "Fur Road" and its scope, see Roman K. Kovalev, "The Infrastructure of the Northern Part of the 'Fur Road' Between the Middle Volga and the East During the Middle Ages," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 25–64; Paul, *Zentralasien*, 175; Jonathan K. Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

36 For the archaeological expeditions in North America and discovery of a group of house-sites of Norse origin, see Helge Ingstad, and Anne Stine Ingstad, *The Viking Discovery of America: The Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001).

37 *Risāla* / Ibn Fadlān, trans. Lunde and Stone, 45–47; *Kitāb al-aʿlāk al-nafīsa,* ed. Goeje, 141.

38 For the Scandinavian silk items from the Vikings' burials and its Central Asian origin, see Marianne Vedeler, *Silk for the Vikings* (Havertown: Oxbow, 2014).

lughāt al-Turk written by the Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī in 1074.[39] Bulghar merchants sailed to Khwarazm, bringing commodities from their realm as well as what they obtained from the Vikings. From Khwarazm these items were transported to the Qarakhanid realm. The Qarakhanids transported these items to China, thereby connecting the complex network trade between Scandinavia, the Islamic world, and China. However, Bulghar merchants could also pass farther to the east. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī recorded some descriptions of merchants from Sūwār, a flourishing city in Volga Bulgharia in the eleventh century.[40]

The Volga Region was beyond the influence of any sedentary empire; therefore, written sources on early history of the Volga Bulghars are rare, making it difficult to determine the exact beginning of their history.[41] Muslim authors first started to provide evidence of the Volga Bulghars on the eve of the tenth century during the period of their conversion to Islam. For instance, Ibn al-Faqīh mentioned the country of the Burjān, which is Bulghar in his work dated to 903.[42] Ibn Rusta, a Persian geographer and explorer who made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 903 and wrote a geographical compendium, mentioned the Bulkārs (Bulghars) and their Muslim ruler Almish.[43] His description of Volga Bulgharia makes him a useful source on early history for this infrequently-described region.

The Bulghar ruler Almish dispatched an envoy to Baghdad in hopes of allying with the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. In response, a mission led by Ibn Fadlān was sent from Baghdad that reached the royal camp of the Bulghar ruler in 922.[44] The envoy went to Ray and Nishapur, then reached Bukhara, the Samanid capital, and followed to the Khwarazmian cities Kath and Gurganj, then crossing the territories of the Oghuz, Pechenegs, and Bashqirts reached the Volga Bulghars.[45] Later this itinerary was most likely used by the Bulghar merchants, who traded in the Qarakhanid realm bringing merchandise from the north. Ghaznavid and Saljuq scholars al-Bīrūnī and Marwazī mentioned trade and commodity exchanges between the Volga Bulghars and Finno-Ugric people called Īsū and Yūrā, who offered highly prized sable and other fine furs.[46] This

39 For the facsimile of the map, see *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 1289–90.
40 Ibid, 316, 2529.
41 Mako, "The Islamization of the Volga Bulghars," 200.
42 *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. Goeje, 270–271.
43 *Kitāb al-aʿlāk al-nafīsa,* ed. Goeje, 141–142.
44 Risāla / Ibn Fadlān, trans. Lunde and Stone.
45 For the map of his journey, see Ibid, 4–25.
46 *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-tashḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin,* ed. al-Tanji, 108; *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 34–35.

information confirms the existence of flourishing fur trade in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Trade was crucial for the Volga Bulghars and conversion to Islam improved their commercial relations with the main partners in the Islamic world such as the Samanids and later the Qarakhanids. The Volga Bulghars became one of the main suppliers of furs to Central Asia.

3.2 *The Ghaznavids*

By the middle of the tenth century, the Turkic *ghulāms* within the Samanid Empire established self-governance in Ghazna in present-day Afghanistan. Under the rule of Sabuktigin (977–997), a slave brought from Turkistan[47] and his son Mahmud (998–1030), the new Turko-Islamic state became one of the key political players in the region. At its zenith, the Ghaznavids, a Persianized Islamic dynasty of Turkic origin, ruled eastern Iran, Khwarazm, Baluchistan, and northwestern India. The dynasty was named after the capital Ghazna in modern scholarship and as mainly known by the name of its founder, Sabuktigin, in primary sources.[48]

The Turks were the largest ethnic component of the Ghaznavid armies, composed mostly of military slaves from different ethnic groups around the Ghaznvaid Empire and its neighbors, such as the Qarluqs, Yaghma, Qay, Tukhsi, Chigil, and later from the Kirghiz, Tatars and Khitans.[49] Therefore, the persistence of nomad practices and culture was essential, at least during the early Ghaznavids. However, the fact that from the very beginning the bureaucratic personnel was made up of Persians, who occupied official positions of all levels from secretaries to viziers, caused the rapid Persianization of the Ghaznavid ruling elite. The Ghaznavid rulers were known as patrons of Persian culture and became culturally Persianized to a higher degree than other contemporary Turko-Islamic dynasties, such as the Qarakhanids and the Saljuqs.[50]

The Ghaznavids shared a border with the Qarakhanids, who were not always good neighbors, especially in the initial stage of the state formation. However, when the Amu Darya formed a border between the Ghaznavid and Qarakhanid territories through a peace treaty, both polities sought to establish diplomatic relations strengthened by marriage alliances. The Qarakhanids served as the

47 Sabuktigin was from Barskhan in the Zhetysu region that corresponds to what is now the northeastern part of Kyrgyzstan.

48 Paul, *Zentralasien*, 2012, 144.

49 Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 109.

50 Clifford E. Bosworth, "Ghaznavids," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 2001), X/6, 578–583, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids.

main suppliers of luxury Chinese commodities into the Ghaznavid realm as a means to gain access to the Indian market.

Relations between the Qarakhanids and the Ghaznavids are very well documented, with detailed information on diplomatic protocols, ceremonial receptions, and gift exchanges with comprehensive lists of commodities presented between the monarchs. I discuss the case of Qarakhanid-Ghaznavid relations in more detail in Chapter 2 to demonstrate the complexity of trade in the Qarakhanid world.

3.3 *The Saljuqs*

The Saljuq Turks, a household from the Qiniq Oghuz group that were known in Islamic sources as the Ghuzz, Turkman or al-Saljūqiyya, dominated the Middle East and Central Asia. These Turks were recent converts to Islam when they began to migrate westward as a military power in the early eleventh century. After the capture of Baghdad in 1055, the leaders of the Saljuqs assumed the title of "Sultan" and considered themselves guardians of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. In the mid-eleventh century, the Saljuqs steadily expanded the territory under their control until they had created an empire stretching from Transoxiana to Anatolia that centered in Iran.[51]

Traditional Turkic political inheritance, which viewed the state as the collective property of the royal clan and divided territory between a deceased leader's sons, fragmented the Saljuq Empire (ca.1040–1194) into sultanates and emirates. The Saljuqs had lost power everywhere by the end of the twelfth century except Anatolia, which was known to Muslim chroniclers as Rum. Therefore, a Saljuq ruler of the Sultanate in Anatolia (ca. 1081–1308) was known in the Islamic world as *Sulṭān al-Rūm* ("Sultan of Rum"), *Ṣāhib al-Rūm* ("Master of Rum") or *Malik al-Rūm* ("King of Rum").[52]

Diplomatic gifts sent from the Qarakhanids serve as a fine illustration of goods that were valued outside of the Qarakhanid realm and could also be involved in trade. The Qarakhanid diplomatic gifts sent to the Saljuq Sultans consisted of horses, clothes, and spices.[53]

---

51 For the early history of the Saljuqs and the formation of the Saljuq Empire, see Andrew C.S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire*.

52 Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The King of the East and the West: The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yildiz (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 79. For the history of the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum, see Peacock and Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*.

53 *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tāʾrīkh al-aʿyān,* ed. Sevim, 172.

By the end of the eleventh century, the Saljuqs, who defeated the Ghaznavids in the battle of Dandanaqan in 1040 and established the Great Saljuq Empire in territories from Khurasan and Iran to Syria and Asia Minor, imposed their formal supremacy on the Qarakhanids. However, the Qarakhanids continued to rule in the region and established close relations with the Saljuq ruling family through marriage alliances. For instance, the first wife of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah I (1072–1092), who was known as Turkan Khatun "The Queen of the Turks" (c. 1055–1094) and enjoyed great influence at court, was a Qarakhanid princess, a daughter of the Tamghach Khan Ibrahim (1038–1068).[54] His son, Shams al-Mulk Nasr ibn Ibrahim (1068–1080), "Master (*Ṣāhib*) of Samarqand, Bukhara, and Mawarannahr," also married Saljuq princesses.[55]

Islamic sources do not contain much information about the Eastern Qarakhanids under the Saljuqs. Ibn al-Athīr recorded that after the conquest of Samarqand in 1089 the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah I reached Kashghar, and his ruler subjected to the Saljuqs and agreed to mention the name of Malik Shah I in *khutba* and coinage.[56] However, Eastern Qarakhanid coins with the names of the Saljuq Sultans have not been found. For this reason, Boris Kochnev assumed that the Saljuqs did not control this territory, or if they did, only for a short period in time.[57]

The Saljuq dominance over the Qarakhanids continued until the battle on the Qatwan steppe in 1141, when the Khitans, who had been defeated by the Jurchens and migrated from China after the collapse of the Liao Empire and established Xi Liao or, as it was known in Islamic sources, the Qara Khitai dynasty (1124–1218), defeated the Sultan of the Saljuq Empire Ahmad Sanjar (1118–1153) and gained supremacy over the region. However, the Qarakhanids did not lose their territories; the Qara Khitai treated them as their subject state and collected annual payments. The interesting thing is that the Saljuqs quickly reestablished their supremacy over the Qarakhanids, at least formally, as the Qarakhanids mentioned the name of Sultan Sanjar in coinage.[58] It may be understood as a system of "dual vassalage" because the Qarakhanids continued to pay the annual tribute to the Qara Khitai.[59] However, it seems that the Qarakhanids generally accepted the Saljuq supremacy and did not consider

54 *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 212; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 187.

55 *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī tāʾrīkh al-aʿyān*, ed. Sevim, 164.

56 *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* ed. Tornberg vol. 10, 113; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 222–223.

57 Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia*, 215, 222.

58 Ibid, 225.

59 For the Qara Khitai political history see Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai.*

themselves a subject state of the Qara Khitai. The annual payment was understood to be part of a peace treaty and taxes for trade, as it had been practiced before during the Liao Empire.

The Qarakhanid coinage with the name of the Qara Khitai suzerains is considered to be non-existent. Written sources, at least, contain no information on this issue. However, Boris Kochnev identified some Qarakhanid coins with the title of the Qara Khitai rulers but immediately added that they are very rare and the Qara Khitai did not pay much attention to the Islamic traditions of the coinage in the Qarakhanid realm.[60]

3.4 *The Khwarazmshahs*

Khwarazm today is a relatively small region that lies in the lower basin of the Amu Darya and its delta in Central Asia. Khwarazm was incorporated into the Ghaznavid Sultanate at the beginning of the eleventh century and governed by Turkic *ghulāms* of the Sultan. Along with the title Amir, the Turkic governors also restored the ancient title "Khwarazmshah" meaning "the King of Khwarazm"[61] used during the Afrighid dynasty (305–995) in Khwarazm. Later when the Saljuqs conquered Khwarazm in 1040, Turkic *ghulāms* continued to be used in the governance of this region. For instance, the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah I appointed Anushtegin Gharchai to this position. During the rule of Malik Shah's son Barkyaruq (1094–1105), the Amir of Khwarazm was Ikkinchi ibn Quchqar. He officially re-established the title "Khwarazmshah." However, the governance later was given to Qutb al-Din Muhammad (1097–1127), the son of Anushtegin Gharchai.[62] The Anushtegin dynasty (1077–1231), known as the Khwarazmshahs initially were the subjects of the Saljuqs and later also accepted a superiority of the Qara Khitai paying an annual tribute, when Sultan Ahmad Sanjar was defeated by the founder of the Qara Khitai Empire Yelü Dashi (1124–1143) on the Qatwan steppe. For a brief period of time, however, Khwarazm became the center of a major empire that ruled over a large part of Central Asia and Iran.

Moreover, in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, Khwarazm under the Anushtegins became a hub of the trade routes known as the "Fur Road," connecting the Volga Region with Transoxiana, Khurasan, and China. Khwarazm

60 Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia*, 225–226.

61 Khwarazmshah ("King of Khwarazm") is the ancient title of this region, in use until the nineteenth century.

62 Clifford E. Bosworth, "Khwarazmshahs i. Descendants of the line of Anuštigin," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 2009), online edition, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/khwarazmshahs-i.

suffered from the Mongol invasion more than the rest of Central Asia and never regained its previous economic and political splendor.

4 The Qarakhanids and the East

The Qarakhanids were surrounded by the steppe empires that rose to power after the collapse of the Tang Empire, the fragmentation of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, and the fall of the Samanid Emirate. The southern and western neighbors of the Qarakhanids were other Turko-Islamic dynasties, while to the east they were bordered by the Xizhou Uyghurs, who were the subjects of the Khitans.

The Khitans were steppe peoples from Manchuria and had once been a part of the Turk Khaganate and the Uyghur Khaganate. They established the Liao Empire in present-day northern China, Mongolia, and part of Siberia and later the Qara Khitai Empire in Central Asia. By the eleventh century, the Liao Empire was very powerful in the region, forcing the Han Chinese Song dynasty to pay an annual tribute.

The Song dynasty succeeded an era of political upheaval known as the period of *Wudai shiguo* (Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, 907–960), which started with the fall of the Tang Empire in 907. Official missions sent to the Song court by the Qarakhanids mainly fall into the time before the Jurchens had invaded Song China in 1127, which later led to the designations "Northern Song" (960–1127) and "Southern Song" (1127–1260).

Song China underwent a phase of economic growth unmatched by any earlier period of Chinese history. However, despite its economic strength, the Song dynasty could not dominate its northern neighbors militarily: they were defeated first by the Khitans and later the Jurchens, who succeeded the Khitans to found the Jin Empire, and the Tanguts, who founded the Xi Xia dynasty and controlled the Hexi Corridor, the most important route from Central Asia to China. The rise of the nomadic powers in the north forced the Song dynasty to modify the traditional structure of foreign relations in China.

4.1 *Song China: Fundamental Transformation and Economic Activism*

Historians generally agree that the period from the late Tang to the Song was one of fundamental change and an essential era in shaping early modern China. Chinese culture and society underwent major transformations and developments in philosophy, science, technology, education, arts, economy, and other spheres. Specifically, a number of major economic changes caused rapid development of commerce that had been not previously observed. For

instance, agricultural productivity increased sharply due to the rise of private property and modifications to the taxation system. Moreover, the previous system of closed and officially controlled city markets was replaced by a network of flexible rural commercial centers that established a national market and linked all areas of commerce to each other. During the transition period from the Tang to the Song, commodities entering the Chinese market expanded from luxury merchandise to daily needs for much of the population. It was a period of the development of transport and communications both overland and sea roads. Moreover, official trade quarters were transformed into autonomous trade associations increasing various kinds of business.[63] These changes expanded local trade and attracted a wave of foreign merchants to the Chinese market.

The reform movement reached its greatest heights during the reign of Emperor Shenzong under the leadership of Wang Anshi (1021–1086), one of the most renowned statesmen in Chinese history. The first of Wang's "new laws" worked to achieve more flexibility and economy in the transportation of tax grain or tribute to the capital. Generally, this law enabled officials to resell collected commodities and use funds at their disposal to obtain goods required by the state at the most suitable time and place. Later the law was extended to all kinds of basic commodities, a move that greatly reduced the cost of government and served to stabilize prices.

Chinese society became increasingly commercialized in the Song dynasty and the development of neo-Confucianism gradually accepted and supported trade as a legitimate profession. Confucian scholars divided Chinese society into four categories. The highest status was held by *shi* scholar-officials, following by *nong* peasants, *gong* craftsmen, and *shang* merchants. During the Song period, scholar-officials started to participate in trade, using intermediary agents.[64] This can be explained by the rise of a new class of scholar-officials who were recruited not only from the aristocracy but also from families of property owners or wealthy merchants and were chosen based on the results of their examinations in the Confucian classics. This means that a new, elite class of civil servants came to power based on merit rather than ancestry.

63 For the great development of commerce during the Song period in China and transformation of Chinese society, see Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, trans. Mark Elvin (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1970). Also see William Guanglin Liu, *Chinese Market Economy*, 1000–1500 (New York: State University of New York Press, 2015).

64 Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion*, 1250–1276 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 68–69.

Therefore, merchants began to gain higher prestige in society and their social status improved significantly.

On the cover of his book on the history of the Song dynasty, Dieter Kuhn pointed out that Song China was "the most advanced civilization on Earth and home to nearly half of humankind."[65] However, the Song, despite its internal development in many areas, was militarily fragile. The new class of scholar-officials did not encourage war, as warfare was discouraged in Confucianism. Therefore, when dealing with foreigners Song emperors sometimes had to act in a way that did not fit with the traditional Chinese world order, where China was considered the center of the world and other polities its tributaries.

The Chinese had had to contend with their northern neighbors, who were mainly pastoral nomads and required Chinese agricultural and manufactured products, well before the Song period. Northerners had raided Chinese territories since ancient times. The Chinese succeeded in conquering and controlling the north during the Han and Tang periods. But when control and defense were not possible, the Chinese had to offer their neighbors something instead of raiding that would bring them mutual benefits. Trade was an option for defense from the northerners for the Chinese and always played a significant role in Sino-nomad relations. Morris Rossabi pointed out that the Chinese originally developed their tributary system of foreign relations as a defense mechanism from peoples in the north.[66] Scholars generally recognize that Chinese emperors were not greatly enriched by diplomatic gifts from foreign rulers; it was the foreigners who were rewarded with valuable gifts, including access to trade in China. Therefore, the paying of "tribute" was not viewed by "tributaries," especially the representatives of more distant territories, as an act of formal submission but rather as a facilitator for trade – the cost of doing business.[67]

Song shi used the classical Chinese term for gifts from foreign rulers, *gong* "tribute," which was also applied to Qarakhanid diplomatic gifts. However, taking into account that Chinese rewards for foreign "tributes" were usually equal or sometimes even more valuable, scholars have suggested translating this term as "gifts."[68] The Song emperors had to be flexible and accept their

65 Dieter Kuhn, *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

66 Rossabi, *China among Equals*, 4.

67 Joseph F. Fletcher, "China and Central Asia, 1368–1884," in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations,* ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 208.

68 James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University, 2007), 73. Also Hansen, "International Gifting," 276.

northern neighbors as equals. China's relationship with foreigners was flexible due to its military weakness compared to its powerful nomadic neighbors such as the Khitans and later the Jurchens. For this reason, Song officials adopted a realistic foreign policy.[69] *Song shi* used different terms for diplomatic gifts: for distant foreign countries, they applied the term *gong*, but for the envoys and gifts from the Khitans and the Jurchens the Chinese normally applied the neutral term *he*, which can be translated as "a congratulatory present." The Khitans also used different terms for the gift exchange with foreigners, mainly *gong*, *he*, *pin,*[70] and *jin*.[71] For instance, *Liao shi* applied the term *gong* for the first envoy from the Qarakhanids and the term *jin* for the next two envoys, who came to request a marriage alliance.

Studies on Song foreign trade mainly concentrate on the advanced technologies in shipbuilding and the development of maritime roads and networks. During the same period, the Song emperors re-opened and developed overland roads connecting China with Central Asia and India that were used by diplomats, merchants, and monks after the stagnation that followed the fall of the Tang. Tansen Sen clearly stated that the data from the Song period demonstrates the increase of monks traveling from India to China comparing to the previous period.[72] Merchants also used the overland roads. The Northern Song scholar Li Xin provided an account about preferences of merchants coming along continental and sea roads:

> 商于海者不宝珠玉则宝犀瑁商于陆者不宝盐铁则宝茶茗[73]
>
> Those who trade by sea, if they do not consider pearl and jade to be precious then they consider rhino horn and tortoiseshells to be precious;

69 Rossabi, *China among Equals*, 4.

70 *Pin* is a term used for gift exchanges between "independent countries." For instance, this term applied to the gifts from the Later Liang, the Later Tang, and the Later Zhou dynasties as well as for the Tatars. However, the Tatars were not independent in that period. Karl A. Wittfogel, and Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907–1125* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949), 346. Valerie Hansen suggests that giving this status to the ancestors of the Mongols suited the conditions of the Mongol period, when *Liao shi* was compiled. Hansen, "International Gifting," 275–276.

71 *Jin* is a term used for gift exchanges. It indicated a gift given from a subordinate to a superior and can be translated as "to offer" or "to present."

72 Sen Tansen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 13.

73 *Kua Ao ji*, 20: 4b.

> those who trade by land, if they do not consider salt and iron to be precious then they consider tea leaves to be precious.

The Khitans and the Tanguts sought to control the overland trade roads between Central Asia and China. Sources from the Song periods depict foreign caravans coming to China via the Khitan and Tangut territories, clearly showing that this control could be negotiated. When the roads were impassable, merchants could use alternative routes to reach China, as Qarakhanid envoys managed to come to the Song via Tibet.

Shiba Yoshinobu, a prominent scholar of Chinese economic history who was active almost a half-century ago, stated that there is a need for more detailed studies of specific aspects of the Song economy, as for studies on the significance of the great development of commerce at this time and its impact to other social changes.[74] Many of these aspects have been covered in recent studies on the history of the Song dynasty.[75] However, research on the impact of the Song commercial transformation on the trade between China and Central Asia and economic changes that occurred in Central Asia remains to be done.

4.2 *Non-Han China: The Liao and the Western Xia*

Song China coexisted with the Khitans and the Tanguts, and later also with the Jurchens, non-Han peoples who controlled major territories that once belonged to the Tang Empire. The Khitans and the Tanguts founded the Liao and the Xi Xia dynasties, which were treated as equals by the Han-Chinese Song dynasty. The Liao is even considered a Chinese dynasty in traditional Chinese historiography and had an official history compiled during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Therefore, even the Qara Khitai dynasty founded by the Khitans in Central Asia was regarded as a Chinese dynasty. But the recognition of the Xi Xia as a legitimate dynasty of China was brought into question during the Yuan period, and an official dynastic history was never completed. However, the Tanguts are considered "Chinese" in contemporary Chinese historiography, along with the Khitans, the Jurchens, the Mongols, and the Manchus.[76]

74 Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 3.

75 For instance, see Rossabi, *China among Equals*; Kuhn, *The Age of Confucian Rule*; Denis C. Twitchett, and Paul Jakov Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of China: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vol. 5, part 1.

76 Michal Biran, "The Non-Han Dynasties," in *The Blackwell Companion of Chinese History,* ed. Michael Szonyi (Oxford: Willey Blackwell, 2017), 130.

By the beginning of the eleventh century the Khitans, former subjects of the Turks, the Uyghurs, and the Tang found themselves in a position of advantage during the disorder in China and on the frontier after the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate in Mongolia and the Tang Empire in China. The Kirghiz from southern Siberia destroyed the Uyghur Khaganate in 840, forcing the Uyghurs to migrate westward, but did not build a new empire, which plunged the steppe into anarchy. For the Kirghiz, a relationship with China and other sedentary civilizations was not a priority. Thomas Barfield specified that it was the main reason for the Kirghiz failure in the region. The Kirghiz looted the Uyghur capital Ordu-Baliq without revitalizing it by restoring connections with China.[77] This was beneficial for the Khitans who established the Liao Empire in a vast region of Manchuria, northern China, and Mongolia after the fall of the Tang. The Kirghiz and other remaining Turkic elements were driven away from Mongolia and starting from this period, Mongolic peoples dominated in the region. Mongolia became what it is now: Mongolian.

The Khitan expansion of the former Tang territories in the north continued even after the founding of the Song dynasty in 960. The Song-Khitan confrontation ended with the Chanyuan treaty signed in 1005 and the Song agreed to pay the Liao 200,000 bolts (*pi*) of silk and 100,000 taels (*liang*) of silver, officially recorded as a "contribution to military expenses." The Liao and the Song emperors called each other "elder brother" depending on which emperor was born first. Valerie Hansen marked that it was the beginning of a new era in which the Khitans received great wealth and became the leading military power of East Asia.[78] However, more than half of the annual silver payment was returned to the Song through trade with the Liao.[79] Therefore, this agreement was beneficial for both sides. Moreover, the Chanyuan treaty clearly defined the frontier and contributed to the long-term stability that enabled commercial relations between the two empires during the eleventh century.

The Liao depended on trade with the Song and managed to build an effective network of overland and sea routes.[80] The Khitans transported horses,

77 Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China 221 B.C. to AD 1757* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 164–165. For the geopolitical change in China and Inner Asia after the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate in Mongolia, also see Michael R. Drompp, *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire: A Documentary History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 197–207.

78 Hansen, "International Gifting," 273.

79 For the details of the Chanyuan treaty, see Herbert Franke, and Denis Crispin Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), vol. 6, 108–110.

80 Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 97.

sheep, fur items, woolen cloth, carpets, brocade, gold and silver objects, iron suits of armor, slaves, and lumber to Song China. The Song trade commodities shipped to the Khitan realm included silk and silk brocade, tea, weapons, marine products, ginger, orange peel, sappanwood, medicines, and gold and silver objects. Exotic goods from Southeast Asia such as incense, spices, tortoiseshell, ivory, pearls, rhino horn, cassia, and probably coral were also shipped via Song China.[81] The Khitans also exchanged commodities with the Korean kingdom of Koryŏ (918–1392), which sent annual delegations to the Liao court. Additionally, various peoples living in the north of the Liao Empire regularly sent horses, camels, and fur items as tax payments.[82] The list of these commodities gives us an understanding of trade markets in Liao China and what the Khitans were able to export to their northern and western neighbors.

The Khitans' nearest neighbors in the west were the Tanguts, who originated from the region that includes eastern Tibet, Sichuan, and Gansu, and who founded the Xi Xia Empire after successful campaigns in the Hexi Corridor, the main section of the continental Silk Roads that connected Central Asia with China.

The Tanguts were known in Chinese historical sources as Dangxiang from the seventh century. The name "Tangut" itself first appeared in Orkhon Turkic inscriptions from the eighth century and was also mentioned in Sogdian and Khotanese texts in slightly different forms.[83] However, it is known that the Tanguts used for self-designation the name "Mi-nyag," and the leading dynasty borrowed the Tang imperial name Li.[84]

The Tangut state was founded in 982 and formally proclaimed as the Xi Xia dynasty in 1038. The Tangut Empire lasted nearly two hundred years and was destroyed by the Mongols in 1227. At its height, the Tanguts ruled over a multiethnic population in the territory of the Ordos and the Hexi Corridors including Chinese, Tibetans, Uyghurs, and different Qiang and Turkic groups. Therefore, in addition to the Tangut language, Chinese and Tibetan were also officially recognized at the Tangut court. Moreover, the administration followed mainly Chinese models: officials studied Chinese classics both in the original and through Tangut translations in their own writing system. Tibetan

81 Ibid, 97; Hansen "International Gifting," 276–280.

82 Hansen, "International Gifting," 280–283.

83 Evgenii I. Kychanov, *Ocherk istorii tangutskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 21; Ruth W. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), xiii.

84 For more details, see Ruth W. Dunnell, "Who are the Tanguts? Remarks on Tangut Ethnogenesis and the Ethnonym Tangut," *Journal of Asian History* 18, no. 1 (1984): 78–89.

lamas enjoyed high status at court, as Buddhism was recognized as a state religion and was patronized by the Tangut emperors.

The Tanguts were dependent on the overland trade. Unlike the Khitans, they did not have access to the sea roads and ports connecting them with Song China. The Tanguts had limited resources, so they sought to strengthen their control over trade roads from the west by expanding into the Hexi Corridor. But until the twelfth century, despite their central location, the Tanguts had less trade with the Song than the Khitans or even the Qarakhanids, who had to cross the Hexi Corridor to reach Song China. This is explained by the Tangut's military ambitions, which cause a prolonged war with the Song and sometimes also with the Khitans and the Qarakhanids. The Tangut-Song confrontation finally ended with a treaty in 1044. The Song emperor agreed to send 50,000 taels (*liang*) of silver, 130,000 bolts (*pi*) of silk and 30,000 catties (*jin*) of tea. However, a sizable portion of that silver flowed back into Song China as a result of trade.[85] The treaty between the Song and the Xi Xia was also beneficial for Qarakhanid merchants who poured into China after a long interruption due to the military confrontation between the two empires. The Tanguts transported horses, sheep, cattle, camels, and various western goods that they obtained from Qarakhanid merchants to China. The price of a horse during the Song period was equivalent to twenty bolts (*pi*) of silk or 50 kg of tea,[86] which demonstrates that horses were exchanged mainly for silk and tea at this period.

After the fall of the Liao Empire, the Tanguts established diplomatic relations with the Jurchens and continued trade contacts with its western neighbors throughout the twelfth century, when Central Asia was mostly under the control of the the Qara Khitai. During the Qara Khitai period, Qarakhanid merchants could freely reach at least Turfan, which was also under the Qara Khitai rule as well as have access to the Tangut and Jurchen markets, but nothing is known about Qarakhanid trade in the Southern Song. It seems that from the twelfth century the Tanguts borrowed the role of the Qarakhanids in international trade and acted as middlemen between Central Asia and China.

4.3 *People in the Middle: Uyghurs and Tibetans*

Before coming to Song China, the Qarakhanids passed through the Hexi Corridor, which was under the control of the Ganzhou Uyghurs and later the Tanguts. Additionally, the Qarakhanids bordered with the Xizhou Uyghurs, which had to be crossed to reach the Khitan realm. In theory, Qarakhanid missions could then continue to Song China. They also used the road via the

85 Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 100–101.

86 Ibid, 101–102.

Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom. The Ganzhou Uyghurs, the Xizhou Uyghurs, and the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom appeared in separate sections in Song sources.

After the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate some Uyghurs migrated to the west fleeing from the Kirghiz attack, and established new polities in Gansu and the Tarim Basin. The first group was known as the Ganzhou Uyghurs and "the other descendants of Xiongnu"[87] in Song sources. They succeded in building a new Khaganate and controlling the Hexi Corridor Road in the tenth–eleventh centuries until the Tangut conquest. However, even during the Tangut rule, the Ganzhou Uyghurs continued to be active in commercial affairs and sent trade missions to the Northern Song court.[88] The Uyghur group that flourished in Turfan was recorded as Xizhou Uyghurs and Gaochang in Song dynasty sources.[89] Michael Drompp pointed out several factors that allowed the Uyghurs to build their polities in Gansu and the Tarim Basin, such as the fall of the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th centuries), the failure of the Kirghiz to extend their power to the west, and the Chinese lack of interest in controlling affairs in the distant regions, as well as the fact that the Uyghurs were familiar with the Tarim Basin and had had control over the region at various times during the imperial period.[90] The Hexi Corridor was the main passage for Qarakhanid envoys and caravans at the beginning of the eleventh century. Later they used an alternative road via the Qinghai region in Tibet.

The Qarakhanids sought to establish themselves as middlemen between the Turko-Islamic and the Sino-Tibetan worlds, sending envoys and merchants to polities in Tibet and China along the overland roads. Starting in the second half of the eleventh century their envoys came to Song China via the lands of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom. Tsongkha rulers became the main trade partners of the Qarakhanids in Tibet and provided guides and interpreters for Qarakhanid envoys, who accompanied them to China. Chinese historical records are more informative about diplomacy and trade between the Qarakhanids and the

87 *Song shi*, 490: 14114.

88 It was only during the *Xuanhe* era (1119–1125) when the Ganzhou Uyghurs were not allowed to come to the Song court and trade due to the interdict of the Song emperor, *Song shi*, 490: 14118. For the early history of the Ganzhou Uyghurs, see Elisabeth Pinks, *Die Uiguren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit* (*960–1028*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968).

89 *Song shi*, 490: 14119. For the history and culture of the Uyghurs in Turfan, see Annemarie von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo* (*850–1250*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), 2 vols.

90 Drompp, *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire,* 197–198.

Tsongkha kingdom. In contrast, Qarakhanid and other Islamic sources provide a very small window on relations with China and Tibet.[91]

Islamic contact with the Tibetans began in the eighth century with military confrontation. It was later intensified by trade, mainly in musk, which was transported from Tibet to the central parts of the Islamic world.[92] Information about Tibet gathered during this historical phase continued to be used even after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, despite being out of date. This makes any research on Tibet and its contacts with the Islamic world in the pre-Mongol period more complicated. Therefore, Qarakhanid-Tsongkha relations have not attracted much scholarly attention and there are not many studies on this issue. In this yein, I can only mention Bianca Horlemann's study on the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom and its relations with neighbor states, wherein the author briefly discussed Tsongkha-Khotan interactions.[93] I am not aware of the existence of any records of Qarakhanid-Tsongkha relations in Tibetan sources. Tibetan texts of this period are mainly religious.[94] Therefore, a depiction of Qarakhanid-Tsongkha relations in Tibet-language sources is unlikely.

With the collapse of the Tibetan Empire in 842, Tibet disintegrated into a number of principalities and until the Mongols, no single polity ruled all of Tibet. This complicates research on international relations between Tibet and its neighbors.[95] The northeast of Tibetan Amdo, which currently corresponds to the territory divided between Chinese provinces Qinghai, Sichuan, and Gansu, was occupied by the Tsongkha kingdom.[96] According to the Chinese

---

91 For Islamic sources on relations between Central Asia and China during the Qarakhanids, see Anya King, "Eastern Islamic Rulers and the Trade with Eastern and Inner Asia in the 10th–11th Centuries," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 25 (2011): 175–85.

92 For the Tibetan military assistance to the Turgesh in fighting against the Arabs, see Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 108–121. For the Tibetan Musk trade, see Anna Akasoy, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, "Along the Musk Routes: Exchanges between Tibet and the Islamic World," *Asian Medicine* 3 (2007): 217–240; Anna Akasoy. Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, eds., *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

93 Bianca Horlemann, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Tsong-kha-Stammeskonföderation im 11./12. Jahrhundert an der Schnittstelle von Tibet, China und Zentralasien* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 100–102.

94 For the discussion of Tibetan texts dealing with this period, see Luciano Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols," in *China among Equals: the Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th centuries,* ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: California University Press, 1983), 174.

95 Ibid, 173.

96 For the political history of the Tsongkha kingdom, see Horlemann, *Aufstieg und Niedergang*.

historical records, the founder of the Tsongkha kingdom, Gusiluo (997–1065; reigned 1008–1065), was originally from the royal family of the former Tibetan Empire.[97] He was also mentioned as a person from Qocho, a kingdom in Turfan ruled by the Uyghur Idiquts. The Xizhou Uyghurs were a multi-ethnic society with different colonies. Therefore, Gusiluo was not necessarily Uyghur. He could also have been from a Tibetan settlement in Qocho.[98]

Tsongkha was usually referred to generally as Tubo[99] and more specifically as Qingtang[100] which was the capital of the kingdom located near the present-day Xining in Qinghai Province. It was a common practice in Chinese traditional historiography to apply designations of central cities to foreign states. In some particular cases, the names of Tsongkha rulers were also used as a designation of the dynasty and the state itself. Qarakhanid and other Islamic sources applied the geographical term Tubbat (Tibet), which was used by Arab-Persian authors starting in the ninth century.[101] However, the usage of the term is not always clear. Muslim authors did not point to which particular state the term was applied. Moreover, they also frequently used irrelevant information that had been collected during earlier periods. At the same time, some works by Central Asian authors contain descriptions of Tibet, which may refer to Tsongkha. These accounts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The Tsongkha kingdom bordered with the Uyghurs and the Tanguts in the north, Central Tibet in the west, and Northern Song China in the east, and was thus located in the center of the Ancient Tea Horse Road. This trade network originated during the Tang and flourished during the Song period.[102] Therefore, the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom occupied a key position in diplomacy and trade with neighboring countries. The ruler of Tsongkha sent an envoy to China for the first time in 1015 and followed a policy of friendship

97 *Song shi*, 492: 14160. Also see Petech, "Tibetan Relations," 176.

98 For the origin of Gusiluo, see Bianca Horlemann, "On the Origin of Jiaosiluo, the Founder of the Tsong kha Tribal Confederation in 11th Century Amdo," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005): 127–54.

99 *Song shi*, 492: 14151–14168.

100 *Song shi*, 490: 14109, 14124.

101 *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam,* trans. Minorsky, 92–94; *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 339*; Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 27–29. Also see Anna Akasoy, "Tibet in Islamic Geography and Cartography: A Survey of Arabic and Persian Sources," in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes,* ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 17–41.

102 For the Ancient Tea-Horse Road, see Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1991); Andrew Forbes, and David Henley, *China's Ancient Tea Horse Road* (Chiang Mai: Cognoscenti Book, 2011).

with the Northern Song.[103] Tsongkha rulers also sought diplomatic contacts with the Liao dynasty and sent seven missions to the Liao court from 1051 to 1104.[104] According to *Wenchang zalu*, they were connected with the Uyghurs, Tanguts, and Qarakhanids.[105] These connections facilitated the movement of trade commodities to China.

5 Conclusion

In the tenth century, Turkic peoples started "the first civilizational divide in their history"[106] through conversion to Islam. Newcomers in the central Islamic lands via conversion quickly took leadership positions in military and administrative institutions. The mass Islamization process among the Turkic peoples in the Eurasian steppes brought about the creation of the first Turko-Islamic culture and the new image of the Turks spread through the Islamic world and China.

After the rise of the first Turko-Islamic empires, the Turks, who were represented as enemies of Islam in the early ʿAbbasid period, began to be characterized by Arab and Persian writers as "pure Muslims" originating from the Iranian world. Muslim historians who served Turkic rulers argued that the Turks were the descendants of Afrasiyab, a legendary king of Turan in ancient Iranian mythology.[107] This contributed to the new positive image of the Turks in the Islamic world and reflected on their representation in China. The Turks rapidly began to be closely associated with Islamic culture in Chinese historiography.

By the eleventh century, the Qarakhanids incorporated the kingdoms of Khotan and Kucha into the Khaganate and obtained direct access to the main trade routes of the northern and southern Silk Roads. Their Islamic culture served as a tool to enter and become a part of the Muslim world. At the same time, the Qarakhanids preserved their Turko-nomadic traditions and heritage, which facilitated their commercial presence in the East.

103 *Song shi*, 8: 158; 492: 14161.

104 *Liao shi*, 20: 243, 246; 22: 268, 270; 23: 277, 320, 321.

105 *Wenchang zalu,* 1: 2. For relations between Tsongkha and Uyghur principalities in Gansu, Kucha and Turfan, see Bianca Horlemann, "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong Kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet,* ed. Matthew Kapstein, and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 88–100.

106 Carter V. Findley, *The Turks in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 56.

107 For the new perspective on the Turks in the late Arabic historiography, also see Frenkel, *The Turkic Peoples*, 21–24.

CHAPTER 2

Between the Islamic World and Liao China

1 Introduction

The Qarakhanid Khaganate, known in Song China as Khotan (Yutian), as well as other territories of the west that had previously been known as the Western Regions (Xiyu), was classified as *waiguo* "outside country" in *Song shi* and appeared in Chapter 490 together with India (Tianzhu), Turfan (Gaochang), the Ganzhou Uyghurs (Huigu), Arab and non-Arab Islamic polities (Dashi), the Saljuq Empire (Cengtan), the Kucha Kingdom (Qiuci), Dunhuang (Shazhou), and Rum (Fulin).[1] The term "Western Regions" was mainly used in *Song shi* to mean India in the context of Indian Buddhist monks who had traveled to China.

The unique geographical and political position of the Qarakhanids demonstrates on the one hand how closely they were connected to the Chinese world by controlling the former "indirect" territories of China and later being under the sinicized Qara Khitai supremacy. The Qara Khitai not only incorporated Transoxiana, Zhetysu, and Kashgharia into their empire, but also established their domain in Turfan as a suzerain of the Uyghur Idiquts and established trade networks in these territories, simplifying the process of trade. On the other hand, the Qarakhanids also had direct access to the trade network of the Islamic world through their relations with the Ghaznavids, the Saljuqs, and the Khwarazmshahs. Islamic sources recorded gift and commodities exchanges between the Qarakhanids and other Turko-Islamic dynasties, which informs us not only about luxury goods coming from other parts of the Islamic world to the Qarakhanids but also about Chinese commodities that reached the Islamic world via the Qarakhanids. This information cannot be obtained from Chinese sources, since the latter only recorded goods coming to China from the Qarakhanid realm. The list of these gifts not only gives us an idea of what kinds of commodities a particular state was able to send but also gives an idea of what may have traveled with merchants between the Islamic and Chinese worlds.

1 *Song shi,* 490: 14103–14125. Some materials used in this chapter were initially published in: Dilnoza Duturaeva, "Between the Silk and Fur Roads: Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade," *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 28 (2016): 173–212.

As mentioned above the Qarakhanids established diplomatic relations with most of the neighboring Turko-Islamic dynasties, strengthened by marriage alliances. The Qarakhanids also frequently sent official envoys to the ʿAbbasid Caliphs in Baghdad. Ibn al-Fuwatī (1244–1326), in his biographical dictionary, using contemporary sources that have not survived, recorded that the Qarakhanid ruler Ibrahim ibn Nasr, who was known as *Tafghāch al-Tūrkistānī*, sent annual envoys to the court of Caliph al-Qa'im (1031–1075).[2] Ibn al-Fuwatī did not provide information on gift exchanges during these visits. Arab envoys in the land of the Turks used luxurious robes ("robes of honor"), veils, pepper, millet, bread, raisins, and walnuts as diplomatic gifts, as they were so highly prized by the Turks that they did not allow passage through their lands if they did not receive them.[3] What could the Qarakhanids present to the Caliphs or other Muslim rulers? They sent indigenous products as well as trade commodities coming from other places. The Qarakhanid poet Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib from Balasaghun recorded that they obtained from merchants all the worlds' rarities, including sable fur, silk from China (Khitāy), and pearls.[4]

The Qarakhanids selected well-qualified envoys and trained them extensively. For instance, the Qarakhanid mirror for princes *Qutadghu Bilig* provided a long list of requirements for a good envoy (*yalawach*):

> The envoy ought to be choicest of mankind, wise, intelligent and courageous … the envoy must be intelligent, steady, and wise, and a good interpreter of words … He should be loyal, content in eye and heart, reliable, sincere and upright … He should be modest, quiet-mannered, and discreet, but also worldly-wise … he should know how to draw up all sorts of documents, how to read and write, and how to listen … He should be not only well-read and well-spoken, but also well-versed in poetry and himself able to compose. He ought further to have some knowledge of astrology and medicine, and the interpretation of dreams, also arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and cadaster. Then he should be able to play backgammon and chess, well enough to make his rivals howl. He should excel in polo and in archery, also in fowling and in hunting. Finally, he must know all tongues when he opens his mouth to speak, and know all scripts when he takes pen to hand … The man sent as envoy must be very virtuous, excelling his adversaries in every kind of negotiation … He

2 *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb fi muʿjam al-alqāb*, ed. Jawar, 650–651; for the Qarakhanid envoys to the Caliphs, also see *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* ed. Tornberg vol. 9, 212–213; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* trans. and ed. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 186, 188.

3 *Risāla* / Ibn Fadlān, trans. Lunde and Stone, 14, 17, 19, 21.

4 *Qutadghu Bilig,* trans. Dankoff 58; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 445.

> should be able to grasp what people say quickly and to be ready with the proper answer. So he must not drink wine but rather must keep in control of himself … He must have a good mind and a skilled tongue … He should be handsome of appearance, neat and trim, and of good stature. And he should be valiant and high-minded – these two qualities are the measure of a man's worth. Finally, he should be soft-spoken and honey-tongued, for the great and the small alike soften at sweet words.[5]

To sum up, Qarakhanid envoys should be intelligent and well-educated, proficient in foreign languages and scripts, poetry and science, archery and hunting, polo and chess, have good manners and appearance, and be lifelong teetotalers.

What did the Qarakhanids import to the Islamic world? Diplomatic gifts sent from the Qarakhanids serve as a fine illustration of commodities that were prized in the Islamic world and could also be involved in trade. The Qarakhanids supplied local products from Turkistan and rarities brought from China, such as silk and various type of fine fabrics, precious metals such as gold and silver, and high-quality Chinese vessels. The Qarakhanids also had access to the spice-trade network of China and India via well-established relations with the Liao and the Song dynasties in China and the Ghaznavids in Khurasan and al-Hind.

Qarakhanid relations with the Ghaznavids are well documented, especially compared to other polities in the Islamic world. Therefore, this case will be used to demonstrate the Qarakhanid diplomacy and commercial activity in the region. During the same period, the Qarakhanids were the nearest Muslim neighbors of the Liao emperors in China, who sought to establish contact with the Islamic world more than other Sinitic dynasties of the era. The Khitans not only established marriage relations with the Qarakhanids, but also (probably under their influence) sent an official envoy to Ghazna seeking a marriage alliance with Sultan Mahmud. In this chapter, I will also discuss the Liao case to illustrate the role of the Qarakhanids in Sino-Islamic relations.

2 Gifting between the Qarakhanids and the Islamic World: The Ghaznavid Case

The political alliance with the Ghaznavids opened access to the Indian trade network and luxury goods for the Qarakhanids. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, who intended to strengthen his northern borders, sent an envoy to the

5 *Qutadghu bilig,* trans. Dankoff, 125–127; for the Turkic, text see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 273–280.

Qarakhanid court in 1001 to establish a peace treaty through a marriage alliance. The Ghaznavid historian al-ʿUtbī (d. 1023), who served as a court secretary, recorded the luxury goods coming from the Ghaznavid to the Qarakhanid realm:

> Curious pieces of pure gold with jacinths and rubies;
> Chains of great and small pearls;
> Gifts of robes;
> Eggs of amber;
> Vessels of gold and silver full of perfumes of camphor and other productions of the provinces of India made from frankincense-bearing trees;
> Damascus scimitars;
> War elephants adorned with many colored trappings and jeweled bits;
> Celebrated horses with ornaments and head-trappings of gold.[6]

In the long list of gifts, only horses were indigenous products of the nomads in the Ghaznavid land. Chinese sources also confirm a great deal of horse and camel breeding in the Ghaznavid realm.[7] The majority of items in the list came from India, such as various precious stones, pearls, perfumery, and elephants. However, some of these goods were not produced in India. Camphor, for instance, came to the land of the Ghaznavids from Southeast Asia. The main exporter of camphor was the city-state Sanfoqi (Srivijaya),[8] which also controlled passages from Arabia to China.[9] Another interesting gift mentioned in this list is frankincense, which was one of the most treasured drugs and aromatics in international trade and especially prized in Song China. In the eleventh century, frankincense was mainly produced in South Arabia and transported to Song China via Southeast Asia in a major scope by maritime road.[10] However, in the list of the Ghaznavid goods, we can see how this item from South Arabia arrived via Ghazna to the Qarakhanids, who then transported it to China via overland road. Frankincense is also native to India and traded in the region. However, Indian frankincense and its production are rarely mentioned in historical narratives of the relevant period. It seems that there was less demand for Indian frankincence in the Islamic world. For instance, al-Bīrūnī recorded

6 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 316.

7 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans Hirth and Rockhill, 138.

8 Sanfoqi or Srivijaya was a city-state located on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia.

9 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans Hirth and Rockhill, 60–62, 193–194.

10 Angela Schottenhammer, "Transfer of Xiangyao 香藥 from Iran and Arabia to China – A Reinvestigation of Entries in the Youyang zazu 酉陽雜俎 (863)," in *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea,* ed. Ralph Kauz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 130.

that the quality of Indian frankincense was lower comaparable to the Arabian variety.[11] Likely for this reason, Arabian frankincense was more prized in Central Asia and China during the eleventh century.

The Qarakhanids had also been interested in an agreement with the Ghaznavids and sent a Qarakhanid princess to marry Sultan Mahmud providing luxurious goods from their realm:

> The unequaled pearl found in Turkistan;
> Valuable specimens of the purchased articles of Turkistan;
> Pure gold and silver;
> Sweet musk;
> High-bred horses;
> Moon-faced slaves;
> Well-featured girls;
> White falcons;
> Packets of peacock feathers;
> Ermines;
> Tawny skins;
> Exquisite China vessels;
> Beautiful fabrics.[12]

The list demonstrates that the Qarakhanids were capable of exporting not only local products but also commodities from China such as fine vessels and fabrics that most likely refer to Chinese porcelain and silk. Chinese porcelain became highly developed during the Song dynasty. For instance, blue and white porcelain, which was a highly prized commodity of the medieval world, was one of the greatest inventions of Song China[13] and it was shipped to the West not only via maritime roads but also by the Qarakhanids via the Tangut and Uyghur territories. For instance, examples of porcelain imported from China were unearthed in the Afrasiyab site in Samarqand, the capital of the western Qarakhanids.[14] Recent discoveries of the c. 50,000 pottery shards in the medieval citadel of Taraz, both of local manufacture and imported from

11 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 291, Arabic text, 329–330.

12 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī,* trans. Reynolds, 317. This marriage alliance was also mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr and al-Qarshī. *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh,* ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 133; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh,* trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 177; *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 105–107.

13 Adam T. Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–9.

14 Ludmila Sokolovskaia and Axelle Rougeulle, "Stratified Finds of Chinese Porcelains from Pre-Mongol Samarkand (Afrasiyab)," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 6 (1992): 87–98. I will discus the porcelain trade in Chapter 6.

other regions of the Khaganate indicate the role of the Qarakhanids in ceramic trade.[15] However, it should be noted that porcelain ware was fragile and probably, for this reason, merchants preferred to transport it by sea. That explains the rarity of finding of porcelain samples along the continental Silk Road cities during the pre-Mongol period.

The Qarakhanids offered musk, which was a class of aromatic substances commonly used as base notes in perfumery and highly prized in the Islamic world. It was a standard component of descriptions of paradise and much celebrated in Islamic poetry.[16] An interesting fact is that musk was not produced in central parts of the Islamic world but was imported from Central Asia. There were several types of musk based on geographical origin, the best one of which, according to the Ghaznavid scholar al-Bīrūnī, was Khitan (Qitāy) musk.[17] Tibet had been also one of the main exporters of musk to the Islamic world since the eighth century. Tibetan musk first arrived in Transoxiana and India, and then passed further to the Islamic world by land and maritime roads respectively.[18] The Qarakhanids continued to obtain musk from Tibet and like the Sogdian merchants shipped it to other Muslim states.[19]

According to the list, it seems that in the slave trade the Qarakhanids had also replaced that of the Samanids, who were one of the main suppliers of slaves in the Islamic world. By the ninth century, the Samanids had developed a brisk trade in slaves coming from the steppe zones, chiefly Turkic nomads captured in warfare.[20] The Samanids turned this not only into a highly profitable business but also used slaves as a portion of their taxes and gifts. Turkish military slaves, as well as slave girls from Bukhara and concubines from Samarqand, were described as one of the wonders of the world in Islamic sources.[21] Kashghar markets were famous for commodities imported from China and slave trade in the Turko-Islamic world during the Qarakhanids.[22]

15 Dawkes, and Jorayev, "A Case of an Early Islamic city in Transoxiana," 23.

16 For the value and descriptions of musk in Arabic sources, see Akasoy and Yoeli-Tlalim, "Along the Musk Routes," 217–240; Anya King, "The Importance of Imported Aromatics in Arabian Culture: Illustrations from Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 175–189.

17 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb,* ed. and trans. Said, 304, Arabic text 345; Said reads Qitāy as Qunāi'. Karimov reads this word correctly as Qitāy, see *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb,* trans. Karimov, 810.

18 King, "Eastern Islamic Rulers," 148.

19 For the description on Tibetan musk dears, see *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 339.

20 Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, 64–66.

21 *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, trans. Bosworth, 145–146.

22 *Siyāsatnāma,* trans. Darke, 155.

Not only official envoys but also meetings between monarchs were organized. Conflicts between two newly islamized Turkic states were surpassed by friendly contacts and frequently marriage alliances. The Ghaznavid historian Gardizī recorded an official meeting in 1025 between Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and the Qarakhanid ruler Yusuf Qadir Khan in Samarqand. Yusuf Qadir Khan who was "the leader in all Turkistan and the Great Khan"[23] arrived from Kashghar to personally meet Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

Per diplomatic protocol, both sides exchanged opulent gifts. The Ghaznavids presented highly prized commodities from Khurasan, India, West Asia, and Transcaucasia, demonstrating that the Ghaznavids had been also actively involved in the maritime trade:

> Gold and silver vessels;
> Precious stones;
> Rarities from Baghdad;
> Fine fabrics;
> Priceless weapons;
> Costly horses with gold bridles and goads studded with jewels;
> Ten female elephants with gold bridles and goads studded with jewels;
> Camels from Barda'a[24] with gold trappings;
> Litters for camels with gold and silver sticks, belts and bells;
> Litters with embroidered brocade and woven patterns;
> Precious carpets from Armenia, *uwaysi* and multicolored rugs;
> Pieces of embroidered cloth;
> Rose-colored fabric from Tabaristan with decoration;
> Indian swords;
> *Qamari* aloes;[25]

23 *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 187.

24 Barda'a or Bardha'a – the chief city of the Islamic province Arran (in eastern Transcaucasia) until the tenth century; present-day Barda city in Azerbaijan. During this time, Barda'a, like Arran in general, retained a substantial proportion of Christians and barely counted as one of the lands of Islam. The Caliphs periodically appointed governors and Muslims had settled in this region but the majority of the population remained Christian until Timur Kuragan (1370–1405) invaded this region in the end of the fourteenth century, when this land became Turkic and Islamic, forming present-day Azerbaijan. Clifford E. Bosworth, "Bardha'a," *Encyclopædia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater* (*New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1988*), III/7, 779–780, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bardaa-or-bardaa-arm.

25 *'ūd-i Qamārī* – incense widely used in the Islamic world for religious and special occasions. In Arabic, it was understood to mean "the wood of the moon." However, this is a corruption from the *'ūd-i Qimārī*, which means "Khmer aloe." Qimār is an Arabic name

Maqasiri sandalwood;[26]
Grey amber;
Female donkeys;
Skins of Barbary[27] panthers;
Hunting dogs;
Falcons and eagles trained to hunt cranes;
Gazelles and other game animals.[28]

Among the list of gifts that ordered to be given by the Qarakhanid ruler to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna are commodities from Turkistan, Song and Liao China:

Fine horses with gold trappings,
Turkic slaves (*ghulāmān-i Turk*) with gold belts and quivers,
Falcons and hawks,
Sable, squirrel, ermine and fox furs,
Vessels made from leather skins,
Khutū horns,
Rare cloth and Chinese brocade,
Chinese *dārkhāshāk*[29] and suchlike.[30]

The Qarakhanids traded indigenous products obtained from nomadic groups, as well as Chinese fabrics. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī listed some types of Chinese fabrics that circulated in the Qarakhanid realm: *juz* (Chinese blankets from red gilded brocade), *kaz*, *zunkum, qajaj, jīt* and *lukhtāy* (types of Chinese brocade), *shalāshū* (a type of Chinese cloth), *kanzī* (Chinese cloth in red, yellow and green colors), *jinakhsī, takhjak* and *khuling* (Chinese silk).[31] Among the Qarakhanid gifts was also *khutū,* a highly prized commodity in the Islamic world. *Khutū* refers to walrus tusk and narwhal horn from the Khitan realm.

---

of the Khmer Empire (9th–13th centuries) in Southeast Asia (present Cambodia). Cyril Glassé, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Islam* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 47.

26 *Sandal-i maqāṣirī* – tawny, fawn-colored white sandalwood was a medical treasure traded in the Islamic world. *Ṭabīblik kitābī,* ed. and trans. Károly, 312.

27 Barbary is a historical name for the region of North Africa extending from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean.

28 *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 188–189.

29 It could be a combination of the words *dārū* (medicine, drug) and *khāshāk* (leaves, sprigs). The term could be used for some Chinese medicine as well as for Chinese tea. Also see the section on the Qinghai Road: Tea and Horse Trade in Chapter 6.

30 *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 189.

31 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 319–320, 397, 418, 442, 448, 451, 679, 829, 921, 1017.

It was used to make hilts for swords and knives and was valued for its supposed ability to indicate the presence of poison.[32] The word *khutū* first appeared in Islamic sources in the tenth century when the Khitans founded the Liao Empire in China, and was closely associated with the commodity imported from China and the land of the Turks.[33] Due to the steppe origin of the Khitans and their sinicized culture, they were considered Turkic by one group of Muslim authors[34] and Chinese according to another.[35] That explains the contradiction in the geographical origin of the *khutū* ivory provided in Islamic sources, and since this Khitan product was transported to the Islamic world via the Qarakhanids, the "Land of Turks" could also indicate the Qarakhanid realm. For instance, al-Bīrūnī provided the following description of *khutū* that he obtained from the Khitan envoy:

> The emissary of Khitans [Qitāy] has stated that *khutū* is the forehead of bullock. People keep it with them, for, if it is brought close to a poison, it becomes wet. Some have said that it is a bone from the forehead of rhinoceros, which is "water elephant." Yet others have suggested that such a bullock is indigenous to the region of Kirghiz. Some gone further and said that the animal is endemic to islands and its flesh is so profuse that it hangs down and is easily stripped off.[36]

At the same time, *Liao shi* gives another explanation of *khutū,* which is known as *guduoxi* (*guduo* horn) in Chinese:

> 梢柮犀千歲蛇角，又為篤訥犀。
>
> *Guduoxi* is the horn of a thousand-year-old snake, it is also *dunexi.*[37]

---

32 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 905. The word *khutū* is written as *jutuq* (*chutuq*) in *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* which is the result of scribe's miscopying the correct *khutū.* Robert Dankoff, "A Note on khutū and chatuq," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 4 (1973): 542–43.

33 For the usage of the word *khutū* and its association with the Khitans in Muslim sources, see Anya King, "Early Islamic Sources on the Kitan Liao: The Role of Trade," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 253–271.

34 *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 275; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh,* ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 209–210, 355–356; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 183–184, 211–212; *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saljūkiyya*, trans. Bosworth, 47, 65.

35 *Jahānnāma,* ed. Borshchevskii, 39; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,* trans. Raverty, vol. 2, 900.

36 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 141, for the Arabic text, see 174. I slightly modified the translation.

37 *Liao shi,* 116: 1549.

Here "a thousand-year-old snake" may refer to the narwhal. The Khitans probably applied this term to horns of different kinds of animals.

The Ghaznavids seem to have sought good relations with the Qarakhanids despite frequent territorial disputes and conflicts, through marriage alliances and organizing grand reception ceremonies for Qarakhanid ambassadors.[38] The Ghaznavids were keen to keep the peace with the Qarakhanids in order to maintain their access to the slave trade and commodities from China. It is probably from the Qarakhanids that Emperor Shengzong of Liao (982–1031) obtained information about the Ghaznavids in Khurasan and India, and decided to establish close relations with them, sending an envoy passing the Qarakhanid territory, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3 Gifting between the Qarakhanids and the Sinitic World: The Liao Case

The Qarakhanid territory was the closest Muslim state to China that was not directly involved in the rapidly developing global maritime trade. Therefore, they were interested in greater contact with China via overland passages to gain access to beautiful Chinese fabrics, porcelain, tea and other luxurious commodities. How distant and intensive was the Qarakhanid trade in China? According to Jürgen Paul, this question is one of the less-studied topics of international relations in the pre-Mongol period.[39] The Qarakanids' predecessors in Transoxiana, the Samanids, did not trade in remote territories of China and much less is known about their diplomatic relations. *Liao shi* recorded an envoy sent to the Liao court from Bosi (Persia) in 923.[40] Scholars assumed that the Samanids were able to send this envoy.[41] However, in order to get the Liao court, the Samanids had to pass through Qarakhanid territories. This seems unlikely due to the military confrontation between the Samanids and the Qarakhanid ruler of Kashghar Ughuljaq Qadir Khan in this period.[42]

The Bosi envoy would more likely have been sent from the Qarakhanid trade city Artuj, which was governed according to al-Qarshī by one of the Samanid princes, who fled the Samanid realm due to the struggle among the members of the dynasty and was hosted by the Qarakhanid ruler Ughuljaq Qadir Khan.

38 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 373–375; *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 188–189.

39 Paul, *Zentralasien*, 175.

40 *Liao shi,* 2: 20.

41 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 9; Hansen, "International Gifting," 288; Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," 229.

42 Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 24–25; Golden, "The Karakhanids and Early Islam," 357.

He granted the Samanid prince some land, materials to build a mosque and trading rights in the region.[43] This Samanid dynastic member, who was probably interested in trade with China, could send the envoy to the Liao.

The same doubt applies to the journey of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf to "China" in 941–943, who accompanied the ambassador of Qalin b. al-Shakhir "the King of China," sent to the Samanid court of Nasr ibn Ahmad (d. 943).[44] Abū Dulaf claims that he traveled from the Samanid capital Bukhara to the capital of "China" Sandabil. Sandabil was identified as the capital of the Ganzhou Uyghurs in the present Gansu Province of China.[45] The reason for this travel was a possible marriage alliance between the two courts. "The King of China" requested a Samanid princess. However, Nasr ibn Ahmad refused this request on the grounds of religion, since Islam does not permit women to marry nonbelievers. Instead, he suggested a marriage between one of his sons and a "Chinese" princess.[46] Abū Dulaf left two *Risālas* on his travels. His first *Risāla*, which recounted the journey to the land of Turks, China, and India, consists of series of fanciful descriptions and unidentified geographical places. For this reason, scholars assumed that Abū Dulaf never traveled to Ganzhou and obtained his information from other sources of that period.[47] The embassy from "the King of China" itself could be also apocryphal.[48] Therefore, two extant accounts on possible relations of the Samanids with the Sinitic world, or at least with the Uyghurs, are considered to be unreliable and need further study.

The Qarakhanid position in the Sinitic world is unique. Chinese sources have information on envoys from the Turks, Khotan and the Islamic world coming via the overland roads to the courts of the Later Tang, the Later Jin, the Liao,

43 *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 102.

44 *Risāla* /Abū Dulaf, trans. von Rohr-Sauer, 17.

45 Joseph Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge: Ethnologische und Historisch-topographische Studien zur Geschichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (*ca. 840–940*) (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1903, rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), 84–90.

46 *Risāla* /Abū Dulaf, trans. von Rohr-Sauer, 17.

47 *Risāla* /Abū Dulaf, trans. von Rohr-Sauer, 74–83; also see Richard W. Bulliet, "Abu Dolaf Al-Yanbui," *Encyclopædia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater* (*New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1983*), I/3, 271–72; Pavel Kozhin, *Kitai i Tsentral'naia Aziia do epokhi Chingizkhana: problemy paleokul'turologii* (Moscow: Forum, 2011), 310–311.

48 For an alleged embassy from "the Emperor of China" to the Samanid court in 939, see Clifford E. Bosworth, "An Alleged Embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr ibn Aḥmad: A Contribution to Sâmânid Military History," in *Yādnāma-yi Iraāni-yi Minorsky*, ed. Mujtaba Minuvi, and Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Tehran University, 1969), 17–29, rpr. in Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variourum Reprints, 1977), XXII, 1–13.

the Northern Song, and the Jin. The Qarakhanids probably dispatched most of these missions. But concerning the Jin period, it is not clear, because the term Dashi could apply both to the Qara Khitai and the Qarakhanids in Jin sources. It applies to Southern Song sources as well. In this period, the Qarakhanids became subjects of the Qara Khitai, who had a confrontation with the Jin.[49] This explains the lack of information on the Qarakhanids in *Jin shi*. However, in this period, they continued to obtain Chinese goods from the Uyghurs. The Qarakhanids as well as the Uyghur Idiquts of Turfan were subjects of the Qara Khitai and Qarakhanid merchants could easily trade at least until Turfan, and obtain Chinese goods from the Uyghurs. In this period, the Tanguts, who were frequently at war with the Liao Empire, strengthened their position and played a key role in the trade between China and Central Asia. It seems that after the collapse of the Liao Empire, the Qarakhanids lost their access to direct trade with China. At the same time, there were most likely some trade networks that continued to function at least occasionally, depending on relations between the Qara Khitai and the Jurchens. This assumption may be confirmed by Jin coins unearthed in 2013 from the Burana site (ancient Balasaghun) dated 1161–1190, and even a coin minted in Sri Lanka in 1200–1202 that was discovered in Talas in 2016.[50]

The Liao dynasty became the main trade partner of the Qarakhanids in the Sinitic world. Qarakhanid merchants supplied rarities from the Islamic world, and Khitan trade caravans transported Chinese commodities to Turkistan. The presence of merchants from the Khitan realm in the Qarakhanid territory recorded in *Qutadghu bilig*:

> Black earth wrapped a veil of green silk over her face, Khitāy [Khitan] caravan spread out its Tawghāj [Chinese] ware.[51]

The Qarakhanids rulers most likely organized trade caravans to Liao China themselves. This practice can be observed in their activities in Song China. The Liao emperors were also interested in contacts with the Turkic world and even

49 For the alliance between the Qara Khitai and the Song dynasty against the Jin, see *Jin shi*, 31: 1114; for the alliance between the Qara Khitai and the Tanguts against the Jin, see *Jin shi*, 74: 1698; for the execution of the Jin ambassador by the Qara Khitai ruler, see *Jin shi*, 121: 2636–2638.

50 Aleksandr Kamyshev, "Monety na velikom shelkovom puti (Kyrgyzstan)," *Arkheologiia Evraziiskikh stepei* 6 (2017): 12.

51 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 41. For the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol 1, 24.

more than its contemporaries Song, Jin and Xi Xia.[52] The Khitans established diplomatic contacts with the Qarakhanids, which had been strengthened by marriage alliances.[53] Moreover, they sought to arrange relations with more remote Turko-Muslim states and sent a mission to Ghazna.[54]

Islamic sources provide general information on Sino-Turkic relations in the pre-Mongol period without indicating any details.

> People of al-Ṣīn do not mix with the Turks and they differ from them in most things … But people of Qitāy and Yughur mix with the Turks and have relations with them. They have relations and correspondence with the kings of Transoxiana, whereas the people of al-Ṣīn are different and do not allow strangers to enter their country and stay among them.[55]

This passage from the Marwazī's account on China gives a general view of Sino-Turkic relations in the eleventh century. The author divided China into three parts al-Ṣīn – Song China, Qitāy – Liao China and Yughur – the Uyghur realm.[56] He indicates close relations of the Khitans with the Qarakhanids (kings of Transoxiana) and demonstrates its position in the Liao and Song realms. While the Liao Empire established diplomatic relations with the Qarakhanids, the Song Empire applied traditional Chinese foreign policy, when China and its neighbors had been divided into two worlds: the "civilized" center, and the uncivilized world of "barbarians" that surrounded it. Chinese sources support this statement, adding more details on the Qarakkhanid envoys sent to Liao and Song China. Moreover, these sources include an interesting list of commodities coming from the Qarakhanid realm to China that cannot be obtained from Islamic sources.

One of the main difficulties of Chinese sources is determining what the Qarakhanids were called in Chinese. Central Asia and its peoples had been known to China since Zhang Qian (d. 113), the first official diplomat of Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141–87 BCE), who traveled to Central Asia and brought back reliable information about the Western Regions to the Chinese imperial court. Since then, the Chinese used different names for Central Asian peoples and

52 Huang Shijian 黄时鉴, "Liao yu "Dashi" 辽与 "大食" [Liao and Dashi]," in *Huang Shijian Wenji* 黄时鉴文集 [Selected Works of Huang Shijian], ed. Huang Shijian (Beijing: Zhongxi Shuju, 2011), vol. 2, 16.

53 See the Table 1 of this Chapter.

54 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 15, 19–21; *Liao shi,* 16: 188–189.

55 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 15. I slightly changed the translation by Minorsky; for the Arabic text, see *3.

56 Ibid, 14.

countries, which can be generally divided into autonyms, the names by which a people identified themselves; and exonyms, the names the Chinese gave to foreigners. General exonyms used by Chinese for foreigners could often have negative connotations such as *rong*, *hu*, or *fan*, generally translated as "barbarians" or "foreigners," as well as more neutral names, such as Xiyu (Western Regions) and *waiguo* (outside country). Some names could also be used for peoples other than those to whom it had been applied before. For instance, the term Fulin, which applied to Byzantium during the Tang period, was used for the Saljuqs of Rum (1081–1308) in Song China.[57] The founders of the Qarakhanid dynasty were Turkic people who were known in China by the autonym Tujue (Turks) and was used during the Sui-Tang period for the nomadic peoples who in the sixth century founded an empire stretching from present Mongolia to the Black Sea.[58] Chinese sources use two names for the Qarakhanid territories: Dashi and Yutian, and refer to the Khagans as *heihan*.[59]

The term Dashi first appeared during the Tang dynasty and was used to refer to the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, which is often translated into western languages as "the Arabs" and "Arabia." The first Chinese account, which uses the term Dashi, and is considered to be the earliest description of the Islamic world in China, dates to the mid-eighth century. It was written by the official and scholar Du You (735–812) in his *Tong dian* (*Encyclopedic History of Institutions*). He had never visited the Islamic world, which was ruled by the ʿAbbasids at the time. He obtained information from his relative Du Huan, a Chinese soldier captured by the Muslims at the battle of Talas in 751 and taken to the capital of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. Du Huan was held as a prisoner of war in Kufa for ten years, after which he returned to China and described life in the early Islamic

57 For the term Fulin, see Friedrich Hirth, "The Mystery of Fu-lin," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, no. 1 (1909): 1–31. Also see Xu Jialing 徐家玲, "Baizhanting haishi Saierzhuren guojia? Xi Song shi, 'Fulin guo chuan' de yi duan jizai 拜占庭还是塞尔柱人国家? 析《宋史 • 拂菻国传》的一段记载 [Byzantium or Saljuq Sultanate? On a piece of Narrative on "Fulin" in History of Song Dynasty]," *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 3, no. 4 (2009): 63–67. I discussed Chinese accounts on the Saljuqs in Chapter 5.

58 For the chronology of the usage of Tujue in Chinese sources, see Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (*T'u-küe*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1958), vol. 1, 1. For the German translation of the Tujue section in *Xin Wudai shi*, see Liu, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten*, vol.1, 390. For other possible origins of the term Tujue, see Peter B. Golden, "Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone: The Shaping of the Türks," in *Peter B. Golden: Studies on the Peoples and Cultures of the Eurasian Steppes,* ed. Cătălin Hriban (Bucharest-Brăila: Romanian Academy and Brăila Museum), 2011, 20–21.

59 For the name of the Qarakhanids in Liao and Song sources, see Huang, "Liao yu "Dashi," 16–30; Jiang Qixiang 將其祥, "Heihan chao ming cheng kao 黑汗朝名称考 [Study on the name of the Heihan dynasty]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 1 (2001): 51–6.

society. Du You used his recollections in writing his description of Dashi that appeared in the chapter of Xirong "Western Barbarians."[60]

The Chinese name for Muslims, Dashi, was derived from the Persian word Tazi (Tajik), which was used by the Sassanids (224–651) for Arabs and originated from the Arabian tribe name Ṭayy. The Sassanids' first frequent contacts with the Arabic world happened via representatives of this group and during the early Islamic period in Iran and Central Asia, its name came to be applied in a general way by the locals to Arabs, and later to all Muslims.[61] Therefore, the Chinese term Dashi does not refer specifically to Arabs or Arabia but to Islam and the Islamic world as a whole, including the Arabian conquests. It matters specifically when, after the ninth century, the ʿAbbasid Caliphate started to lose its former conquered territories and new Muslim states, headed by local dynasties, began to appear. Liao and Song sources continued to use the term Dashi, referring to these non-Arabic Muslim states, which were also independent from the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. Zhao Rugua (1170–1228), a Song official who served as *shiboshi*, a Supervisor of Maritime Trade in Quanzhou and wrote a two-volume book on foreign countries and trade, recorded twenty-four states of Dashi, including Bukhara (Puhualuo), Khwarazm (Luoshimei) and Ghazna (Jicini).[62] The author also devoted an entire chapter to the Ghaznavids. Zhao Rugua never visited the countries that he described in his book. He obtained all his information from merchants who traveled to China by maritime routes. He provided very detailed information on the Ghaznavids, including geographical location, climate, people and commodities imported from their realm. It seems that the author had an opportunity to meet merchants from the former Ghaznavid realm in China, which explains the details on Ghazna in his book. It also serves as evidence that the Ghaznavids were involved in maritime trade with China.

60 *Tong dian*, 193: 5278–5281; for the study of this chapter, see Li Jinxu 李锦 and Yu Taishan 余太山, *"Tong dian" xiyu wenxian yaozhu*《通典》西域文獻要注 [Notes on the Chapter of the Western Regions in "Tong dian"] (Beijing: Shanghai renmin, 2009); for the English translation, see Alexander Akin, "The Jing Xing ji of Du Huan: Notes on the West by a Chinese Prisoner of War," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review 5 (1999–2000):* 77–102; for the further discussion on the Arabs in Chinese sources, also see Lin Ying, and Yu Yusen, "The Arab Empire in Chinese Sources from the 8th Century to the 10th Century," in *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium: Cultural Contacts in Ancient and Medieval Times*, ed. Abdulaziz Al-Helabi, Dimitrios G. Letsios, Moshalleh Al-Moraekhi, and Abdullah Al-Abduljabbar (Riyadh: King Saud University, 2012), 311–320.

61 Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 203. Later this term was refined and limited to the Persian element and came to refer to the Iranian-speaking population in Central Asia. Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," *223.*

62 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 116–117.

The official history of the Song dynasty *Song shi*, also provided an explanation of the term Dashi:

> 其國部屬各異名，故有勿巡，有陁婆離，有俞盧和地，有麻囉跋等國，然皆冠以大食。[63]
>
> The subordinates of this state [Dashi] have different names, therefore, there are Wuxun [Mazun],[64] Tuopoli [Tabriz],[65] Yuluhedi [al-Khatt],[66] Maluoba [Mirbat][67] and other states, however, they are all called as Dashi.

The official history of the Liao dynasty *Liao shi* recorded three envoys from the Dashi state. The first envoy was sent to the court of Emperor Taizu of Liao (907–926) in 924, and the other two envoys during the reign of Emperor Shengzong in 1020 and 1021.

---

63 *Song shi,* 490: 14121.

64 Wuxun is identified with Mazun, which was the name of the Sassanid province in Eastern Arabia, including northern Oman. After the Arab conquest the name was used mainly for the port city Sohar, see Fujita Toyohachi, *Zhongguo Nanhai*, 220; Chen Jiarong 陈佳荣, Xie Fang 谢方 and Lu Junling 陆峻岭, *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名汇释 [Assembled explanations of ancient place-names of the Southern Sea] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 11, 999. Chaffee has recently located Wuxun in Muscat, which is south of Sohar. John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 68, 95.

65 For the identification of Tuopoli (also recorded as Tuopolici) with Tabriz, see Chen et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi*, 11, 1053. Tabriz is a city in Iranian Azerbaijan, which was the center of the Islamic Rawadid dynasty (981–1054). In 1054 Tabriz had been conquered by Tughril (1037–1063) and included in the Great Saljuq Empire. Clifford E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217)," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Period*, ed. John A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), vol. 5, 32, 44.

66 Al-Khatt is present-day al-Qatif, located in Eastern Saudi Arabia. It functioned for many centuries as one of the important trade ports in the Arab states of the Persian Gulf. During the Song dynasty it was the capital of the Uyunids (1071–1253), which took the power in the region with the military assistance of the Great Saljuq Empire. Clifford E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1996), 94–95. For the identification of Yuluhedi with al-Qatif, see Chen et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi,* 11, 898.

67 Mirbat, located in present-day Oman, had been one of the important trade centers since the tenth century. It was famous in Song China for its frankincense (*ruxiang*). *Zhu fan zhi,* trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 195; Schottenhammer, "Transfer of Xiangyao," 130.

TABLE 1 Qarakhanid missions to the Liao court

	Name and date	Gifts	Loans	Purpose
1.	Dashi October 28, 924 (*LS* 2: 20)	unspecified	unspecified	tribute
2.	Khotan February 22, 1015 (*LS* 15: 176)	unspecified	unspecified	tribute
3.	Dashi November 12, 1020 (*LS* 16: 189)	ivory, local products	unspecified	marriage alliance
4.	Dashi May, 1021 (*LS* 16: 189)	unspecified	unspecified	marriage alliance

It is not clear which Muslim state sent the first envoy to the Liao court in the autumn of 924. Scholars generally assume that this envoy could have hailed from the ʿAbbasids of Baghdad or the Samanids, who ruled in Transoxiana and Khurasan, the former eastern territories of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate.[68] What if the Qarakhanids sent this envoy? As it has been discussed above, Islamic sources recorded mass conversion among the Turks in the mid-tenth century[69] during the rule or shortly after the death of the Qarakhanid ruler Satuq Bughra Khan, who was mentioned as "the first Turkic Khaqan converted to Islam in Kashghar and Ferghana" by al-Qarshī.[70] However, the conditions of conversion and the exact date are not clear. These mass conversions can be a culminating point of the Islamization process in the Turkic lands, which had started much earlier.[71]

68 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 9; Hansen, "International Gifting," 288; Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," 229.

69 *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 8, 396; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 138. For the Islamization of the Qarakhanids, also see Bartold, *Turkestan*, 315–317; Golden, "The Karakhanids and Early Islam," 343–370; Hua Tao, "Central and Western Tianshan on the Eve of Islamization," *Journal of Asian History* 27, no. 2 (1993): 95–108; Deborah G. Tor, "The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid Era and Reshaping of the Muslim World," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, no. 2 (2009): 279–99.

70 *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 101.

71 Michal Biran assumes that migration of the remaining Turkic population in Mongolia forced by the Liao expansion brought the Turks deeper into the Islamic world and

For instance, Abū Dulaf mentioned Turkic tribes, Khargah and Baghraj, which had been already converted to Islam by 941.[72] Khargah was identified with the Qarakhanid region Kashghar and Baghraj with the people of the Qarakhanid Satuq Bughra Khan.[73] Satuq Bughra Khan was based in Balasaghun, while his uncle Ughuljaq Qadir Khan was a co-Khagan in Kashghar.[74] Ughuljaq Qadir Khan hosted the Samanid prince in his realm, which might have facilitated Muslim settlement in the region as well as the conversion process.[75] However, the Islamization of the region started even earlier. According to the lost eleventh-century source *Tārikh-i Kāshgār* some parts of which had been cited in a later work by al-Qarshī, the first Turks who converted to Islam were "people of Shash" and it happened during the reign of Satuq Bughra Khan's grandfather.[76] From the end of the ninth century, the Qarakhanids' Islamic neighbors, the Samanids, had been very active militarily in the steppe cities.[77] However, the proximity to flourishing Islamic cultural and trade centers in the Turkic world played a more significant role in the Islamization of this region than the victories of the Samanid army. Peter Golden believes that Islam came to the region peacefully through Muslim merchants, dwellers and settlers.[78] When one of the Muslim states in the Western Regions sent a mission to China in 924, the influence of Islam among the Qarakhanids was already very strong. Chinese-style coins with Arabic inscriptions in Zhetysu, which have been discussed above, also demonstrate the Islamization among the Turkic ruling elites in the steppe region by the tenth century. Moreover, an Arab traveler and a member of an embassy of the ʿAbbasid Caliph of Baghdad to the king of the Volga Bulghars, who passed through the land of the Turks in 922, recorded the Islamization process among the Oghuz Turks, the western neighbors of the Qarakhanids.[79] The official history of the Five Dynasties, *Xin wudai shi* compiled by Song officials, recorded three envoys to the court of the Later Tang in

---

probably contributed to the mass conversion in the mid-tenth century. Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," 226.

72 *Risāla* /Abū Dulaf, trans. von Rohr-Sauer, 18–21.

73 Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 75–77; *Risāla* / Abū Dulaf, trans. von Rohr-Sauer, 49, n. 281.

74 The early Qarakhanids divided their realm into eastern and western parts. The eastern part, with the capital in Balasaghun, was ruled by the main Khagan; the western part was first centered in Talas and later in Kashghar by the co-Khagan. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 23–24.

75 *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh,* trans. Vohidov and Aminov, 102.

76 Ibid, 101.

77 *Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. and trans. de Meynard, vol 8, 144–145.

78 Golden, "The Karakhanids and Early Islam," 353.

79 *Risāla* / Ibn Fadlān, trans. Lunde and Stone, 16–17.

925, 927, 931 and one envoy to the court of the Later Jin in 941 from the Turks, "that sent no envoy afterward."[80] The first envoy from the Turks to the court of the Later Tang could be the same envoy from Dashi that came to the Liao court in the late autumn of 924 and then passed further. Therefore, the envoy that arrived at the Liao court in 924 was most likely sent by the Qarakhanids.[81]

Liao shi recorded that on September 11, 1006, the Shazhou Uyghurs offered jade and horses from Dashi to the Liao emperor.[82] There were most likely the Qarakhanid horses and jade from Khotan, which had been recently conquered by the Qarakhanids. Khotan played a significant role in the Qarakhanid-Chinese relations, serving as a departure point for envoys sent to Liao and Song China. *Song shi* recorded frequent envoys sent by *heihan* of Khotan to the Northern Song after the Qarakhanid conquest.[83] Therefore, it can be concluded that the Khotan envoy to the Liao court in 1015 was sent by the Qarakhanids.[84]

The last two envoys in the table from the Dashi state in 1020 and 1021 to the Liao court were most likely also sent by the Qarakhanids. Marwazī recorded a marriage between a Liao noblewoman and the Qarakhanid prince Chaghri Tegin.[85] Huang Shijian claimed that Cege and Chaghri Tegin (who was from the ruling elite of the Qarakhanids), mentioned in the Chinese and Islamic sources are the same person.[86]

During this period, the Qarakhanid ruler ʿAli ibn Hasan (1020–1034), also known as ʿAli Tegin residing in Samarqand, became a powerful and influential figure in Central Asia.[87] However, this caused a conflict with his brother Yusuf Qadir Khan, who had controlled the Kashghar and Khotan territories, regularly minting coins with his name and the title *Malik al-Mashriq* and sought to become a leader of the Qarakhanids.[88] It seems that Yusuf Qadir Khan sent an

80 *Xin wudai shi,* 74: 913.

81 Hua Tao assumed that very little materials would prove the Qarakhanid origin of these missions and they could be dispatched by other Turkic groups resided around the Hexi region. Hua Tao, "Satuq Bughra Khan and the Beginning of Islamization in the Tian Shan Region," in *Islam*, ed. Jin Yijiu, trans. Chan Ching-shing Alex (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 126.

82 *Liao shi,* 14: 162.

83 *Song shi*, 490: 14106–14109. These envoys will be discussed in Chapter 3.

84 *Liao shi*, 15: 176; also see Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," 230–231.

85 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 19–20.

86 Huang, "Liao yu "Dashi," 23–24. For the origin of this delegation, also see Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society,* 317–318; Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations," 232.

87 Clifford E. Bosworth, "ʿAlītigin," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1985), I/8, 887–88; Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia,* 135.

88 Davidovich, "The Karakhanids," 130, 132.

envoy to the Liao emperor in order to strengthen his status and prestige in the region, as he allied himself with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in 1025. Yusuf Qadir Khan achieved his ambitions after the Sultan Mahmud's routes. 'Ali Tegin even abandoned Samarqand and Bukhara.[89] This political situation opened a road for the Liao ambassador to Ghazna. Yusuf Qadir Khan, who had alliances with Emperor Shengzong of Liao and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, allowed safe passage through his territories. The ambassador was sent in 1024 and reached the court together with the envoy from the Uyghurs (Yughur Khan) in either 1026 or 1027. Chinese sources did not record this embassy, possibly because Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna rejected a request from the Liao Emperor and was not interested in establishing diplomatic relations with the Khitans due to differing religious beliefs.[90] A list of gifts sent by the Liao Emperor also gives general information on what could be imported from Liao China to the Turko-Islamic world:

> 2 suits of *khwīth*,
> 1 suit of *zhūnkī*,
> 1 suit of *kanzī*,
> 2 suits of *shakardi*, each of 2 pieces,
> 15 suits of raw silk, each of 2 pieces,
> Furs of sable-marten for pelisses,
> 200 sable martens,
> 1000 grey squirrels,
> 30 vesicles of musk,
> 1 bow with 10 arrows.[91]

This list demonstrates that the Khitans were aware of what was valued in the Islamic world, bringing a variety of Chinese fabrics and highly prized musk and fur produced by nomads. In the list of the Qarakhanid gifts to the Ghaznavids, we can observe identical commodities,[92] which demonstrates that the Qarakhanids could obtain similar products from the Liao realm. *Liao shi* does not mention what was presented in return to the Qarakhanid ambassadors who visited the Liao court. However, Ye Longli, the author of the

89 Ibid, 133.

90 *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 191; *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 21.

91 *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 20, for the Arabic text, see *8. The last gift seems to be symbolic, which had been presented by the diplomatic protocol of Liao to foreign ambassadors. For more details about these envoys, see King, "Early Islamic Sources," 255–258.

92 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 317; *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 189.

unofficial history of the Liao dynasty *Qidan guo zhi*, compiled in the Southern Song, reports that the Qarakhanids (Dashi and Yutian) – together with other "small countries" as Turfan (Gaochang), Kucha (Qiuci, later also under the Qarakhanids), Qomul (Xiaoshi), Ganzhou, Dunhuang, and Liangzhou – sent delegations of 400 people every three years and, as a rule, received a payment in the amount of no less than 400,000 strings of coins (*guan*) for their gifts. Ye Longli also listed gifts presented by these states:

> 玉　珠　犀　乳香　琥珀　瑪瑙器　賓鐵兵器　斜合黑皮　褐黑絲　門得絲　怕里呵　碙砂　褐里絲 已上皆細毛織成，以二丈為匹。[93]
>
> Jade, pearls, rhino horn, frankincense, amber, agate vessels, wrought iron weapons, *xiehe*[94] black hides, *heheisi*, *mendeisi*, *palihe*, ammonium chloride, *helisi*, the above all are fine wool silk fabric, each bolt of two *zhang*.

The commodities in the list are mostly identical to Qarakhanid gifts presented to the Song emperors.[95] Moreover, some items could be transported mainly by the Qarakhanids to Liao China, such as jade, pearls, ammonium chloride, frankincense, and amber. For instance, jade is a famous product of Khotan, and had been imported to China since ancient times. It was also prized at the court of the sinicized Khitans. The Khotanese jade trade was continued by the Qarakhanids. Pearls were imported from Iran and India and arrived in China via the Qarakhanids. Zhao Rugua recorded that the best pearls came to China from the Islamic countries.[96] Another typical Silk Road good transported from Central Asia to China was ammonium, used in metallurgy and textile dying.[97] Frankincense was a common commodity transported by the Qarakhanids to Song China and was mentioned as a local product of the Qarakhanids.[98] Amber is also the most common imported commodity found in Liao-period tombs. For instance, amber items found from the Liao tomb of Princess of Chen and her husband were made of amber from the Baltic region.[99] Northern Song sources recorded the Qarakhanids as one of the main suppliers of amber

93 *Qidan guo zhi*, 21: 205.
94 *Xiehe* is probably a Chinese transliteration of a Turkic word that refers to an animal.
95 For Qarakhanid gifts and commodities in Song China, see Chapter 3 and Appendices.
96 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 229.
97 Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (New York: Oxford University, 2012), 5, 122.
98 For the Qarakhanid frankincense trade, see Chapter 6.
99 Shen Hsueh-man, ed., *Schätze der Liao: Chinas vergessene Nomadendynastie*, 907–1125 (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 2006), 110–111, 152–153, 166–173, 182–183, 186–187.

in China.[100] Amber was not local to Central Asia and was transported via Khwarazm and Volga Bulgharia from the Baltic region. For instance, a tenth-century Arab geographer and traveler al-Muqaddasī described a rich list of items transported from Volga Bulgharia to Khwarazm, including amber:

> Sables, squirrels, ermines, fennecs, martens, foxes, beaver hides, colorful rabbits, goat hides, wax, arrows, wood bats, caps (*qalānis*), fish glue, fish teeth,[101] castoreum, amber, rawhides (*kaimukht*), honey, hazelnuts, falcons, swords, armor, birch wood (*khalanj*), Slavonic slaves (*al-raqīq min al-Ṣaqāliba*), sheep and cattle – all these are from Bulghar.[102]

Central Asian sources also recorded a high demand for the Baltic amber in China.[103] It should be noted that trade networks between Northern Europe and Central Asia had been developed before the Qarakhanids. For instance, a large portion of Islamic coinage unearthed in Northern Europe belonged to the Samanids.[104] The usage of the Samanid coins in Europe was also confirmed by written sources. Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Ṭurṭūshī (fl. 961–962), a Sephardic Jewish merchant from Muslim-ruled Spain who traveled through Europe in 965, mentioned the circulation of Samanid dirhams struck in Samarqand in the years 914 and 915 in the German region, namely in Maghānja (Mainz) on the river Rīn (Rhine).[105] Furs and slaves were the main commodities from the North exported for dirhams and other luxurious items from the Islamic world, India, and China. Jürgen Paul claims that this flourishing trade road, which

100 I will discuss the Qarakhanid amber trade in China in Chapter 6.

101 "Fish teeth" is more accurately translated as "walrus tusks."

102 *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* ed. Goeje, 324–325. Also see the English translation, *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* trans. Collins, 286.

103 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 16–17.

104 For the trade between the Samanids and the Vikings, see Michael Mitchiner, "Evidence for Viking-Islamic Trade Provided by Samanid Silver Coinage," *East and West* 37, no. 1/4 (1987): 139–50; Melanie Michailidis, "Samanid Silver and Trade along the Fur Route," in *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca 1000–1500,* ed. Heather E. Grossman, and Alicia Walker (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 17–40.

105 Georg Jacob, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927), 31. By the end of the Samanid period, dirham circulation in Europe declined, mainly due to the silver crisis in that period. Written sources recorded that in Khwarazm, the dirham was converted into four separate parts in order to prevent merchants from taking it away, and any silver that was brought to the region was not allowed out. *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, trans. Collins, 235.

mainly functioned in the north-south direction and is known as the Fur Road, was much wider-reaching than the Silk Road.[106]

4 Conclusion

The Qarakhanids' predecessors in inland international trade, the Sogdians and the Samanids, played a significant role in connecting different parts of the world: the Sogdians mainly served as middlemen between China and West Asia and the Samanids between Europe and the Islamic world. The Qarakhanid lists of commodities recorded in Central Asian and Chinese sources prove that Qarakhanid merchants managed to trade in different directions between the Silk and Fur Roads.

How far-flung was the Qarakhanid trade? Valerie Hansen claims that the most distant place from which the Khitans imported goods could be the Viking world. She poses the question: What if the Vikings brought different commodities that were highly prized in the Islamic world and China, such as walrus tusks, via the trade routes they used to transport amber?[107] Khitan contact with the Islamic world was managed by the Qarakhanids. Primary sources demonstrate how amber reached China from the Vikings' world, transported first to Volga Bulgharia and Khwarazm and further via the Qarakhanids to Liao China. Among the goods coming from Khwarazm, Islamic sources listed "fish teeth," which refers to walrus tusks, which could have been imported from Scandinavia to Khwarazm and further via the Qarakhanids to China. The Vikings shipped various goods, including walrus tusks, not only from Northern Europe but also from the Americas, which by the eleventh century could theoretically also have reached China both via maritime and continental routes.[108] The Vikings had their own interest in trade with Central Asia. They imported silver during the Samanids and later Central Asian fine fabrics during the Qarakhanids. The movement of goods and commodities across such distant territories demonstrates how the trade along the Silk and Fur Roads flourished during the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and how the Qarakhanids were located at the center of these global networks.

106 Paul, *Zentralasien*, 175.

107 Hansen, "International Gifting," 302.

108 For this international network and the start of globalization in the eleventh century, see Valerie Hansen, *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World and Globalization Began* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020).

CHAPTER 3

Envoys and Traders to Northern Song China

1 Introduction

Qarakhanid and other Islamic sources provide scant information on relations with China. In these sources, China is referred to as al-Ṣīn/Chīn, Māṣīn/Māchīn, Tawghāj/Tabghāch, and Khitāy/Qitāy, terms that could be used in a general or specific sense, and it is not always easy to determine to which particular region or dynasty they were applied.[1]

In contrast, Chinese sources contain detailed information on the Qarakhanid envoys sent to Chinese emperors, especially to the Northern Song court, including exact dates, names, diplomatic gifts and loans, trade roads, and passages, as well as letters and documents exchanged between the Song emperors and Qarakhanid Khagans. Chinese texts confirm that Qarakhanid messengers served as diplomats and traders as well as provided military service in Song China. This kind of information is not available in Qarakhanid or other Central Asian sources. However, Qarakhanid history has long been considered a research subject for Turkologists, and Chinese sources were usually not consulted. Major scholarly works on Song China also seldom deal with Song-Qarakhanid relations.[2] Therefore, many aspects of Qarakhanid activities in the East have remained largely unknown.

This chapter utilizes Song records on the Qarakhanids and introduces unknown sides of the Qarakhanid commercial diplomacy in China, including discussion on the presence of women in official Qarakhanid delegations and female mobility in the eleventh-century Turkic society. It also presents Qarakhanid envoys as cartographers at the Song court and discusses Song dynasty maps that depicted Qarakhanid territories.

1 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 166, 424; *Qutadghu bilig,* trans. Dankoff, 58; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 445; *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 14–15. Some materials used in this chapter were initially published in: Dilnoza Duturaeva, "Qarakhanid Envoys to Song China," *Journal of Asian History* 52, no. 2 (2018): 179–208.

2 For an example, see Rossabi, *China among Equals*.

2 Names for the Qarakhanids

The Qarakhanid polity was first known in Song China as Shule *guo* (the Kashghar state).[3] After the Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan, it began to be associated with the region of Khotan, mainly due to the frequency with which envoys were dispatched from this place by the Qarakhanids, and named Yutian *guo* (the Khotan state). In some cases, the Qarakhanids were referred to as Dashi (Muslims). For instance, in the description of Fulin that may refer to the Saljuqs of Rum, Dashi was recorded as one of the eastern neighbors of the Saljuqs located on the way to China before Khotan.[4] This Muslim state is most likely that of the Western Qarakhanids.

The Qarakhanid realm was generally seen as *waiguo* (outside country), and people were recorded as *fan* (barbarians, foreigners) by Song historians.[5] The word *fan* has been in use in China since ancient times. During the Tang-Song period, the usage of *fan* was commonly placed in a pair with the category Han (Chinese) as a geopolitical term used for the foreigners of the west, southwest, and south.[6] The official historians who compiled the history of the Song dynasty during the Mongol era used the term *fan* for people of the south and southwest but replaced it with the politically neutral word *ren* (man, people) for the Qarakhanids. For instance, historians of *Song shi* used the text about the first envoy from the Qarakhanids that was recorded in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* in a context where the Qarakhanids were depicted as *yuan fan* (barbarians from the distant place). This term was replaced with *yuan ren* (people from a distant place) in *Song shi*.[7] The Mongol rulers of the dynasty, who shared the same nomadic traditions with Turkic peoples, banned the usage of *fan* for the Qarakhanids in official historical writings, probably due to its pejorative meaning. However, this term might have been neutral during the Song period. For instance, it was used by the Khitans and the Tanguts as a self-appellation.[8] Later the Jurchens prohibited the usage of this term for themselves, probably because they did not want to be seen as "outsiders."[9] Perhaps

3 *Song shi*, 490: 14106–14107.

4 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 317: 7661; *Song shi,* 485: 13981.

5 *Qingbo zazhi,* 6: 53; *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 71: 1598.

6 For the usage of *fan* in different periods, see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2015), 354; Yang, "Fan and Han," 9–35.

7 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 71: 1598; *Song shi,* 490: 14107.

8 Yang, "Fan and Han," 30.

9 Ibid.

due to the Jurchen prohibition, this term was viewed as derogatory during the Mongol period.

The Qarakhanid ruler was referred to by his main title, Qarakhan, translated into Chinese as *heihan*,[10] meaning "Black Khan." Chinese official historians of the Mongol era under the leadership of Toqto'a, who compiled *Song shi*, explained that *heihan* was a corrupted version of the title *kehan*,[11] which is a Chinese transliteration of the Turkic title Khagan. However, this seems to be written from the perspective of the Chinese. The title Qarakhan was translated from the original language by someone familiar with it. *Song shi* mentioned the title of the Qarakhanid ruler as *heihan* in the heading of the Qarakhanid letter that arrived at the Song court in 1081 in what is present-day Kaifeng.[12] The letter was most likely originally written in Turkic and then translated into Chinese. The translator used the words *hei* (black) and *han* (khan) to translate the title Qarakhan. This title was also mentioned in earlier letters sent to Chinese emperors by Qarakhanid rulers and wrongly understood as a corruption of the title *kehan* (Khagan).[13] Moreover, the title *kehan* never applied to the Qarakhanid rulers in Chinese sources.

Another title of the Qarakhanids, Tughril Qarakhan, appears in *Song shi* as *houlin heihan*. Tughril Qarakhan Yusuf ibn Sulayman (r. 1062–1080) sent an envoy to China in 1063 and requested the titles *tejin* and *guizhong baoshun houlin heihan wang* (Specially Advanced and Faithful Commandant for Maintaining Submission Tughril Qarakhan king).[14] *Tejin* and *guizhong baoshun*[15] are Chinese honorific titles, but *houlin heihan* are Chinese words for the Turkic title Tughril Qarakhan. The word *houlin* was explained as a name of the golden-winged bird Garuda in the Qarakhanid language.[16] Garuda is a mythical bird that appears both in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. The Qarakhanid envoy probably described a *tughril*, a large falcon in Turkic culture, and the Chinese identified it with Garuda.

10 *Song shi,* 17: 329; 18: 346; 490: 14087, 14107–14109.

11 *Song shi,* 490: 14108.

12 *Song shi,* 490: 14109.

13 For the terms *heihan* and Dashi applied to the Qarakhanids in Chinese sources, also see Michal Biran, "Qarakhanid Studies: A View from the Qara Khitai Edge," *Cahiers d'Asia Centrale* 9 (2001): 79–80.

14 *Song shi,* 490: 14108.

15 According to *Song shi,* 490: 14117, the similar title *guizhong baoshun kehan* 1023 was also granted to the ruler of the Uyghur Khagan of Ganzhou, Yelage (r. 1023–1028). For the English translation of the title, see Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World*, 589–1276 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 454.

16 *Song shi,* 490: 14108.

At least one representative of the Qarakhanids was mentioned by name. *Song shi* recorded Qarakhan Ahududongemijiedu (LMC. ʔa-xut-tuə̆-təwŕ-ŋa-mit-kɦiat-təwk), which may stand for Alp Qutlugh Tonga Majid.[17] Moreover, Qarakhanid ambassadors also held the title *da shouling* meaning "main chieftain."[18] The Chinese generic term *shouling*, which literally means "head and neck," usually referred to chiefs of tribal clans, tribes, or even tribal unions and Khaganates.[19] Therefore, "great head and neck" (*da shouling*) most likely refers, if not to the ruler himself, at least to one of the high standing members of the dynasty.

3 The Image of the West in China

What did the Chinese know about the West during the rule of the Qarakhanids in Central Asia? The western network of the Northern Song dynasty functioned along the continental routes. Their active participants formed the Chinese body of knowledge about the West in the pre-Mongol period, which can be observed in the description of the West recorded by Pang Yuanying. He served at the Northern Song court as *zhuke langzhong* (Director of the Bureau of Receptions) and was in charge of managing the reception of foreign delegations during the Shenzong rule and Wang Anshi's New Policies.

He recorded nine places in the West in the following order: the Tangut Empire, the Tsongkha kingdom, the Qarakhanid Khaganate, the Uyghurs, Kucha, India, Dunhuang, Qomul, and Turfan:

17 Kochnev mentions that two Qarakhanid rulers used the title "Alp Qutlugh Tonga" on coins. Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia,* 33. However, all these titles were common among the ruling elite. Ibid, 28–31. Qian Boquan suggested that the name of the Qarakhanid ruler should be read as "Abdu Tonga Majid." Qian Boquan 钱伯泉, "Yichang Kalahan wangchao he Song chao lian bing jingong Xi Xia de zhanzheng: Cangjingdong fengbi de zhenzheng yuanyin 一场喀喇汗王朝和宋朝联兵进攻西夏的战争 – 藏经洞封闭的真正原因和确切时间 [An Allied Force of the Qarakhanids and the Song Dynasty against the Western Xia: A Real Reason of Sealing of the Library Cave]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2 (2000): 8. However, according to the system of Islamic names, ʿAbdu (servant) can be a part of personal names (ism) only followed by description of God, like ʿAbdullāh, ʿAbdu al-Raḥmān etc. Tonga (tiger) was a Turkic title commonly used by the Qarakhanids. Therefore, ʿAbdu could not be used in conjunction with Tonga.

18 *Song shi,* 16: 301; 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 32.

19 For the usage of the Chinese title *shouling* in Turkic hierarchy, see Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, 35.

西方有九：其一曰夏國，世有銀、夏、綏、宥、靜五州之地，慶歷中，冊命為夏國。其二曰董氈，居青唐城，與回鶻、夏國、于闐相接。其三曰于闐，西帶葱嶺，與婆羅門接。其四曰回鶻，本匈奴別裔，唐號回紇，居甘、沙、西州。其五曰龜茲，住居延城，回鶻之別種，其國主自稱師子王。其六曰天竺，舊名身毒，亦曰摩伽陀，又曰婆羅門。其七曰瓜沙門，漢燉煌故地。其八曰伊州，漢伊吾郡也。其九曰西州，本高昌國，漢車師前王之地。有高昌城，取其地勢高、人昌盛以為名。正觀中，按宋人避諱改貞為正。平其地為西州。[20]

There are nine states in the west: the first one is called the Xia state [Tanguts], their ancestors were in the lands of five prefectures Yinzhou, Xiazhou, Suizhou, Youzhou and Jinzhou, during the *Qingli* era [1041–1048] by the Emperor's order it was called the Xia state. The second one is called Dongzhan [Tsongkha]; it is located in Qingtang city and connected with Huigu [Uyghurs], the Xia state [Tanguts] and Yutian [Qarakhanids]. The third one is called Yutian; in the west it is surrounded by Congling [Pamir] and connected with Poluomen [India]. The fourth one is called Huigu [Uyghurs]; they are originally other descendants of the Xiongnu and were called as Huihe during the Tang period, they are located in Ganzhou [Zhangye], Shazhou [Dunhuang] and Xizhou [Turfan]. The fifth one is called Qiuci [Kucha]; they reside in the Juyan city and are another kind of Huigu, the head of their state calls himself the Lion king [Arslan Khan]. The sixth one is Tianzhu [India]; its old name is Juandu,[21] it was also called Mojiatuo [Magadha] and Poluomen [Brahman]. The seventh one is Guashamen [Guazhou and Shazhou Gate]; it is the previous land of Dunhuang of the Han. The eighth one is Yizhou [Qomul]; it was the Yiwu prefecture of the Han. The ninth one is Xizhou; it is originally the Gaochang state and it was the land of the former Jushi king during the Han period. There was the city Gaochang, and as the position of the land was *gao* [high] and their people were in *chang sheng* [flourishing abundance] it was called by this name. In the title of the *Zhengguan* era, according to the taboo on using personal names of emperors among the Song people, the character *zhen* was changed to *zheng*. When this land was pacified it became Xizhou.

This passage on the western territories gives a general view of how the Chinese perceived Central Asia in the eleventh century. Pang Yuanying stated that the

20 *Wenchang zalu,* 1: 2.

21 It is also pronounced "Yuandu."

ruler of the Tsongkha kingdom Dongzhan was bordered by the Tanguts, the Uyghurs, and the Qarakhanids. Moreover, he pointed out that the Qarakhanids of Khotan shared a border in the west with India. This information refers to the Southern Silk Roads that also connected to Tibetan Plateau routes linking Central Asia and South Asia. Pang Yuanying records prove the movement along this network during the Qarakhanids.

4 Envoys and Traders to Kaifeng

According to Chinese records, the Qarakhanids dispatched more than forty missions to the Northern Song from 1009 to 1124.[22] The exact number of missions is not clear, because envoys could stay in the Xihe Circuit (Xihelu)[23] for extended periods and visit the court several times per year. Later Emperor Zhezong (1086–1100) issued an edict to limit their visits up to once time per year.[24]

Qarakhanid messengers were mentioned as *banci*/*banca* in the Song official records.[25] During the Northern Song this term applied to foreign envoys from the west, who also had economic functions including to their diplomatic responsibilities. They were expected to trade as well as protect borders in the Xihe Circuit. For their service *banci* received generous rewards.[26] This explains why the Qarakhanids frequently sent military commanders as envoys and received lavish payment at the court.[27]

The term *banci* started to be used from the tenth century and frequently appeared in Dunhuang documents.[28] It is accepted that *banci* corresponded to

22 See Appendix 3.

23 The Xihe Circuit was a subdivision of Shaanxi and was designated in 1072 when Song armies conquered the Tangut prefecture of Hezhou. Following its final pacification in 1074, the Song created official markets at the Xihe Circuit to trade Sichuan tea for horses.

24 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17; also see document 9 in Appendix 2.

25 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 475: 11321; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16; 7: 36; 7: 42.

26 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 412: 10026; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 6: 22. For the functions of *banci/banca* during the Song dynasty, also see Wang Zhen 王震, "Banca Banci kaozheng "般擦""般次"考证 [Textual Research on Banca and Banci]," *Guangxi keji lishi shifan xueyuan xuebao* 广西科技师范学院学报 31, no. 4 (2016): 46–48.

27 See Appendix 3.

28 Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Tangmo Wudai Songchu xibei diqi de banci he shici 唐末五代宋初西北地區的般次和使次 [*Banci* and *shici* in Northwest China during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song]," in *Xiyu shidi congkao chubian*西域史地叢稿初編 [Primary Collection of Studies in History and Geography of the Western Regions] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 335–346.

the Turkic word *arkış,* which means "caravan."[29] The word *arkış* was also used to refer to envoys sent to distant places.[30] Therefore, *banci* also applied to foreign envoys that arrived from the west along the land roads. The *banci* system of the Northern Song has similarities with the *ortoq* institution that functioned during the Mongols. The *ortoqs* were merchant associations in Yuan China that served as business partners of the Mongol ruling elite. These associations composed mainly of Uyghurs and Muslims who received silver loans from the government and financed trade caravans traveling to Central Asia and Iran. In this sence, the *banci* system can be a possible institutional precedent for the *ortoq.*

The Qarakhanids paid great attention to training well-qualified envoys, who were expected to be proficient not only in foreign languages but also in science, poetry, archery, chess, and many other fields.[31] Remarkably, the Qarakhanids appointed Uyghurs as ambassadors, especially in the initial stage of the relations with Song China, probably due to their language skills. For instance, the first mission from the Qarakhanids sent by Yusuf Qadir Khan in 1009 was led by Huigu Luo Siwen (Uyghur Boyla Saghun).[32] However, the Chinese sometimes applied the term "Uyghur" to the Qarakhanids in general. Therefore, the envoy could also be from the Qarakhanid realm. Names of Qarakhanid envoys frequently have two characters in the end, such as *siwen* (LMC. sᵲ-ʔun), *sawen* (LMC. sat-ʔun), *sangwen* (LMC. saŋ´-ʔun).[33] For instance, the envoy, who came to the Chinese court in 1063 was called Luo Sawen (Boyla Saghun),[34] another envoy who arrived in 1077 was Luo Asinan Siwen (Boyla Arslan Saghun).[35] Siwen/sawen/sangwen was most likely the Chinese transliteration of the Turkic title Saghun, which was given to chieftains of the Qarluqs, according to the Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī.[36] Luo is probably a short version of the Turkic title Boyla that appeared in Chinese sources as *peiluo* (LMC. pɦuaj-la).[37] There were also high military officials (*buling*) and main chieftains among the Qarakhanid envoys (*da shouling*).[38] In some cases, Qarakhanid

29 Takao Moriyasu, "Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uyghur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)," *Osaka University Knowledge Archive* 52 (2012), 44.

30 For the meaning of the word *arkış,* see *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 128.

31 *Qutadghu bilig,* trans. Dankoff 125–127; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 273–280.

32 *Song shi,* 490: 4107.

33 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 302: 7350, 285: 6972; *Song shi,* 16: 301, 490: 14107–14108.

34 *Song shi,* 490: 14108.

35 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 285: 6972.

36 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 379. Also see Osman 2002, 48–52.

37 Osman 2002, 48–52.

38 *Song shi,* 16: 301, 490: 14109.

princes were also sent as ambassadors to the Northern Song.[39] These titles and positions demonstrate that the Qarakhanids appointed high-ranking officials and representatives of the dynasty to be sent to the Song court.

The exact number of delegates is not always clear. According to the imperial edict on the Qarakhanid envoys issued in 1078, each delegation should consist of no more than fifty persons.[40] Chinese chronicles usually recorded only main envoys. However, in some cases, the names and titles of other delegates were also included. The delegation sent in 1025 consisted of the envoy (*shi*), the deputy envoy (*fushi*), the Commissioner (*jianshi*), and the Military Commandant (*dujian*). The envoys were lodged in the capital's western postal relay station (*duting xiyi*) in present-day Kaifeng.[41]

Both missions in 1009 and 1025 were dispatched by Yusuf Qadir Khan, who controlled the Kashghar and Khotan territories and sought to become a head of the Qarakhanids.[42] As mentioned above, his ambitions caused conflicts with his brother, the main Qarakhanid Khagan 'Ali Tegin, who resided in Samarqand.[43] For this reason, Yusuf Qadir Khan allied with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in 1025[44] and sent two missions to Liao China in 1020 and 1021,[45] as well as two delegations to Song China in 1009 and 1025. He sought to strengthen his political position on both the western and eastern frontiers.

From 1025 to 1071, only one mission was dispatched by the Qarakhanids from Khotan. It came to the court twice, once on September 21, 1063 and again on February 1, 1064.[46] This interruption can be explained by the rise of the Tanguts and their military activity in the Hexi Corridor that blocked trade roads to China. Qarakhanid relations with the Tanguts and the Khitans were not always peaceful. Therefore, the Qarakhanids sought to find alternative roads and managed to keep their stations in the Tsongkha kingdom.[47]

After 1071, the envoys came annually, sometimes several times per year. Due to this frequency, in 1087 Emperor Zhezong ordered that they visit court only once a year, and later this was further limited to every other year, which

39 *Song shi*, 18: 346; 490: 14109.
40 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 295: 7190; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16.
41 *Song shi*, 490: 14108.
42 Davidovich, "The Karakhanids," 130, 132.
43 Bosworth, "'Alītigin," 887–88; Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia,* 135.
44 Davidovich, "The Karakhanids," 133.
45 *Liao shi*, 16: 189.
46 *Song shi*, 490: 14108; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 3: 30–31. Also see Appendix 3.
47 On the Tsongkha kingdom and its relations with neighbouring states, see Horlemann, *Aufstieg und Niedergang*, 83–106.

prompted complaints by foreign envoys.[48] As the Prefect of Qinzhou, You Shixiong (1037–1097), reported:

> 于闐、大食、拂菻等國貢奉，般次踵至，有司憚於供賚，抑留邊方，限二歲一進。外夷慕義，萬里而至，此非所以來遠人也。[49]
>
> Yutian [Khotan],[50] Dashi [Muslims],[51] Fulin [Rome][52] and other states offer tribute to the court, their *banci* arrive upon the heels of one another, and officials dread terrify about having to provide rewards, so they stop them and keep them on the border and limit them to come to the court once every two years. Foreigners admire our righteousness and arrive through ten thousand *li*, this is not the way of treating people from afar.

The number of Qarakhanid missions was significantly reduced after 1098. This can be also explained by the Song-Tsongkha military confrontation during this period. The last Qarakhanid envoy from Khotan that was depicted in Chinese official histories arrived at the Song court in 1124.[53]

The Song emperors apparently never sent messengers to the Qarakhanid realm. Yusuf Qadir Khan even asked Emperor Zhenzong to dispatch an official mission, but his request went unheeded. *Song shi* only recorded a legendary story about a Song soldier who traveled to Khotan in 1017 to find jade for the emperor.[54] This story illustrates the high demand for Khotan jade in Song China, even during the Qarakhanid era;[55] however, it can hardly be used as evidence to prove the presence of Song envoys in the Qarakhanid Khaganate.

---

48 *Song shi*, 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17.

49 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 300: 7310; *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

50 This refers to the Eastern Qarakhanids.

51 Delegations from the Muslim state that arrived in China by land roads were mainly dispatched by the Western Qarakhanids and after the Malik Shah's conquest of the Qarakhanid territories in 1089, also by the Great Saljuqs. Arab and Persian envoys and merchants mainly used sea routes.

52 The term Fulin that referred to Byzantium during the Tang period was used for the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum in Song sources. See Chapter 5.

53 *Song shi*, 22: 415.

54 *Song shi*, 490: 14107–14108.

55 For the Jade trade in the tenth–eleventh centuries, see Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 and Zhu Lishuang 朱丽双, "Cong jingong dao siyi: 10–11 shiji Yutian yu de dongjian Dunhuang yu Zhongyuan 从进贡到私易: 10–11世纪于阗玉的东渐敦煌与中原 [From Tribute to Trade: Eastward Dissemination of the Jades of Khotan into Dunhuang and the Central Plains in the 10th and 11th Centuries]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 3 (2014): 190–200.

5 Women Envoys and Travelers

On the occasion of the New Year, according to the Chinese protocol, foreign envoys were invited to an official ceremony in the palace and an audience with the emperor to offer him diplomatic gifts. One of these New Year ceremonies was described by Meng Yuanlao (c.1090–1150), a Northern Song official who escaped from Kaifeng during the Jurchen invasion and left a detailed description of the Kaifeng's urban life, customs, and traditions of its residents, as well as official ceremonies held at the Northern Song court. In his description of the New Year ceremony, he provided detailed information about foreign delegations that arrived at the court including their appearance and clothing. He described envoys from Liao (Khitans), Xi Xia (Tanguts), Gaoli (Korea), *nanfan* Jiaozhou (southern barbarians of Jiaozhou), Huihe (Uyghurs), Yutian (Khotan, i.e. Qarakhanids), Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), *nanman wu xing fan* (five families of southern barbarians), Dali (Yunnan) and Dashi (Muslims). In the description of the Qarakhanid delegation he mentioned that the envoys were accompanied by their women:

> 于闐皆小金花氈笠、金絲戰袍、束帶，幷妻、男同來，乘駱駝、氈兜、銅鐸入貢。[56]
>
> All the men from Yutian [Khotan] wore small, golden, patterned, conical felt hats, golden silk thread combat robes tied with belts, and arrived together with their wives and sons, and they were riding camels with felt bags and bronze bells, and they offered tribute.

This account shows that Qarakhanid envoys traveled together with their families. Women certainly did travel for business, for family reasons, or to visit holy places. Therefore, their presence in caravans and hostels were not infrequent. In some cases, royal Turkic women could travel independently to perform the *hajj*.[57] However, the presence of women in official delegations and particularly their participation in diplomatic ceremonies at the Chinese court are rarely mentioned. The Qarakhanids were the only delegation to arrive at the court with their spouses (or at least, the Chinese official provided this information only in the description of the Qarakhanid envoys). It seems that the situation

56 *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, 6: 167; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 57.

57 Carole Hillenbrand, "Women in the Saljuq Period," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800,* ed. Guity Nashat, and Lois Beck (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 110–111.

FIGURE 1 *Qarakhanid Female Image on a Ceramic Fragment*
COURTESY OF JAMBYL REGION HISTORY MUSEUM, KAZAKHSTAN

itself was unusual to the author, so he decided to point it out. But perhaps these women were not just conjoints of the envoys. Could they have traveled on business of their own? Regrettably, these women did not leave records of their own travel, so the true reason(s) for their journey will remain unknown. At the same time, the fact that Qarakhanid women traveled to China and managed to attend the audience with the Chinese emperor provides a wide arena for speculation about female mobility and their role in Qarakhanid society.

Qarakhanid society was male-centered. Men were dominant, but women in nomadic and semi-nomadic societies had far more freedom and power than women in other patriarchal cultures such as China or Persia. Especially in Turkic societies, feminine values were respected to certain degrees. In particular, matrilineality and female visibility can be observed during the formation stage of states, reflected, for instance, in the creation legends of the early Turks about a she-wolf as well as during occasions when a regent was needed to secure a peaceful succession to the throne (for the representation of female

figures in the Qarakhanid arts, see Figs. 1 and 2). The Islamization of the Turks and their close relationship with sedentary societies had an influence on the position of women, but the first Turko-Islamic dynasties continued their semi-nomadic cultures, which might explain the political influence, economic independence, and high literary achievement of noble and upper-middle-class women in the Turkic societies of the tenth–twelfth centuries. These examples are well documented by Saljuq historians. However, the real power of women was often underrepresented in Muslim accounts due to the ideals applied to women in the Islamic world.[58] This means that in reality, these women could have been even more powerful than they were described in sources. Qarakhanid women were no exception, but our knowledge about their roles in politics and society is limited due to the lack of sources on Qarakhanid history in general. At the same time, biographies of some Qarakhanid women can be found in Saljuq sources that may help to understand their image and place in the Turkic society.

The most famous Qarakhanid woman in history probably was Turkan Khatun, the queen consort of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah I. She was also regent for her son Mahmud I from 1092 to 1094 and attempted to become an official ruler of the Saljuq Empire. She was originally a Qarakhanid princess, the daughter of the Qarakhanid Khagan Tamghach Khan Ibrahim, and probably received a good education at her father's court. The Qarakhanids educated both boys and girls in *bilig* and *adab* (wisdom and good manners).[59]

Turkan Khatun was very ambitious and managed to gain political power and influence at court and in the army. The relationship between Turkan Khatun and Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of the Saljuq Empire, reflected his views on women in politics and he doubtless had Turkan Khatun in mind in his portrait of female rule in *Siyāsatnāma*, when he criticized the harmful influence of women at court and their misleading advice to the rulers:[60]

> The king's underlings must not be allowed to assume power, for this causes the utmost harm and destroys the king's splendor and majesty. This particularly applies to women, for they are wearers of the veil and have not complete intelligence. Their purpose is the continuation of the lineage of the race, so the more noble their blood the better, and the more

58 For this assumption and the women's position in the Saljuq period, see Hillenbrand, "Women in the Saljuq Period," 103–120.

59 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 187; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 452.

60 Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History," 77.

FIGURE 2 *Qarakhanid Siren with a Female Face*, Pottery Bowl from the Kanka site, Uzbekistan

> chaste their bearing the more admirable and acceptable they are. But when the king's wives begin to assume the part of rulers, they base their orders on what interested parties tell them, because they are not able to see things with their own eyes in the way that men constantly look at the affairs of the outside world.[61]

The Saljuq historian al-Ḥusaynī explained the reasons for Turkan Khatun's power and influence as her kind attitude towards soldiers, her descendancy

61 *Siyāsatnāma,* trans. Darke, 185.

from the kings of the Turks of Afrasiyab, and her personal wealth.[62] When her daughter married the Caliph of Baghdad al-Muqtadī and complained about his bad temper, she was returned to her home.[63] This was certainly due to the Turkan Khatun's influence at court. When Malik Shah died, she kept his death secret and started to negotiate with the Caliph of Baghdad al-Muqtadī to assure the succession and defend herself against the other pretenders to the throne. She managed to ensure the *khutba* was issued in her son's name but she never succeeded in becoming the official ruler.[64]

The Qarakhanid poet and vizier Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, in his mirror for princes used almost the same words about women as the Saljuq vizier:

> How many stalwart and manly men have been cut off at the root because of women? Many a man with ruddy cheeks and honor-lustered face has turned to earth because of women. Thousands of world-renowned and valiant men have been buried alive by women. Indeed, how is one to guard women at all?[65]

The Qarakhanid vizier may have had specific courtiers in mind when criticizing their damaging influence on men. Describing noblewomen, he denounced their long tongues and wrote that a man who chooses a wife for her nobility and status will be her slave.[66] Ibn al-Athīr mentioned occasions when Qarakhanid women ruled as regents or held political power at court. For instance, a wife of Bughra Khan ibn Qadir Khan killed his elder son and put her own son Ibrahim on the throne.[67]

Elite Turkic women were able not only to travel independently but also could be sent by a ruler to neighboring countries and personally meet with monarchs. Niẓām al-Mulk described a story of a Turkic woman at the Ghaznavid court who was well educated and could speak several languages. She was sent by Sultan Mahmud to Samarqand with a secret mission to steal a charter of the caliph sent to the Qarakhanid Khagan. The woman first arrived in Kashghar to buy Turkic slaves and commodities imported from China and Khotan, and

62 *Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya*, trans. Bosworth, 53.

63 Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History," 100–101.

64 Fatima Mernissi, *The Forgotten Queens of Islam* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 27–28.

65 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 187–188; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig*, ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 454.

66 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 186; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig*, ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 451.

67 *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 211; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 185.

then traveled further to Samarqand. She first met with the Khatun there and later with the Qarakhanid Khagan and presented them both with commodities brought from Kashghar. She introduced herself as the widow of a merchant and claimed that they had traveled around the world together but her husband died in Khotan on the way to China (Khitāy). There, a business partner of her husband advised her not to carry back the goods they were taking to China, so she decided to present them to the Khagan of Kashghar. After that, she was given to him as a wife, but he later also died and left her some capital. She introduced her son as a child of this second marriage and asked the Khagan to protect them. This gave her access to the court and a chance to steal the Caliph's charter.[68] The story is probably apocryphal but it paints a vivid picture of Turkic women and their mobility in that period. Moreover, it also confirms that Khotan was a central point from where trade caravans to China were dispatched and that merchants traveled to China with their wives:

> So he [Sultan Mahmud] supplied her with whatever she demanded in the way of money, jewels, robes, ornaments, animals, and provisions. This woman had a son of fourteen years old who was being educated at the hands of a teacher; she took the boy with her and set out from Ghazni to Kashghar. There she bought some Turk pages and bondmaids, as well as a large supply of choice goods imported from China [Khitāy] and Khotan, such as musk and various kinds of silk. Then she traveled in the company of merchants to Uzgend and went from there to Samarqand. Three days after her arrivals she went to pay her respects to the Khatun, offering a very handsome Turk bondmaid as a gift together with many choice things from India, Khotan and China; and saying, "My husband was a merchant; he used to travel throughout the world and take me with him; we were going to China, but when we reached Khotan he died. I turned back and came to Kashghar."[69]

The story of this Turkic woman also states that women could join trade caravans, as she did when she was traveling from Kashghar to Uzgend and from there to Samarqand. This indicates that not all women in trade caravans were related to the merchants. There were some women among them who traveled independently for commercial purposes or even on a mission for their ruler.

Female envoys were not common in China, but records on some delegations can be found in Song sources. In particular, an official female delegation

68 *Siyāsatnāma*, trans. Darke, 154–158.
69 Ibid, 155.

that arrived at the Song court from the Women Kingdom (Nüren *guo*) was illustrated by the Song artist Li Gonglin (1049–1106) in his *Wanfang zhigong tu* (*Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions*).[70] Descriptions of the Women's Kingdoms began to appear in Chinese sources starting in the sixth century. Envoys from kingdoms ruled by women were frequently mentioned from the Tang period onwards. The Song official Zhao Rugua recorded two Women's Kingdoms located in the southeast and the Western Sea. The latter had trade relations with Daqin (Baghdad) and Tianzhu (India).[71] *Wenxian tongkao* recorded that the Western Women Kingdom (Xi Nü *guo*) was located to the west of Pamir.[72] The exact locations of these kingdoms are unclear. The concept of "southeast" can be also viewed in a broader sense as referring to the territories from Southeast Asia to Australia. The Women Kingdoms are also often described as mysterious lands full of mythical and imaginary information.

Song sources also recorded a Buddhist nun who was dispatched as an envoy by the Khagan of the Ganzhou Uyghurs to the Song court in 1007:

> 景德四年冬十月戊午，甘州回鶻可汗夜落紇遣尼法仙等來朝，獻馬十匹，仍許法仙遊五臺山。尋又遣僧翟大泰來，貢馬十五匹，欲於京城建佛寺祝聖壽，求賜名額，不許。[73]
>
> On the day *wuwu* of the tenth month in winter of the *Jingde* era [December 7, 1007], Ganzhou Huigu Yelage *kehan* [Yaghlaqar Khagan of the Ganzhou Uyghurs] dispatched the nun Faxian and others to arrive at the court and present 10 horses, therefore the nun Faxian was permitted to travel to Wutaishan.[74] Soon he also sent the monk Zhai [also pronounced as Di] Datai to arrive at the court and offer 15 horses; he wanted to build a Buddhist temple in the capital to wish a long life to the wise man [Emperor] and requested to grant an inscribed board with the name, but it was not allowed.

70 *Wanfang zhigong tu* 萬方職貢圖 [Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions], painted by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106), retrieved from Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1911.180. https://asia.si.edu/object/F1911.180/.

71 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans Hirth and Rockhill, 151.

72 *Wenxian tongkao*, 339: 2662–3.

73 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 67: 1501. This mission also appears in the section of Huigu in *Song shi*, 490: 14115. This was the second mission by the nun Faxian; her first was in 1004. For the text and translation, see Appendix 1.

74 Wutaishan is a sacred Buddhist site located in Qingshui, Shanxi Province, China.

Biellenstein translated the word *ni*, which means Buddhist nun, as "Manichean."[75] He probably assumed that it was a corruption from the Chinese term *mani* referred to the Manichaeism. However, Faxian requested to travel to Wutaishan, which is a sacred Buddhist site. Manicheans often appeared in Song sources under the term *waidao*, meaning non-Buddhists and *chicaishimo* (vegetarian demon worshipers) and disregarded by the Song authorities. At the same time, Uyghur Khagans often appointed Buddhist monks who traveled between India and China and sent as envoys to the Song court. It is most plausible, therefore, that Faxian was a Buddhist nun.

During the early Song period, specifically in 1019, there were 230,127 officially registered Buddhist monks and 15,643 Buddhist nuns in China.[76] Buddhist nuns were depicted in Song sources as dedicated practitioners and influential teachers and were under the patronage of the imperial family and local elites. Moreover, during the Song period, women were allowed to ordain female disciples and managed their monastic affairs independently, without being subordinate to monks.[77] Apparently, they could also act as emissaries and lead official missions sent by the Uyghur Khagans to the Song court. Moreover, Khatuns of the Ganzhou Uyghurs also dispatched their own official missions to the Song court:

> 其年，夜落紇、寶物公主及沒孤公主、娑溫宰相各遣使來貢。東封禮成，以可汗王進奉使姚進為寧遠將軍，寶物公主進奉曹進為安化郎將，賜以袍笏。又賜夜落紇介胄。[...] 三年四月，可汗王、公主及宰相撒溫訛進馬、乳香。賜銀器、金帶、衣著、暈錦旋襴有差。[78]
>
> This year [1008], Yelage *kehan* [Yaghlaqar Khagan], Baowu Princess, Meigu Princess and *zaixiang* [Grand Councilor] Suowen [Saghun] each sent envoys to arrive with tribute. When the Dongfeng[79] ceremony was finished, Yao Jin, the envoy of the Uyghur Khagan was appointed as *ningyuan jiangjun* [General Who Brings Repose to the Distance] and Cao Jin, the envoy of Baowu Princess as Anhua *langjian* [Commandant of Anhua] and they were granted robes and tablets. Also, Yelage *kehan* was granted armor and helmet. [...] On the fourth month of the third

75 Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade*, 452.

76 Hsieh Ding-hwa, "Buddhist Nuns in Sung China (960–1279)," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 30 (2000): 81.

77 For the activities of Buddhist nuns during the Song period, see Hsieh, "Buddhist Nuns," 63–96.

78 *Song shi*, 490: 14115–14117.

79 Dongfeng is Emperor Zhenzong's (967–1022) sacrifice to Heaven at Taishan in 1008.

> year [1025], *kehan wang* [Khagan King], Princess and *zaixiang* Sawene [Saghun] offered horses and frankincense. They were granted silverware, golden belts and brocade gowns, which varied according to their ranks.

Taking into account the position of Turkic elite women in their society and the presence of female envoys at the Song court, it can be assumed that women in Qarakhanid official delegations in China could have had their own missions. But women's histories and travels were compiled and written by men; therefore, we can rely only on what they decided to include in their accounts.

6 Official Communication

As a rule, Qarakhanid envoys had to present tribute and an official document known as a memorial (*biao* or *biaozhang*) to the Song emperor. The document was first checked by officials before it was forwarded to the throne.[80] The response to Qarakhanid letters was usually an imperial proclamation or edict (*zhao*). Memorials and edicts were summarized in official and unofficial gazettes, a practice that had started during the Tang dynasty, if not earlier. It was not until the Ming period that it became common practice to publish collections of memorials.[81] Therefore, not many documents of this type dating to the time before the Ming have survived, unless they were excerpted in standard histories or other compilations. To the best of my knowledge, no original letter written by the Qarakhanids to the emperors of the Song dynasty has survived. However, the content of some letters and extracts are recorded in Song sources.

Apparently, the original language of Qarakhanid letters was Turkic, which was later translated into Chinese by the envoy himself or by other interpreters. The first Qarakhanid envoy, Luo Siwen (Boyla Saghun), who arrived at the court of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) in 1009, delivered a message from the Qarakhanid ruler Yusuf Qadir Khan, who requested from the Song emperor to send an official envoy. In this way, he probably sought to use the prestige of China and strength his status in the newly conquered territories. Luo Siwen started his report with the following formal expression:

80 *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 53; *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 295: 7190.

81 For various types of edicts and memorials in imperial China, see Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 284–285.

臣萬里來朝，獲見天日，願聖人萬歲，與遠人作主。[82]

Your servant came to the court over ten thousand *li* to be able to see the light of day and wish the wise man [Emperor] to live ten thousand years and to take charge of people from afar.

The Qarakhanid envoy also informed the emperor that the road from Guazhou (Anxi) and Shazhou (Dunhuang) to Khotan was safer than it had been in earlier eras and asked to send the envoy "to pacify faraway places."[83] It can be assumed that the Qarakhanids were having trouble with the local population of Khotan, and asked for help in this matter by requesting an envoy. Emperor Zhenzong issued an edict instead of sending a messenger, saying that it would be the same.[84] Unfortunately, the content of the edict was not recorded and it is not clear whether the Qarakhanids managed to get any support from the Chinese emperor.

The headings of the documents sent by two Qarakhanid rulers were preserved in Chinese translation in *Qingbo zazhi* (*Miscellaneous Notes from the gate of Qingbo*) written by Zhou Hui (b. 1126). The first memorial was presented to Emperor Shenzong by the Qarakhanid envoy, Commander Ashin,[85] with the following heading:

于闐國僂儸大福力量知文法黑汗王，書與東方日出處大世界田地主漢家阿舅大官家。[86]

The letter from *heihan* king of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan], the clever, fortunate, powerful, civilized and rightful,[87] to my uncle, Great Emperor of the Dynasty, the owner of fields and lands of the great world in the East, where the sun rises.

---

82 *Song shi*, 490: 14107. Also in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 71: 1598.

83 *Song shi*, 490: 14107.

84 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 71: 1598; *Song shi*, 490: 14107.

85 The envoy was mentioned as "Axin from the barbarian division" (*fanbu* Axin) in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 314: 7612.

86 *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 53. This heading was also provided in other Song sources, see *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 314: 7612; *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

87 The expression "clever, fortunate, powerful," seems to be a Chinese translation of Turkic honorific epithets such as "Bilga, Qutlugh, Kuch/Kuchluk." I owe this comment to Pavel Lurje. For Turkic honorific epithets and reigned titles, see Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, 124–127.

Commander Ashin, arrived at the court in 1081 and presented gifts from the Qarakhanid ruler. He stayed in Song China for two years and returned to the court in 1083. During his audience with the Chinese Emperor in 1083, Ashin told him that he had been sent away four years ago. This suggests that the envoy was dispatched by Tughril Qarakhan Yusuf ibn Sulayman (r. 1062–1080) or by his son Tughril Tegin ʻUmar ibn Yusuf (r. 1080) in 1079/80. The purpose of this letter was to inform the emperor that three previous delegations sent by the Qarakhanid ruler to the Song court had not returned. The Song emperor replied that he had summoned all the envoys and sent them back with gifts. The inappropriate addressing of the Chinese emperor as *ajiu,* "maternal uncle," and the word choice suggest that the heading of the memorial was translated by a non-Chinese interpreter. The envoy came to the court along with a guide from the Tsongkha kingdom, who served as an interpreter between the Qarakhanid envoy and the Song emperor.[88] It was likely he who translated the memorial. I assume that Tsongkha interpreters were heavily involved in the Qarakhanid-Song diplomatic relations.

The heading of the second memorial included in *Qingbo zazhi* was probably sent by Arslan Khan Ahmad ibn Hasan (r. 1102–1128) to Emperor Huizong during the *Zhenghe* reign (1111–1118). It was also probably translated by Tsongkha interpreters. The text of the heading runs:

> 日出東方、赫赫大光、照見西方五百里國、五百國內條貫主黑汗王，表上日出東方、赫赫大光、照見四天下、四天下條貫主阿舅大官家。[89]
>
> The sun rises in the East, the splendid radiance illuminates the state of 500 *li* in the west, the letter from Tiaoguanzhu *heihan wang* [Tabghach Qarakhan king] of the state of 500 *li*[90] to my uncle, Great Emperor of the Dynasty, Tiaoguanzhu and the whole world in the East, where the sun rises and the splendid radiance illuminates the whole world.

The Qarakhanid rulers who sent these memorials to the Song emperors could not justifiably use the term "maternal uncle" to refer to the Song emperors since the Qarakhanids did not have marriage alliances with the Song dynastic

88 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 314: 7612; *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

89 *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 53. See also Document 4 in Appendix 2.

90 For the term "Tiaoguanzhu" that refers to Tabghāch, which was the name for China in the medieval Turkic world, see Huang Shijian 黃时鉴, *Dong Xi wenliu shilun gao* 東西文流史論稿 [History of Cultural Interactions between East and West] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1998), 11–15.

members.[91] Currently, there is no evidence in Chinese or Muslim sources that would confirm a "nephew-uncle relationship" between the Qarakhanids and the Song emperors. The original text, which was apparently in Turkic was almost certainly different from its Chinese translation. I believe that the Tsongkha interpreters who translated the original text applied the previous form that was used during the Tibetan Empire, when Tang princesses became cultural and political ambassadors between China and Tibet.[92] This practice was not continued during the Song period, but Tsongkha rulers continued to use the expression of "maternal uncle" in their correspondence.[93] Therefore, interpreters also applied this form when translating the Qarakhanid memorials. However, Huang Shijian suggested that the Qarakhanids originated from the Uyghurs, who had practiced marriage exchanges with the Tang emperors and addressed the Chinese emperor as "maternal uncle" in official correspondence. Therefore, the Qarakhanids could continue this practice in official communication with the Song emperors.[94]

The Chinese translation of the second letter was recorded in *Tieweishan congtan* (*Collection of Talks from the Tiewei Mountain*), written by the Northern Song official Cai Tiao (d. 1126). His work includes important information on the system of court administration in the Northern Song. In the heading of the Qarakhanid letter recorded by Cai Tiao, Arslan Khan Ahmad ibn Hasan was referred to as *ajiu heihan wang* (uncle Qarakhan King).[95] This seems to be an error, as Huang Shijian also pointed out.[96] This letter was also recorded by Zhang Shinan, a scholar of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in his book *Youhuan jiwen* (*Records of Official Travel*). The author collected various types of correspondence used in the administrative court of the Song dynasty. The letter written by Arslan Khan Ahmad ibn Hasan was also included. In the heading of the letter the Qarakhanid ruler was mentioned as *shizi heihan wang* (Lion Qarakhan King), which refers to the Turkic title Arslan, meaning "lion."[97]

91 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 15, for the Arabic text, see *3.

92 For the practice of exchanging princesses between imperial Tibet and Tang China, see Brandon Dotson, "The "nephew–uncle" relationship in the international diplomacy of the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th Centuries)," in *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the First International Seminar of Young Tibetologists,* ed. Brandon Dotson, Tim Myatt, Kalsang Norbu Gurung, and Georgios Halkias (Chicago: Serindia, 2009), 223–38.

93 *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 52–53.

94 Huang, *Dong Xi wenliu*, 13.

95 *Tieweishan congtan,* 1: 9.

96 Huang, *Dong Xi wenliu*, 12.

97 *Youhuan jiwen*, 5: 46. For the text and translation of the letter, see Document 4 in Appendix 2.

The main purpose of the first Qarakhanid memorial was to obtain military support from the Song emperor to deal with a possible Muslim-Buddhist conflict in Khotan. Later the Qarakhanids also sought this support for confrontation with the Tanguts.[98] Therefore, the communication between the Qarakhanids and the Song emperors encompassed much more than just formal presentations or expressing gratitude to the emperor.

7 Diplomatic Gifts and Trade Commodities

Islamic sources recorded gifts and exchange of commodities between the Qarakhanids and other Islamic dynasties, which gives information not only on luxury goods coming from other parts of the Islamic world to the Qarakhanids but also on Chinese commodities that came through the Qarakhanids to the Islamic world, which could not always be obtained from Chinese sources. The latter mainly recorded goods coming to China from the Qarakhanid realm. The list of these gifts not only gives an idea of what a particular state was able to send but also illustrates what the merchants took with them as trade goods.

The Qarakhanids sent their own local products to Song China as well as items from other parts of the world. Among the presents that they brought to the Chinese emperor were animals such as dromedaries, horses, donkeys, and lions, as well as typical nomadic goods, such as saddles, bridles, and belts decorated with jade; a type of Central Asian brocade known as *hujin* (barbarian or foreign brocade) and flowered fabric; semi-precious stones such as jade, lapis lazuli, green nephrite, pearl, coral, amber and ivory; drugs and aromatics like castoreum, frankincense, costus root, clove, "dragon salt" (*longyan*),[99] and minerals like ammonium chloride and mercury.[100] The variety of these items demonstrates that the Qarakhanids established themselves as the main actors of international trade in this period.

Animals and nomadic goods were local Qarakhanid merchandise, except the lions, which were probably brought from Iran or India. The Qarakhanids also presented this animal to the Liao emperors. Figurines of foreign envoys and artists with lions discovered from Liao tombs resemble Central Asians in their dress and physical features. Lions are not native to China; even the

98 *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

99 It could also be a corruption of "dragon spittle" (*longxian*), which is ambergris that was transported to China from the Islamic world and used for perfumery and medicine. *Zhu fan zhi*, trans Hirth and Rockhill, 237.

100 *Song shi*, 490: 14108–14109.

Chinese word for lion (*shi*) is believed to derive from the Persian word *shīr*.[101] The name implies that the lion was introduced to China via Central Asia. Later myths and legends about lions entered the popular imagination and occupied a significant place in Chinese culture. The Chinese believed the lion brought good luck and kept evil spirits away. Carved stone and ceramic lions were often set up in pairs to guard shrines, temples, palaces, and private homes, a custom that spread to other parts of the Sinitic world (even as far as Vietnam) and persists to this day.

There are some typical Qarakhanid goods among the gifts that were transported from Central Asia to China by the Sogdians. The Qarakhanids were the main suppliers of Central Asian fabrics in China, especially of a type known as the above-mentioned "barbarian brocade," which was also known as *xijin* (western brocade). During the Tang, this type of fabrics was mostly brought to China by Sogdian merchants.[102] In Chinese, Sogdians were mostly simply called *hu*, meaning "barbarians," or "foreigners."[103] Sogdian brocades have been found in many cities along the Silk Roads and were highly prized in China. Therefore, the term *hujin* continued to be used for Central Asian brocade in later periods.

The Chinese taste for stones has a long history. Jade is a culturally rich object that is highly prized in China and has been imported from Khotan since ancient times. Jade items continued to be one of the main trade commodities brought to China during the time of the Qarakhanids.[104] During the Song period, only Khotanese jade was used for decoration of Imperial clothing and ritual objects. For instance, according to *Youhuan jiwen*, in earlier eras jade was brought from foreign countries such as Khotan and Kashghar and places within the empire as Lantian, Nanyang, and Rinan. But during the Song period, jade was found only in Khotan.[105]

Lapis lazuli (*jinxingshi*, literally "gold-star stone") and green nephrite (*feicui*, literally "kingfisher") were also known as "the Stones of Khotan" (Yutian *shi*) in Song China.[106] Green nephrite was probably from the Qarakhanid realm, but

101 Laurence Picken, "Music for a Lion-Dance of the Song Dynasty," *Musica Asiatica* 4 (1984): 200–201.

102 Morris Rossabi, "The Silk Trade in China and Central Asia," in *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles,* ed. James C.Y. Watt, and Anne E. Wardwell (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 23.

103 Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, trans. James Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 131–133.

104 Rong and Zhu, "Cong jingong dao siyi," 193–195.

105 *Youhuan jiwen*, 5: 45–46.

106 *Yunlin shipu, zhong juan:* 19. For the association of *jinxingshi* with lapis lazuli and *feicui* with green nephrite and possibly also with another kind of lapis during the Song period,

lapis lazuli came from the Badakhshan region in Afghanistan. The Qarakhanids obtained this item from the Ghaznavids, and together with pearls, corals, and ivory, brought them to China. All these items were among the diplomatic gifts that the Qarakhanids had received from the Ghaznavid Sultan.[107]

The Qarakhanids also obtained various types of drugs and aromatics from the Ghaznavids.[108] However, not all of these items originated from India. The Ghaznavid conquest of India in the early eleventh century linked Arab, Persian and Indian traders with various parts of South Asia and China. The Ghaznavids established themselves as intermediaries for the Mediterranean-Chinese maritime trade and re-opened continental commercial routes connecting the cities of Central Asia.

Amber and castoreum were probably obtained by the Qarakhanids from the Volga Bulghars via Khwarazm. Baltic amber was also brought to China through the Sogdians, who obtained it from the Upper Volga.[109] The Qarakhanids were well informed of the demand for this type of amber in China. Volga Bulghar merchants brought this merchandise, which was originally from Northern Europe to Khwarazm or even directly into the Qarakhanid realm. The Qarakhanids transported these items further to China during Liao and Northern Song times, connecting East Asia with the Fur Road networks.

Ammonium chloride and mercury can definitely be determined as having been brought from Central Asia, as there were many mineral mines there. Ammonium chloride, which was used in metallurgy and textile dying, was also often traded in China by Sogdian merchants.[110]

It is often difficult to find out which items were brought back by Qarakhanid merchants from China. The Qarakhanids received lavish rewards for their gifts from the Chinese emperors. In addition to luxurious Chinese garments, golden belts, jewels, silverware, and other ritual diplomatic gifts, they also received cash payments. Moreover, in order to foster economic relations with the Qarakhanids, the emperors reimbursed travel costs and provided lodging for the envoys.[111] The Qarakhanids sought to obtain Chinese commodities that were highly prized in the Islamic world. These items were not only circulated in trade but also often presented to allied rulers. For instance, among the Qarakhanid diplomatic gifts to the Ghaznavids were Chinese vessels and

see Edward H. Schafer, *Tu Wan's Stone Catalog of Cloudy Forest* (Berkeley: University of California, 1961), 89–90.

107 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 316; *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 188.

108 Ibid.

109 de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, 39, 175, 252–253.

110 de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, 134, 174; Hansen, *The Silk Road*, 101–102.

111 *Song shi*, 490: 14108–14109.

fabric that may be identified as Song porcelain, silk, brocade, and other types of Chinese fabrics.[112] The Qarakhanids also presented to the Ghaznavid Sultan a Chinese item called *dārkhāshāk*.[113] This term could be an inaccurate combination of the Persian words *dārū* (medicine, drug) or *dār* (wood), and *khāshāk* (leaves, sprigs). The term could refer to a kind of Chinese medicine as well as to Chinese tea. The Qarakhanids dispatched their envoys from Khotan to Kaifeng via trade roads known as "the Ancient Tea Horse Road" that had connected southwest China and Tibet since the Tang period.[114]

8 Roads, Itineraries and Maps

Details on the road and territories between the Qarakhanid realm and China were provided by Qarakhanid ambassadors at the Chinese court. Qarakhanid envoys not only reported on the content of official letters and presented gifts but they were also interviewed on roads and territories between their country and China and served as a source of knowledge about the Western Regions. One of these interviews, which took place in 1083 between Emperor Shenzong and the Qarakhanid commander Ashin, is included in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*. The Qarakhanid envoy met with the emperor in *Yanhe dian*, a Hall of the Imperial Palace, in Kaifeng:

> 上問曰:「離本國幾何時?」
> 曰:「四年。」
> 「在道幾何時?」
> 曰:「二年。」
> 「經涉何國?」
> 曰:「道由黃頭回紇、草頭達靼、董氈等國。」
> 又問:「留董氈幾何時?」
> 曰:「一年。」
> 問:「達靼有無頭領、部落?」
> 曰:「以乏草、粟,故經由其地皆散居也。」
> 上顧謂樞密都承旨張誠一曰:

112 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 178.

113 *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 189. For the English translation, see *Zayn al-akhbār*, trans. Bosworth, 95.

114 For Qarakhanid relations with Tibet, see Chapter 4; for the Qarakhanid tea trade, see Chapter 6.

「達靼在唐與河西、天德為鄰，今河西、天德隔在北境。自太祖朝嘗入貢，
後道路阻隔，貢奉遂絕。」
又問:「嘗與夏國戰者，豈此達靼乎？」
曰:「達靼與李氏世讎也。」
又問:「道由諸國，有無抄略？」
曰:「惟懼契丹耳。」
又問:「所經由去契丹幾何里？」
曰:「千餘里。」[115]

The Emperor said: "When did you leave your state?"
The envoy replied: "Four years ago."
The Emperor: "How long have you been traveling?"
The envoy: "Two years."
The Emperor: "Which states did you pass through?"
The envoy: "The road was through Huangtou Huihe [Yellow-Head Uyghurs], Caotou Dada [Straw-Head Tatars], Dongzhan [Tsongkha] and other states."
The Emperor also said: "How long did you stay in Dongzhan?"
The envoy: "One year."
The Emperor: "Do the Dada have headmen and tribes?"
The envoy: "Due to the lack of grass and grain, in their lands that I passed they all live scattered."
The Emperor turned around and addressed to Zhang Chengyi, *shumidu chengzhi* [Military Affairs Chief Recipient of Edicts]: "The Dada were located near Hexi [Hexi Corridor] and Tiande [Bayannur] during the Tang. Now Hexi and Tiande are blocked beyond the northern frontiers. From the reign of Emperor Taizu [960–976] they offered tribute, but later the road was separated and it was immediately discontinued."
The Emperor also asked: "Are they those Dada who once had a war with the Xia state [Tanguts]?"
The envoy replied: "Dada and the Li dynasty are sworn enemies."
The Emperor: "Are there bandits on the road through all these countries?"
The envoy: "We were only afraid of the Qidans [Khitans]."
The Emperor: "How many *li* is it from the places you have passed through to the territories of the Qidans?"
The envoy: "More than one thousand *li*."

115 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 335: 8061. An abridged version of this interview is also found in *Song shi*, 490: 14109 and *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17.

This short interview not only provides many insights into the roads that connected China and the Qarakhanid realm but also gives a general view of Qarakhanid diplomacy in the east. The road from Khotan to China had been in existence since ancient times and was located in the trade routes known to historians as the Southern Silk Road. The road from Khotan to Tang China through Tibet was also used by Sogdian merchants prior to the Qarakhanids.[116] The Qarakhanid envoy stated that he traveled for two years from Khotan to Kaifeng. However, he also mentioned that he stayed in the territory of Tsongkha for one year. Therefore, it can be assumed that the road from Khotan to Kaifeng through the territories of the Uyghurs, Tatars and Tsongkha took about one year to traverse. The first Qarakhanid envoy, who came to the Song court in 1009 also informed the court that he traveled for a year, passing through the territories of the Guazhou and Shazhou. However, he was not sure of the exact length of the route.[117] The envoy from the Khotan kingdom, who arrived at the Song court in 961 stated that their country was located 9900 *li* away from the capital of the emperor. He also reported that to the southwest of Khotan lay Pamir (Congling) and India (Poluomen), in the south was Tibet (Tubo), and in the northwest was Kashghar (Shule).[118]

The Qarakhanid ambassador Ashin arrived at the Song court together with the envoy from Fulin, which refers to Asia Minor. The Fulin mission was also accompanied by the Qarakhanids in 1091.[119] The Fulin envoy provided a more detailed itinerary, recounting the journey from Anatolia to China through Khotan.[120] The itinerary described by the Qarakhanid commander Ashin during the interview should refer to the Qinghai Road, which is discussed in Chapter 6.

The Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī illustrated his work with a world map centered on the main capital of the Qarakhanids, the ancient city of Balasaghun in present-day Kyrgyzstan. In his world map, he depicted different places on the road from Khotan to Song China, which he named Māṣīn. The first part of the road also went from Khotan to Shazhou (Shānjū), which is Dunhuang, through the city of Cherchen. Then it turns to the lands of the Uyghurs in Turfan. The last destination before arriving in China was the city of Khātūn sinī, which according to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, was located between the regions of the Tanguts and that of the Khitans (al-Ṣīn). However, it is not

116 de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, 144–147.
117 *Song shi*, 490: 14107.
118 *Song shi*, 490: 14106.
119 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 455: 10906.
120 For the road used by the envoy from Anatolia, see Chapter 5.

clear whether this road passed through the land of the Khitans. According to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, a journey from the land of the Khitans (al-Ṣīn) to Song China (Māṣīn) in the eleventh century took four months.[121] It can be assumed that the Qarakhanids also used the road through the land of the Khitans, at least during the period of the marriage alliance between the Qarakhanids and the Khitans in 1021.[122] However, the Qarakhanid envoy clearly stated that they were afraid of the Khitans, who were more than one thousand *li* away from the territories they passed. This statement may hint at possible conflicts between two polities in this period or the willingness of the Khitans to control the land roads and trade between the Qarakhanids and Song China.

As the Qarakhanid envoy clearly pointed out, the embassy was allowed to pass through the territories of the Uyghurs, the Tatars, and the Tsongkha kingdom, which indicates that close relations existed between them. The remarks by the Qarakhanid envoy on the Tatars and their conflict with the Tanguts demonstrate that the Qarakhanids were also well informed about the political situation in the territories of their eastern neighbors. Moreover, it shows that the Qarakhanid knowledge of the outside world was much broader than may be suggested from the first Turkic world map drawn by the Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī.

Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī did not mention his informants, and it can be only assumed that he most likely obtained knowledge about roads to China from Qarakhanid envoys and merchants. At the same time, Chinese texts recorded Qarakhanid envoys as cartographers and sources of knowledge about the western territories in China. For instance, according to the imperial edict issued on May 23, 1083 Emperor Shenzong ordered to dispatch an envoy to the Tatars using the map drawn by the Qarakhanid ambassador Ashin:

> 詔:「于闐大首領畫到達靼諸國距漢境遠近圖，降付李憲。」以嘗有朝旨委憲遣人假道董氈使達靼故也。[123]
>
> Imperial Edict: "The main chieftain of Yutian is to draw a map of distances of the all Dada [Tatars] states from the Han borders; it should be sent and given to Li Xian." Li Xian was appointed as envoy and sent to the Dada via Dongzhan [Tsongkha], therefore, [the map was given to him].

121 For the terms al-Ṣīn and Māṣīn resp. Khātūn sinī, see *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 424, 843, 1289–1290. For the map and cities, also see Albert Herrmann, "Die älteste türkische Weltkarte (1076 n. Chr.)," *Imago Mundi* 1, no. 1 (1935): 22–4.

122 *Liao shi,* 16: 189.

123 *Xu zhizhi tongjian changbian,* 335: 8063; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17.

Information provided by the Qarakhanid envoys could be used in major maps of the Song dynasty. For instance, Qarakahnid territories were depicted in the Song dynasty map *Hua yi tu* (*Map of Chinese and non-Chinese Countries*) that was engraved as a stone stele in 1136. It is the earliest surviving map of China that depicts its neighboring territories.[124] The map was first studied by Edouard Chavannes, who analyzed the place names and dates cited on the map and pointed out that it was initially drawn between 1043 and 1048. Moreover, he assumed that the author of the map was probably a foreigner due to some misuse of the era durations and place names depicted on the map. Chavannes suggested that the map was created by a Khitan author because the Khitan Empire was labeled as Da Liao (Great Liao).[125] However, it is clear that it was not the effort of just one person. The author most likely worked with a group of cartographers that included travelers and foreign envoys.

I assume that information provided by Qarakhanid envoys was involved in the map-making process. The most remote western territory that was drawn on the map is the Qarakhanid realm. The map depicted the Qarakhanid major cities such as Yutian (Khotan), Shache (Yarkent), Shule (Kashghar) and Suiye (Suyab). Other places in the Western Regions were included in the list of countries on the left side of the map.

The depiction of Suyab, which is present-day Ak-Beshim on the eleventh-century Song map, can lead to further discussions about its abandonment. Suyab, also known as Ordukent, was the capital of the Western Turk Khaganate. After the fall of the Khaganate, Suyab became one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi Protectorate of the Tang Empire. In 766, Suyab was occupied by the Qarluqs and served as the political center. Later it became one of the capitals of the Qarakhanids. Recent archaeological excavations in Ak-Beshim have demonstrated that the city was abandoned at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century at the latest. The city was displaced by Balasaghun, which is located 5 kilometers south of Ak-Beshim in present-day Burana.[126] At the same time, the Chinese map that was created between 1043 and 1048 depicted Suyab. It was probably, introduced as the center of the Khaganate by Qarakhanid informants. However, according to the Chinese

124 *Hua yi tu* 華夷圖 [Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Countries, 1136], retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005081/.

125 Edouard Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise," *Bulletin de l'École française de Extrême-Orient* 3, no.2 (1903): 216.

126 Massashi Abe, "Results of the Archaeological Project at Ak Beshim (Suyab), Kyrgyz Republic from 2011 to 2013 and a Note on the Site's Abandonment," *Intercultural Understanding* 4 (2014): 15.

FIGURE 3.1 *Song China and the Western Regions*, from General Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories in the Past and Present in *Lidai zhili zhizhang tu*, 1130s, Ming dynasty print edition

COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY, TAIWAN, NO. 04161

1. Congling (Pamir) 2. Shule (Kashghar) 3. Shache (Yarkent) 4. Yutian (Khotan) 5. Suiye (Suyab) 6. Qiuci (Kucha) 7. Yanqi (Karashahr) 8. Yizhou and Xizhou (Qomul and Turfan) 9. Shazhou and Guazhou (Dunhuang and Anxi) 10. Ganzhou (Zhangye) 11. Xizhou and Hezhou Circuit 12. Xia guo (Tanguts) 13. Tianzhu (India)

FIGURE 3.2 *Song China and the East*, from General Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories in the Past and Present in *Lidai zhili zhizhang tu*, 1130s, Ming dynasty print edition

COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY, TAIWAN, NO. 04161

14. Dongjing (Kaifeng) 15. Gaoli (Korea) 16. Riben (Japan) 17. Sanfoqi (Srivijaya) 18. Zhancheng (Champa)

official sources, the first Qarakhanid envoy arrived in 1009 and then there were no missions from the Qarakhanids in the period from 1025 to 1063. It means that the Chinese collected the relevant information on the Qarakhanid territories between 1009 and 1025. Therefore, it can be concluded that Suyab continued to be used as the capital of the Qarakhanids at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Hua yi tu was used as the main source for other maps during the Song dynasty. For instance, the same Qarakhanid cities also appeared in *Gujin Huayi quyu zongyao tu* (*General Map of Chinese and non-Chinese Territories in the Past and Present*).

This map was included in the earliest historical atlas in China *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* (*Handy Geographical Maps through the ages*) created during the Northern Song period. The earliest extant printed edition is dated to the 1130s, and is currently stored in Toyo Bunko in Tokyo. This edition was compiled by the Song scholar Su Shi (1037–1101). The exact date and author of the original publication are unknown. It is assumed that the first edition was published at the end of the eleventh century during the Northern Song period and compiled by cartographer Shui Anli (d. 1099).[127] Figures 3.1. and 3.2. are images from the Ming dynasty edition of the Song printed edition compiled by Su Shi and held in the Central National Library in Taiwan.[128]

9 Missions to Hangzhou?

When the Jurchens conquered most of northern China, the Song imperial family was forced to retreat south from its original capital in Kaifeng and re-establish their court in Hangzhou, which was renamed Lin'an (literally, "Approaching Peace"). Chinese sources did not record missions from Khotan during the Southern Song. The Jurchens conquered the Song capital Kaifeng in 1126 and the Tsongkha kingdom in 1182.[129] This political situation interrupted

127 The facsimile edition of the *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* Song edtition held at the Toyo Bunko was published as *Songben lidai dili zhizhang tu* (Shanghai: Shanghai chubanshe, 1989). For the detailed discussion of the Atlas and the *General Map of Chinese and non-Chinese Territories in the Past and Present*, see Hilde de Weerdt, "Maps and Memory: Readings of Cartography in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Song China," *Imago Mundi* 61, no. 2 (2009): 158. The same author. *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 125–143.

128 *Lidai dili zhizhang tu,* Ming edition, 8, 9.

129 Petech, "Tibetan Relations," 178.

Qarakhanid-Song relations. Moreover, the Western and Eastern Qarakhanids became the subjects of the Western Liao (the Qara Khitai) after the 1130s.[130] This affected their image in the Sinitic world and they probably were seen generally as Dashi, meaning Muslims. The Qarakhanid realm was also viewed as a part of the Western Liao empire, which was mentioned as Dashi after the name of its founder, Yelü Dashi.[131] Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish the Qarakhanids in twelfth-century Chinese records from other Muslim states or the Western Liao.

Qarakhanid merchants most likely had the opportunity to trade in the territories of the Uyghur Idiquts in Turfan, who were also incorporated into the Western Liao Empire. How far-reaching was the Qarakhanid eastern trade during the twelfth century? Michal Biran pointed out that Qarakhanid merchants had their stations in the Tangut territories and some delegations even passed further, to Jin China.[132] Indeed there are some data confirming Tangut-Qarakhanid and Jurchen-Qarakhanid contacts. For instance, a Qarakhanid coin dated 1056/57–1057/58 was unearthed from the Tangut site in Lingwu County in Ningxia during the excavations conducted by the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1984–1986.[133] Moreover, the collection of Tangut laws *Tiancheng gaijiu xinding lulling* (*Revised and Newly Endorsed Code for the Tiancheng Era*) described regulations applied to foreign envoys and merchants from countries such as Dashi and Xizhou (Turfan).[134] The Tangut Code was compiled during the *Tiancheng* era (1149–1169). Therefore, Dashi here could refer both to the Qarakhanids and the Qara Khitai.

The official history of the Jin dynasty recorded a mission form the Qara Khitai realm that most likely refers to the Qarakhanids:

> 大定中， 回紇 移習覽三人至西南招討司貿易，自言：「本國 回紇 鄰括番部，所居城名骨斯訛魯朵，俗無兵器，以田為業，所獲十分之一

130 For the political history of the Western Liao, see Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai*.

131 For the representation of the Qarakhanids in the Sinitic world during the twelfth century, also see Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai*, 138.

132 Biran, "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange," 582.

133 Zhang Lianzi 张连喜 and Ma Wenkuan 马文宽, "Ningxia Lingwu Ciyaobao chutu qianbi ji moshu « diao » zi cipian 宁夏灵武磁窑堡出土钱币及墨书"吊"字瓷片 [Coins and a Ceramic Chip with Inscription "diao" Unearthed from the Ciyao Fort in Lingwu, Ningxia]," *Kaogu* 考古 12 (1991): 1105.

134 *Tiancheng gaijiu xinding lüling*, 7: 284–285.

> 輸官。耆老相傳，先時契丹至不能拒，因臣之。契丹所居屯營，乘馬行自旦至日中始周匝。近歲契丹使其女壻阿本斯領兵五萬北攻葉不輦等部族，不克而還，至今相攻未已。」詔曰：「此人非隸朝廷番部，不須發遣，可於咸平府舊有 回紇人中安置，毋令失所。」[135]
>
> During the *Dading* era [1161–1189] three men headed by Huihe Ixilan arrived at the southwestern Bandit-Suppression Commission for trade and said: "Our state is the Huihe Zoukuo tribe, the name of the city where we are located is Gusieluduo [Kuz-Orda, i.e., Balasaghun], there are no weapons in our custom, we work on the fields and give one-tenth of our harvest to the officials. Our old men passed on that during the previous times when the Qidans [Khitans] arrived, people were unable to resist and therefore submitted to them. The encampment in which the Qidans reside can be circled if one rides a horse from daylight to the beginning of midday. In recent years, the Qidans sent the son-in-law Abensi led by 50,000 men to attack the Yebulian and other tribes in the north, he was unable to overcome them and returned, and to this day the attacks on each other have not been yet finished. The Imperial Edict said: "These people do not belong to the foreign tribes of the imperial court and there is no need to send them; they can be emplaced in Xianpingfu [Kaiyuan] among the Huihe that have been there since ancient times; do not order them to lose their homes."

These merchants came from Balasaghun and belonged to the "Uyghur Zoukuo" group. Liu Yingsheng suggested that Zoukuo could refer to the Chigil component of the Qarakhanids and concluded that this record may confirm the Chigil hypothesis of the Qarakhanid ruling elite origin.[136] The most interesting is that the Jin source applied the term Huihe for the Qarakhanid mission. This means that the Qarakhanids were known not only under the term Dashi but also as Huihe during the Jurchens. However, it does not help to distinguish the Qarakhanids in Chinese sources of the twelfth century. *Jin shi* recorded eleven missions sent by Huigu/Huihe from 1127 to 1172.

135 *Jin shi*, 121: 2637.

136 Liu, "A Century of Chinese Research," 121.

TABLE 2 "Uyghur" missions to the Jin Court

	Date	Sender	Envoy	Purpose
1.	March 11, 1127 *JS* 3: 56	Heli Khagan	not specified	tribute
2.	November 20, 1127 *JS* 3: 58	Huolasan Khagan	not specified	tribute
3.	September 10, 1131 *JS* 3: 63	Uyghur Weiyu	not specified	tribute
4.	October 8, 1131 *JS* 3: 63	Hezhou (Turfan) Uyghurs	not specified	The Uyghurs captured people of Yelü Dashi named Saba, Dili, Tudie and came to present them to the Jin court.
5.	September 15, 1138 *JS* 4: 73	Uyghurs	not specified	tribute
6.	July 27, 1142 *JS* 4: 79	Uyghurs	not specified	tribute
7.	March 21, 1144 *JS* 4: 80; 121: 2637	Uyghurs (neighbors of Yelü Dashi)	not specified	congratulatory
8.	January 27, 1153 *JS* 5: 100	Uyghurs	not specified	tribute
9.	November, 1156 *JS* 5: 107	Uyghurs	Yinshuwulonggu	tribute
10.	In the third month, 1172 *JS* 7: 156	Uyghurs	not specified	tribute
11.	In the fourth month, 1172 *JS* 7: 156	Uyghurs	not specified	tribute

The table demonstrates that Jin sources often did not specify the exact origin of the missions sent by the so-called "Uyghur" rulers. The term "Uyghur" was used in a wider sense in Jin China and also applied to the Qarakhanid realm. It means that in theory some of these missions could be dispatched

by the Qarakhanids. The term "Uyghur" was also used to refer more generally to Central Asia during the Mongol conquest of the Khwarazmian Empire. For instance, the Khwarazmshahs were recorded as "Uyghurs" in Chinese sources of that period.[137] It can be concluded that from the twelfth century the term "Uyghur" could refer to Central Asia in general.

To sum up, the Qarakhanids were known as Dashi in Tangut sources and as Huigu/Huihe in Jin sources. Dashi could also refer to the Qara Khitai, as well as Huigu/Huihe to the Uyghurs. Therefore, often the Qarakhanids cannot be identified except in a few rare cases when more detailed descriptions are provided.

Qarakhanid relations with the Southern Song are questionable, but Qarakhanid commodities were able to pass further to Song China through the Tanguts, and Chinese merchandise was indeed transported to Central Asia. For instance, specimens of Song and Jin porcelain ceramics of the Qingbai, Longquan, and Ding types were unearthed in the layers of the Afrasiyab site dated to the second half of the twelfth century.[138] The Qarakhanids were probably referred to by other names in Southern Song sources that may appear during further investigations. Therefore, Qarakhanid relations with the Southern Song and the Jin empires in the twelfth century is a field that remains to be studied, requiring more archaeological data as written sources do not provide much information.

10 Conclusion

The Qarakhanid Khaganate appeared in Song dynasty sources from the tenth century and was initially known after the name of its capital as Shule (Kashghar). The Chinese were aware of military confrontations between the Qarakhanids and the Khotan kingdom during the second half of the tenth century. Later when Khotan was incorporated into the Khaganate, the Qarakhanids gained control over the main passages of the Silk Road, which gave them a possibility to initiate diplomatic contacts with Song China. The Qarakhanids used Khotan as the main trade market for Chinese goods, and it also served as a midpoint for official delegations and trade caravans sent by the Khagans to Song China. For this reason, the Qarakhanid Khaganate started to be associated with Khotan and was known under this name in Chinese records from the very beginning of the eleventh century up to the twelfth century.

137 The case of the Khwarazmshahs is discussed in Chapter 5.

138 Sokolovskaia and Rougeulle, "Stratified Finds of Chinese Porcelains," 91–96.

Qarakhanid official missions to Song China were mostly sent for commercial purposes and could also serve the military interests of both polities. The Khagans appointed high-ranking military officials and dynastic members as envoys known in China as *banci* (also spelled as *banca*) to lead diplomatic delegations and trade caravans to China. The Qarakhanids also offered military service in the frontiers of the Song Empire. At the same time, the Qarakhanid Khagans sought to form an alliance with the Song in the eastern borders mainly against the Tanguts. The hopes of the Qarakhanids for military support were not fulfilled, however, due to the weakness of the Song monarchs in this matter. But commercial relations with Northern Song China became a basis of the Qarakhanid economy, which brought them high prestige in international trade networks in the eleventh-century world.

Chinese texts recorded the presence of women in the Qarakhanid delegations, and they also participated in court ceremonies. Muslim sources confirm that elite women in eleventh-century Turkic society could independently join trade caravans, travel to remote territories, including China, and even meet with rulers personally.

What emerges from the list of the Qarakhanid commodities transported to Northern Song China is that Qarakhanid trade was not specialized and they traded everything of value in China. They transported commodities from Turkistan, Iran, India, Arabia, and Europe to obtain Chinese fabrics, medicine, precious metals, and porcelain.

The Qarakhanid Silk Roads to China ran in two directions: the Hexi Corridor Road and the Qinghai Road. This helped to maintain access to the Chinese market during the Song-Tangut conflict. The diplomacy and commerce of the Qarakhanids along the Silk Roads linked Central Asia not only with China but also Tibet and India through the network of the Southern Silk Road. It facilitated knowledge exchange between Central Asia and China. Qarakhanid envoys served as diplomats, merchants, and soldiers in the Song Empire and also participated in updating information about the west. They were asked to draw maps of roads and countries located between Central Asia and China, and as a result, the Qarakhanid territory, including its center in the Chu valley in present-day Kyrgyzstan, appeared in the eleventh-century Song map *Hua yi tu*.

The Qarakhanid commercial diplomacy in the East was interrupted due to the geopolitical changes that occurred in China and Central Asia during the first half of the twelfth century caused by the Jurchen conquest of the Khitan territories and a vast portion of the Northern Song. The Song lost control of its capital Kaifeng and the northern half of the empire. Therefore, the Song court retreated south and established a new capital in present-day Hangzhou.

Southern Song authors did not mention Khotan in their records. During this period, the Qarakhanids became a part of the Qara Khitai Empire that was established by the dynastic members of the Khitans, who were forced to move to the west during the Jurchen conquest. Therefore, Chinese sources of the twelfth century applied other designations to the Qarakhanids. They were simply viewed as a territory of the Qara Khitai. At the same time, Jin sources applied the term "Uyghur" (Huihe/Huigu) to the entire territory of Central Asia, including the Qarakhanid realm. Therefore, it is not always possible to differentiate the Qarakhanids from the Qara Khitai or the Uyghurs in the twelfth-century Chinese records.

CHAPTER 4

Before China: Dunhuang, Turfan and Tibet

1 Introduction

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Qarakhanid roads to China passed through Dunhuang, which was located at the western edge of the Hexi Corridor in China's present-day Gansu Province.[1] This is not unexpected, as Dunhuang had been the main entry point to China from Central Asia since ancient times. However, it is believed that due to the Song conflicts with the Khitans and the Tanguts Dunhuang lost its significance along the overland Silk Roads after the mid-tenth century and never regained it.[2] Conversely, this study demonstrates that Dunhuang continued to play an important role along the overland Silk Roads connecting China with the West in the tenth–eleventh centuries. It was known at this time as Shazhou in Chinese sources and was indicated as Shānjū in the Qarakhanid world map.[3]

Qarakhanid delegations apparently had to pass through Turfan, which was under the rule of the Uyghur Idiquts, to arrive in the Khitan realm. The same road was used by the Khitan delegation that arrived in the Gahznavid court in 1026/1027 and by Yelü Dashi, the founder of the Qara Khitai dynasty during his journey to the west. Both had to cross Turfan to reach the Qarakhanid realm. Chinese and Central Asian sources provide very limited information on Qarakahnaid possible contacts with the Xizhou Uyghurs, and this chapter seeks to combine all available data.

It should be also pointed out that Qarakhanid envoys and merchants had an alternative road to Song China via Tibet, avoiding the passage along the Hexi Corridor. This road was actively used during the second half of the eleventh century, especially, when the Tanguts sought to monopolize roads that connected Central Asia with China.

1 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 18, *6.

2 Rong, *Eighteen Lectures*, 76.

3 For the facsimile of the map, see *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 1289–1290.

2 Dunhuang

The road from Khotan and Kashghar to Dunhuang took 55 and 69 days, respectively.[4] The first Qarakhanid delegation that arrived in Song China in 1009 described the road between Khotan and Dunhuang, pointing out that the road was safe and peaceful.[5] The Qarakhanid envoy that arrived in Kaifeng in 1081 also mentioned territories they passed on their way. This itinerary was recorded in Chinese sources. The envoy informed that they came via the Tsongkha kingdom. Describing the territory between the Khotan and the Tsongkha regions, he did not mention the Tanguts, but instead provided information on territories of "the Yellow-Head Uyghurs" and "the Straw-Head Tatars;" the latter were located near Hexi (Gansu) and Tiande (Bayannur) during the Tang period.[6] The exact locations of these groups in the eleventh century are uncertain. There are two possible sites. The envoy could arrive via the Hexi Corridor Road or the Qinghai Road.

The first road was used by the Qarakhanids in the beginning of the eleventh century. However, the itinerary between the Qarakhanid Khaganate and the Tsongkha kingdom provided by the Qarakhanid envoy in 1081 most likely referred to the Qinghai Road. When Emperor Shenzong asked the Qarakhanid envoy about the location of the Straw-Head Tatars who previously lived between Bayannur and Gansu, he answered that the Tatars lived scattered. They were also mentioned as "sworn enemies" of the Tanguts.[7] Therefore, the emperor ordered to draw a map of territories between the Tatars and Song China. This map was used by the Song envoy, who was sent to the Tatar realm via the Tsongkha kingdom. It can be assumed that some Tatar groups moved from their previous territories to the new location, which was not in Gansu.[8] The territory of the Yellow-Head Uyghurs was mentioned after the Tatar realm. This means that the Tatars and the Uyghurs mentioned by the Qarakhanid envoy between Khotan and Qingtang, the capital of the Tsongkha kingdom, were located in the Qinghai region during the second half of the eleventh century. They probably were forced to leave their previous territories in Gansu due to the Tangut conquest.

4 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 18, *6.

5 *Song shi*, 490: 14107.

6 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8061; *Song shi*, 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17. Duturaeva, "Qarakhanid Envoys," 190.

7 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 335: 8061.

8 *Xu zhizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8063; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17.

However, the road via Dunhuang was important to initiate contact with Song China. Who were the Qarakhanids partners in Dunhuang? After the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate in 840, some Uyghur groups migrated westward. One part settled in the Turfan Basin and formed the Uyghur Khaganate known in Chinese sources as the Xizhou Uyghurs, which lasted until the mid-fourteenth century. Another part arrived in Ganzhou and neighboring territories in the Hexi Corridor and created the Uyghur Khaganate of Ganzhou known in Chinese sources as the Ganzhou Uyghurs, which was destroyed by the Tanguts in 1030s.

The Shazhou Uyghurs sent envoys to Song China starting in the tenth century. For instance, Song sources recorded that the Ganzhou, Shazhou, and Guazhou Uyghurs sent a joint delegation to the court in 966.[9] The ruler of the Ganzhou Uyghurs was also mentioned as the Kaghan of the Ganzhou and Shazhou Uyghurs.[10] It demonstrates that Dunhuang was occasionally under the control of the Ganzhou Uyghurs. However, Uyghur and other Turkic groups started to settle in Dunhuang even earlier. Some groups of Ganzhou Uyghurs likely also remained in Dunhuang when the Tanguts destroyed their polity. Later these Uyghurs continued to be known jointly in Chinese sources as the Shazhou Uyghurs and regularly sent envoys to the Song court in the eleventh century. However, the creation of the Khaganate by the Shazhou Uyghurs is doubtful.[11] In fact, from the middle of the ninth to the early eleventh centuries, Dunhuang was under Guiyijun rule, which was initially a military outpost set up by the Tang in 851 and later became an independent polity viewed as a foreign country during the Song period.[12] The Song official history included the records of Dunhuang to the section devoted to Central Asia, Iran, India, Arabia, and Asia Minor:

> 沙州本漢燉煌故地，唐天寶末陷于西戎。大中五年，張義潮以州歸順，詔建沙州為歸義軍，以義潮為節度使，領河沙甘肅伊西等州觀察、營田處置使。義潮入朝，以從子淮深領州事。至朱梁時，張氏之後絕，州人推長史曹義金為帥。義金卒，子元忠嗣。周顯德二年來貢，授本軍節度、檢校太尉、同中書門下平章事，鑄印賜之。
>
> 建隆三年加兼中書令，子延恭為瓜州防禦使。興國五年元忠卒，子延祿遣人來貢。贈元忠燉煌郡王，授延祿本軍節度，弟延晟為瓜州刺

9 *Song shi*, 490: 14114; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 2; 7: 3.

10 *Song shi*, 490: 14114.

11 For the discussion on the concept of "Uyghur Khaganate of Shazhou," see Rong, *Eighteen Lectures*, 326.

12 Ibid, 40–41.

史，延瑞為衙內都虞候。咸平四年，封延祿為譙郡王。五年，延祿、延瑞為從子宗壽所害，宗壽權知留後，而以其弟宗允權知瓜州。表求旌節，乃授宗壽節度使，宗允檢校尚書左僕射、知瓜州，宗壽子賢順為衙內都指揮使。大中祥符末宗壽卒，授賢順本軍節度，弟延惠為檢校刑部尚書、知瓜州。賢順表乞金字藏經洎茶藥金箔，詔賜之。至天聖初，遣使來謝，貢乳香、硇砂、玉團。自景祐至皇祐中，凡七貢方物。[13]

Shazhou was originally the old place of the Han called Dunhuang and at the end of the *Tianbao* era [742–756], fell into the Xirong.[14] In the fifth year of the *Dazhong* era [851], Zhang Yichao annexed and conquered this prefecture; the Emperor ordered to establish Shazhou as Guiyijun and made Zhang Yichao *jiedushi* [Regional Military Commissioner], *guancha* [Investigating Commissioner] of Hezhou, Shazhou, Ganzhou, Suzhou, Yizhou and Xizhou and *chuzhishi* [Commissioner] of Yingtian.[15] When Zhang Yichao went to the court, his nephew Zhang Huaishen was put in charge of the prefecture's affairs. By the time of the Zhu Liang period, the Zhang dynasty was discontinued and the people of Shazhou recommended *zhangshi* [Aide] Cao Yijin to become governor. When Cao Yijin died, his son, Cao Yuanzhong, succeeded him. In the second year of the Zhou *Xiande* era [955] he came to offer tribute. He was given the posts of *junjiedu* [Military Commissioner], *jianjiao taiwei* [Acting Defender-in-Chief], and *zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* [Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery], and was granted the official seal.

In the third year of the *Jianlong* era [962], he also held the post of the *zhongshuling* [Head of the Secretariat] and his son Cao Yangong became the *fangyushi* [Defense Commissioner] of Guazhou. In the fifth year of the *Xingguo* era [980] Cao Yuanzhong died and his son Cao Yanlu sent people to offer tribute. The Emperor bestowed upon Cao Yuanzhong the honorary title after death *junwang* [Commander Prince] of Dunhuang and gave Cao Yuanlu the post of the *junjiedu* [Military Commissioner] of this prefecture, his younger brother Cao Yansheng became *cishi* [Regional Chief] of Guazhou and Cao Yanrui became *yanei du yuhou* [Inspector-in-Chief of Palace Guards]. In the fourth year of the *Xianping*

13 *Song shi*, 490: 14123–14124.

14 "Xirong" is an ancient name for non-Chinese peoples in the west.

15 Yingtian was a popular land system of military cultivation in frontier regions during the Tang and Song dynasties.

> era [1001], Cao Yuanlu was given the title *junwang* of Qiao. In the fifth year of the *Xianping* era [1002], Cao Yanlu and Cao Yanrui were killed by their nephew Cao Zongshou, who held the position of *quanzhi liuhou* [Deputy Commander] and appointed his younger brother Cao Zongyun as *quanzhi* of Guazhou. He sent a memorial to the Emperor and requested an insignia; the Emperor gave Cao Zongshou the post of *jiedushi* [Military Commissioner], and Cao Zongyun the post of *jianjiao shangshu zuo pushe* [Acting Vice Director of the Left of the Department of State Affairs] and made him in charge of Guazhou. Cao Xianshun, Cao Zongshou's son, became *yanei duzhihuishi* [Commander-in-Chief of Palace Guards]. At the end of the *Dazhongxianfu e*ra [1008–1016] Cao Zongshou died and the Emperor gave Cao Xianshun the post of *junjiedu*; his brother Cao Yanhui became *jianjiao xingbushangshu* [Acting Ministry of the Department of State Affairs] and was in charge of Guazhou. Cao Xianshun sent a memorial and requested the Buddhist Canon with gold characters, tea, medicine and gold leaf, it was ordered that it all be granted. By the beginning of the *Tiansheng* era [1023] he sent an envoy to offer thanks along with frankincense, ammonium chloride, and jade lumps. From the *Jingyou* era [1034–1038] to the middle of the *Huangyou* era [1049–1054] he offered local products to the court seven times altogether.

This Chinese text does not mention the presence of the Uyghurs in Dunhuang. The official control was indeed in the hand of the Guiyijun, at least until the middle of the eleventh century. At the same time, due to its geographical location, Dunhuang was always a cosmopolitan region. Dunhuang texts and documents in Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese, Sogdian, Uyghur, Syriac and Sanskrit dated to 850–1000 may serve as the best demonstration of the existence of multilingual society in Dunhuang at this time.[16] For instance, the Sogdian community was one of the largest foreign groups living in Dunhuang. They started to settle in this region during the Tang period and remained there until the Song era. Imre Galambos pointed out that despite being largely sinicized, some Sogdians might have been bilingual and remained literate in both Chinese and Sogdian.[17] Rong Xinjiang even proposed that the Cao family, who ruled in Dunhuang during the Guiyijun period, might have been of Sogdian origin.[18]

16 Rong, *Eighteen Lectures*, 72–75; Imre Galambos, "She Association Circulars from Dunhuang," in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture,* ed. Antje Richter (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), 871.

17 Galambos, "She Association Circulars," 873.

18 Rong, *Eighteen Lectures*, 331.

Cao was the Chinese name of the Sogdian city-state Kaputana. Ushrusana was known as Eastern Cao and Ishitikhan as Western Cao. Sogdians from these places who settled in China during the Sui-Tang period were known by this name. Therefore, the Cao family that ruled in Dunhuang was most likely of Sogdian origin.

The Guiyijun regime of Dunhuang established mutual diplomatic, trade and cultural links with the Ganzhou Uyghurs and the Xizhou Uyghurs, strengthened with marriage alliances.[19] The text from *Song shi* quoted above mentions diplomatic gifts from the Dunhunag ruler sent to Song China in 1023.[20] The presence of frankincense and jade among these gifts allows us to draw conclusions about trade relations between the Cao family and the Qarakhanids. In fact, frankincense appeared among the Dunhuang gifts sent to China starting in 1007.[21] The jade trade was also under the Qarakhanid control after the conquest of Khotan. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Qarakhanids definitely had diplomatic and trade relations with the Guiyijun in Dunhuang no later than the early eleventh century.

In 1030s Dunhuang, as well as other regions located in the Hexi Corridor, started to be incorporated into the Tangut Empire and the Guiyijun regime began to lose its power. However, it seems that the level of Tangut control varied over the years. Especially in the initial stage of the Tangut Empire. During a short period of time, the Shazhou Uyghurs were also connected with the Xizhou Uyghurs.[22] For instance, Dunhuang scholars have observed that some paintings in the Mogao caves in Dunhuang are similar to the artistic style of the Xizhou Uyghurs shown in the Bezeklik caves.[23] Moreover, Lilla Russel-Smith pointed out that Uyghur clothing depicted in the Mogao caves in Dunhuang is comparable to the Uyghur rulers shown in the Bezeklik caves in Turfan, and the presence of these large portraits demonstrates the Uyghur political dominance

19 For marriage alliances between the Uyghurs and the Guiyijun regime in Dunhuang, see Lilla Russel-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centers on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 58–68.

20 *Song shi*, 490: 14124.

21 See Chapter 6.

22 Takao Moriyasu, "The West Uighur and Tun-huang around the 10th–11th centuries," *Berichte und Abhandlungen der Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Band 8 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 348; Horlemann, "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong Kha," 90.

23 Liu Yuquan 刘玉权, "Guanyu Shazhou Huigu dongku huafen (zhaiyao) 关于沙州回鹘洞窟的划分(摘要) [About the Division of the Shazhou Huigu Cave (Abstract)]," Dunhuang yanjiu 敦煌研究 2 (1988): 9–11; Russel-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang*, 69–75.

in Dunhuang during the Tanguts rule in the Hexi Corridor.[24] However, the Tanguts obviously sought to control the Dunhuang passageway that frequently caused conflicts with the Qarakhanids. Therefore, the Qarakhanids attacked the Tanguts in Dunhuang and neighboring territories in 1090s.[25] It demonstrates that Dunhuang and the Hexi Corridor Road continued to be important for the Qarakhanids and they did not want to lose access to this passage to China.

It can be concluded that the Tangut conflicts with the Song and the Khitans in the eleventh century did not allow them to control Dunhuang entirely, giving the Uyghurs *de facto* independence. The fact that the Uyghurs were portrayed in Dunhuang in the style of the Uyghur royal portrait tradition also confirms their dominance.[26] Starting from the end of the eleventh century, the Tanguts worked on strengthening their positions in the Hexi Corridor including in Dunhuang. This caused a military conflict with the Qarakhanids, who even requested assistance from the Song in 1093.[27] The situation changed in the twelfth century when the Tanguts signed a peace treaty with the Song and established diplomatic relations with their neighbors in the east and the west, the Jurchens and the Qara Khitai. Qarakhanid envoys and merchants were no longer mentioned in Chinese sources during the Southern Song period. It can be connected with political changes in Qarakhanid realm that became a subject of the Qara Khitai. Qarakhanid merchants probably continued to be involved in international trade in the east, but it is not known how distant their trade in China was.

3 Turfan

The Uyghur polity in Turfan known in Chinese sources as Xizhou was depicted on the Qarakhanid world map as the Uyghur land (*bilād* Uyghur) with its capital Qocho (Qūjū). It was most likely the Uyghur Khagan of Turfan who dispatched an envoy jointly with the Khitan delegation that arrived in the court of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.[28] However, Vladimir Minorsky suggested that it might be the Ganzhou Uyghurs. He pointed out that in the case of the Xizhou Uyghurs it would be strange that the ruler did not use his honorable title

24 Russel-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang*, 69–70.

25 *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

26 Russel-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang*, 70.

27 *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

28 For the discussion on the Uyghurs in the Marwazī's account, see Chou Yi-liang, "Notes on Marvazi's Account on China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 9, no. 1 (1945): 19–21.

"Idiqut" in the official letter. He also assumed that the Khitans attached more importance to the Ganzhou Uyghurs than to the Xizhou Uyghurs because the Khitan emperors adopted a patronizing attitude towards them.[29] On the other hand, Marwazī, who recorded the joint Khitan-Uyghur mission to Ghazna, provided a translation of the letter that might differ from the original, and his description of the Uyghur territory clearly refers to Turfan. For instance, he recorded that a traveler should turn towards the left after passing Dunhuang in order to reach Qocho, a city of the Uyghur Khagan (Yughur Khan). The road to Ganzhou (Qāmjū) was described as an opposite direction towards the south-east that located on the way to Song China (al-Ṣīn).[30] Chinese sources recorded more envoys and exchanges between the Khitans and the Xizhou Uyghurs, especially compared to the number of delegations sent by the Ganzhou Uyghurs to the Khitans. It can be observed that the Ganzhou Uyghurs were looking more towards developing their relations with Song China. Therefore, it was most likely the Xizhou Uyghurs who joined the Khitan mission to Ghazna.

The Uyghur Khagan pointed out in his official letter to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna that the road of the Khitan envoy laid through his territory.[31] If we accept that the Uyghur Idiquts dispatched this mission then it means that Qarakhanid delegations crossed Turfan on the way to Liao China and therefore had to initiate diplomatic contacts with the Xizhou Uyghurs in order to access the Khitan territory. There are several facts and sources that prove the relationship between the Qarakhanids and the Xizhou Uyghurs.

Yutaka Yoshida has recently published an article on Manichaean Sogdian letters found in Turfan that demonstrates commodity transportation from Transoxiana to Turfan and regular correspondence exchange between Manicheans of Samarqand and Turfan in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. For instance, one of these letters was sent in the early eleventh century by a bishop of the Manichean community located near Samarqand to celebrate the New Year and addressed to the "Teacher Aryāmān Puhr in Turfan."[32] It is not clear whether these letters were brought directly by the Manichean monks that might be traveling between Samarqand and Turfan or arrived via other links. However, this kind of document definitely proves the existence of networks and contacts between territories of Turfan and Samanid/Qarakhanid

29 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 77–78.

30 Ibid, 18, Arabic text, *6.

31 Ibid, 21, Arabic text, *7.

32 For the documents, see Yutaka Yoshida, "Relation Between Sogdiana and Turfan During the 10th–11th Centuries as Reflected in Manichaean Sogdian Texts," *Journal of the International Silk Road Studies* 1 (2017): 113–25.

Transoxiana. For instance, the Song envoy Wang Yande, who visited Turfan in 982–983, mentioned Persian monks living there:

> 復有摩尼寺，波斯僧各持其法，佛經所謂外道者也。[33]
>
> There is also a Manichean temple and all Bosi [Persian] monks follow its doctrine, it is called *waidao* ["outside road," non-Buddhist] in the Buddhist texts.

These Manichean monks could have been from Transoxiana and Khurasan. Manichaeans from these regions were moving to the East due to the expansion of Islam in the Khurasan-Afghanistan-Transoxianian region. Wang Yande also recorded neighboring territories of Turfan. Khotan was located in the west of the country. This means that the Qarakhanids shared the common borders with the Xizhou Uyghurs after the Khotan conquest:

> 高昌即西州也。其地南距于闐，西南距大食、波斯，西距西天步路涉、雪山、葱嶺，皆數千里。[34]
>
> Gaochang is Xizhou. In the south, its territory reaches Yutian [Khotan], in the southwest it reaches Dashi and Bosi, in the west it reaches Xitian Bulushe [Indian Purushapura], Xueshan [Snow Mountains, i.e. the Himalayas] and Congling [Pamir], they all are several thousand *li* apart.

In this passage, Yutian refers to the Khotan kingdom that was later conquered by the Qarakhanids. Dashi might refer either to the Qarakhanids or the Samanids during this period but it could be also applied to both polities, meaning the Muslim territory more generally. Bosi, which is translated as Persia, may refer to the Samanids, but also to the Ghaznavids. For instance, the Chinese recorded an envoy from Bosi located in Northern India that arrived in Kaifeng in 984. The Persian state in Northern India and its association with the Ghaznavids are discussed in Chapter 5.

The Qarakhanid presence in the East before the Khotan conquest can be confirmed mainly by commodities that circulated in the region. Before it, there was no specific name used to refer to the Qarakhanids. They might appear under the general name "Tujue" during the pre-Islamic period and later under the term "Dashi." Therefore, it is not always possible to identify

33 *Song shi*, 490: 14112.
34 Ibid, 490: 14111.

Qarakhanid delegations before they began to be associated with Khotan in China. However, it is generally accepted that "Dashi" mainly referred to the Qarakhanids in the Khitan and the Tangut sources. The earliest envoy from Dashi that may refer to the Qarakhanids was recorded in Liao sources in 924.[35] According to Song sources, the Xizhou Uyghurs presented an amber cup to the Song emperor in 965.[36] Amber, mostly from the Baltic region, was transported by the Qarakhanids to the East. Archaeological data confirms the amber trade in Liao China in the tenth–eleventh century. Qarakhanid activity along the Amber Road was discussed in Chapter 6. Here it should be noted that despite the lack of written sources, we can still observe the presence of Qarakhanid commodities in the East starting in the tenth century.

It would seem that due to the shared borders, Qarakhanid sources should be more informative about contacts with Turfan. But contradictorily, there is not much data on this issue except information provided in the *Tazkira-i Bughra Khān* about a Qarakhanid attempt to conquer Turfan and convert the Uyghurs to Islam.[37] In fact, it is also believed that this conflict between the Qarakhanids and the Uyghurs in Turfan was mentioned in *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* as well, which described struggles between Muslims and the peoples of Minglaq, the territory of the Uyghurs.[38]

Fragments of fabrics produced in the Islamic world that were found in the Turfan region also confirm regular contact with Muslims, who might have mostly been from the Qarakhanid realm.[39] Moreover, the Xizhou Uyghurs and the Qarakhanids became subjects of the Qara Khitai Empire in the twelfth century that connected trade roads between two territories. It seems that from the twelfth century onward, Qarakhanid merchants were not able to travel farther east regularly due to conflicts between the newly emerged Qara Khitai and

35 *Liao shi*, 2: 20.

36 *Song shi*, 490: 14110.

37 Eden, *Warrior Saints*, 45.

38 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 917*;* Also see Peter Zieme, "Notes on the Religions in the Mongol Empire," in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes,* ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 183–184; Buayixiamu 布阿衣夏木, and Aji 阿吉, "Kalahan wangchao yu Gaochang Huigu hanguo zhengzhi guanxi 喀喇汗王朝与高昌回鹘汗国的政治关系探析 [Political relations between the Qarakhanid Dynasty and the Gaochang Uyghur Khaganate]," *Ha'erbin xueyuan xuebao* 哈尔滨学院学报 36, 12 (2015): 103.

39 For Muslim textile in Turfan, see Kazuko Sakamoto, "Two Fragments of Luxury Cloths Discovered in Turfan: Evidence of Textile Circulation from West to East," in *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2014), 72–83, 297–302.

Jurchen Empires. Therefore, the Turfan market played a significant role in the Qarakhanid economy, specifically during the Qara Khitai period.

4 Tibet

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Qarakhanid missions came to China via Dunhuang, but the Qarakhanids stopped sending missions to Song China from 1025 to 1063.[40] The Hexi Corridor was blocked by the Tanguts in this period and it probably also caused the interruption of Qarakhanid contact not only with the Song, but also with the Liao. Therefore, priority was given to finding alternative roads to Song China by establishing contact with the Uyghurs and the Tatars, who were enemies of the Tanguts.[41] Tsongkha played a strategic role in Qarakhanid-Song relations during most of the eleventh century, offering a road to China via Tibet. Since the Tanguts had blocked existing routes, Qarakhanid envoys had their station at Tsongkha.

It is not known when exactly the Qarakhanids initiated diplomatic relations with Tsongkha and started to send their missions via Tibet. After the long hiatus, the Qarakhanids began to send envoys to China in 1063.[42] It is known that around 1060 a chieftain from Xijie, the "Western realm," named Mangmi sent a delegation to the Tsongkha ruler Gusiluo presenting golden ware, brocades, and pack camels, and offered a marriage alliance.[43] This may refer to the Qarakhanid delegation that arrived in China in 1063. Chinese sources confirm the Qarakhanid-Tsongkha relationship starting in the reign of Dongzhan (1065–1083).[44] Chinese chronicles also recorded that the mission that was dispatched in 1079 and arrived at the Song court in 1081 via Tsongkha, and was accompanied by the Tsongkha guide and interpreter.[45] Moreover, Dongzhan married or took into service a woman from Khotan and adopted her son Aligu (1040–1096; reigned in 1083–1096), who became his successor.[46] However, it is

40 *Song shi*, 490: 14108. Some materials used in this section were initially published in: Dilnoza Duturaeva, "From Turkistan to Tibet: The Qarakhanid Khaganate and the Tsongkha Kingdom," in *The History and Culture of Iran and Central Asia: From the Pre-Islamic to the Islamic Period*, ed. Deborah Tor and Minoru Inaba (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2022), 305–327.

41 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8061.

42 *Song shi*, 490: 14108; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 30–31.

43 *Lequan ji*, 22: 24a; Horlemann suggested that this mission could be sent from Kucha. Horlemann, "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong Kha," 99.

44 *Wenchang zalu*, 1: 2.

45 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 314: 7612; *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

46 *Song shi*, 492: 1 4165; Horlemann, "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong Kha," 102.

believed that she was one of the Khotanese refugees who migrated eastward after the conquest of Khotan by the Qarakhanids, rather than a member of the Qarakhanid dynasty.[47] Chinese sources recorded around twelve missions from the Qarakhanids to the Song court during the reign of Dongzhan from 1083 to 1096.[48] Most if not all of these missions were able to come exclusively via the Tsongkha kingdom. Qarakhanid envoys continued to flow to Tibet and China during the reign of the next Tsongkha ruler Aligu, who was Dongzhan's adopted son from Khotan as described above. During this period, Qarakhanid missions came almost annually, and sometimes two or three times a year. This demonstrates that Qarakhanid-Tsongkha relations intensified during the rule of Aligu.

Tsongkha rulers provided living quarters to Qarakhanid envoys. They could stay in the capital of Tsongkha for a year or more on their way to Song China.[49] The reason for this extended residence in Tsongkha can be explained by economic interests from both sides. The Qarakhanids were not only allowed to cross Tsongkha, but also had permission to trade.

Tsongkha rulers provided Qarakhanid ambassadors with guides and interpreters, who accompanied them to China and served as translators for them and the Song emperors. They also translated written documents and messages sent by the Qarakhanid rulers to the Song court. Extracts of these documents were recorded in Song sources.[50] It can be assumed from similar forms of Qarakhanid and Tsongkha official letters sent to the Song court. For instance, the founder of the Tsongkha kingdom Gusiluo addressed the Song emperor as "Son of Heaven of the Zhao dynasty, the Lord of the East and my uncle."[51] This is similar to the headings used in Qarakhanid letters.[52] Both types of documents used the term *ajiu* to address the Song emperors. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, it is unlikely that the Qarakhanids used the term "maternal uncle" to refer to the Song emperors, because they did not have marriage alliances with the Song dynastic members, which was also pointed out by Central Asian authors.[53] The Qarakhanids sought to establish marriage relations with the Liao dynasty and married Khitan princesses[54] but there is no evidence

47 Rong, *Eighteen Lectures*, 132; Biran, "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange," 580.

48 For the list of Qarakhanid missions, see Appendix 3.

49 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8061; *Song shi,* 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17.

50 *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 52–53; *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 314: 7612; *Song shi,* 490: 14109. Full texts of Qarakhanid letters rarely depicted.

51 趙家天子及東君趙家阿舅. *Qingbo zazhi*, 6: 53.

52 To compare with the Qarakhanids letters, see Document 4 in Appendix 2 and Chapter 2.

53 For instance, see *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 15, for the Arabic text, see *3.

54 *Liao shi*, 16: 189; *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 19.

in Chinese or Muslim sources that can confirm royal marriages between the Qarakhanids and the Song emperors. The Tsongkha rulers simply applied the form used during the Tibetan Empire.

It is not clear why the Tsongkha ruler continued to use this form in official correspondence. It can be only assumed that Gusiluo, who according to Chinese sources was a descendant of the Tibetan imperial dynasty, wanted to emphasize the previous relationship and kinship between Chinese and Tibetan emperors. If we accept this assumption, then the Qarakhanids may also have applied this form referring to similar contacts between Tang China and the Uyghur Khaganate. This is even more plausible if we take into account a broader meaning of the Turkic term "uncle" and translation problems of Turkic kinship vocabulary in Chinese sources. Étienne de la Vaissière discussed the Chinese mistranslation of the Turkic term *äçi* meaning paternal uncle and elder brother, which could be used in a broader sense to refer to other elder male relatives on one's father's side.[55] The Turkic term *tagay*, meaning "maternal uncle," can also refer to "maternal grandfather" or other elder male family members from one's mother's side.[56] It means that the Qarakhanids could use this form in a broader sense even without marriage relations with the Song emperors.

It is difficult to determine what exactly the Qarakhanids offered to the Tsongkha rulers, as Chinese sources do not provide this information. From the list of gifts that Tsongkha rulers presented to Song emperors, however, it is possible to identify typical Qarakhanid commodities. For instance, the Tsongkha ruler Dongzhan presented pearls, frankincense, ivory, jade, and horses.[57] Most of these items were probably obtained from the Qarakhanids, certainly the jade and frankincense. Tsongkha merchants most likely obtained the incense from the Qarakhanids and re-gifted it to the Song emperors. The Tsongkha ruler Aligu presented a lion to the Song emperor on April 21, 1094.[58] He probably re-gifted the lion that was presented to him by the Qarakhanids. Items such as pearls and ivory began to be presented to the Song court during the Dongzhan period, which may indicate that these commodities were also obtained from the Qarakhanids. The Qarakhanids transported these rarities from Iran and India through their contacts with the Saljuqs and the Ghaznavids.

55 Étienne de la Vaissière, "Diadi i brat'ia: kagany Ashina i tiurskii slovar' rodstva," in *Arkheologiia i istoriia Tsentral'noi Azii v trudakh frantsuzskikh uchenykh,* ed. Shahin Mustafaev, and Henri-Paul Francfort (Samarkand: IICAS, 2014), vol. 2, 134–40.

56 Edgem R. Tenishev, ed., *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaia grammatika tiurkskikh iazykov: Leksika* (Moscow: Nauka, 2001), 296.

57 *Song shi*, 492: 14164.

58 Ibid, 18: 340.

Tibetan musk was one of the main products that Qarakhanid merchants brought from Tsongkha. For instance, the Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī recorded information about Tibetan musk deer and musk production in Tibet.[59] Musk was the most famous Tibetan product in the Islamic world and was incorporated into medicine and perfumery in early Islamic times. Tibetan musk first arrived in Sogdiana and India and then passed into the central parts of the Islamic world.[60] Qarakhanid merchants continued this tradition and became the main suppliers of Tibetan musk in the Islamic world. Musk was also used as a diplomatic gift presented by Qarakhanid rulers to their neighbors in the Islamic world.[61]

The Qarakhanid merchants were also involved in the tea trade with Tsongkha. It is known that Tsongkha was one of the main suppliers of horses for Song China. They exchanged horses and sheep mainly for Chinese tea and silk.[62] Trade roads known as "the Ancient Tea Horse Road" had connected southwest China and Tibet since the Tang period and flourished during the Song. Tibet supplied horses in exchange for Chinese tea, which became a staple of their diet. The tea trade between China and Tibet flourished during the Song period. The rulers of the Tsongkha kingdom sent envoys presenting sheep and horses for Chinese tea and silk.[63] In the beginning, the Qarakhanids probably obtained tea from Tibetan merchants. Later they could also get it from the Tanguts, who received tea from the Song as diplomatic gifts and as part of their annual tribute.[64] At the same time, the Qarakhanids managed to establish a direct tea trade with the Song.[65] Descriptions of tea began to appear in Central Asian sources of the eleventh century. For instance, the Ghaznavid scholar al-Birūnī gives a detailed account of Chinese tea in his work *Kitāb al-ṣaydana*. He described different varieties of tea, which he called *chāh*, and pointed out that this term derived from the Chinese word for tea, which was apparently *cha*. He mentioned that the tea trade was controlled by the Chinese emperor and that no one was allowed to transport it without permission.[66] The Qarakhanid merchants were among those who were allowed to obtain tea from China and

59 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 339.

60 Anya King, "Tibetan Musk and Medieval Arab Perfumery," in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 148.

61 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 178.

62 *Song shi*, 490: 14154, 14156, 14158, 1161, 1163–1164.

63 *Song shi*, 490: 14154, 14156, 14158, 1161, 1163–1164.

64 *Song shi*, 490: 13985, 13987, 13989–13990, 13999.

65 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 290: 7088; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16.

66 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭibb,* ed. and trans. Said, 105, Arabic text, 128. For more details on the Qarakhanid tea trade, see Chapter 6.

transport it to other regions. Tea culture, a major aspect of Central Asian society, probably began during the Qarakhanid period.

Chinese records demonstrate intensive relations between the Qarakhanids and the Tsongkha kingdom in the eleventh century. What was the image of Tibet in the Islamic world during this period? The early medieval Islamic image of Tibet has been fairly well studied by Christopher Beckwith, a prominent scholar of Tibetan studies who has analyzed Arabic sources from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.[67] Descriptions of Tibet in medieval Islamic geographical literature have also attracted not only historians of Tibet but also Arabists and Iranists. The most recent and comprehensive study of Arabic and Persian sources of Tibet has been done by Anna Akasoy, who has cogently pointed out that further research remains to be done in this field.[68] Since a good deal of this literature has been surveyed by Beckwith and Akasoy, there is no need to do so here. However, one point must be made regarding the eleventh–twelfth century Central Asian sources: I will suggest that information of Tibet provided in Islamic works written by Central Asian authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may refer to the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom.

The Qarakhanid scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī provided a short description of Tibetans, saying that they were a tribe in the land of Turks and produced musk. He also mentioned a famous story about the origin of the Tibetan Empire about a person from Yemen, who was forced to flee his country and came to China by sea roads. His descendants settled in a territory between China in the east, Kashmir in the west, the Uyghurs in the north, and the Indian Sea in the south. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī pointed out that the Tibetans of his description were descendants of people from Yemen and therefore continued to use some Arabic words in their language.[69] He provided this legend in order to specify their connection with the Tibetan Empire and explain the presence of Arabic words in the Tibetan language. Chinese sources also confirm that the founder of the Tsongkha kingdom was from the royal family of the former Tibetan Empire.[70] Therefore, I assume that this description of Tibet refers to Tsongkha, one of the main trade partners of the Qarakhanids in the east and probably the only polity in Tibet that had diplomatic contacts with them.

67 Beckwith, *The Location and Population of Tibet*, 163–170.

68 Akasoy, "Tibet in Islamic Geography," 41. For general sources of Tibet from the medieval Tibetan Empire to the beginning of Tibetan modernity, see also Kurtis R. Schaeffer et al., eds., *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

69 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. Auezova, 339. For the Yemen story also, see Hansgerd Göckenjan, and István Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter: Die Gayhani-Tradition* (*Ibn Rusta, Gardizi, Hudud Al-'Alam, Al-Bakri und Al-Marwazi*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 128–131.

70 *Song shi*, 492: 14160. Also see Petech, "Tibetan Relations," 176.

Information on Tibet in Islamic literature collected during the Tibetan Empire continued to be in use in later periods despite its irrelevance or inaccuracy. For instance, the anonymous author of the late tenth century *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which was written in Persian in present-day Afghanistan, included a description of Tibet based partly on works dating to the mid-ninth century.[71] Anna Akasoy pointed out that by the twelfth century, Islamic work reflects better cartographic and ethnographic knowledge of Tibet than earlier sources and suggested that local merchants might have been involved in the generation of this information.[72] For instance, Marwazī provided more detailed data on Tibetan groupes, language, and customs. It is true that he mostly repeated geographical information on Tibet depicted in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam.* However, he also added some new details concerning the place known as Bāb al-Tubbatayn (The Gate of the Two Tibet) where the Tibetans had a military post and collected taxes from travelers in the amount of one part out of forty.[73]

Another earlier example is a description of Tibet written by the Ghaznavid scholar al-Bīrūnī, who in his pharmacological work *Kitāb al-ṣaydana* provided better ethnographical knowledge of Tibet than earlier authors. It described the drinking habits of the Tibetans. He recorded that the Tibetans regularly drank significant quantities of wine and used Chinese tea as a medicine for countering the effects of alcohol. He also pointed out that his informant was a person who had traveled to China.[74] Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Bīrūnī's account of Tibet, despite being very brief, is more relevant and accurate.

It is clear that only informants who had personally traveled to Tibet could provide these very detailed descriptions. I believe that Qarakhanid ambassadors and merchants actively participated in the creation of the new image of Tibet as well as China in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Diplomatic and trade relations between the Qarakhanids and the Tsongkha kingdom might also have caused waves of migrations from Tibet to the Qarakhanid realm. For instance, Ibn al-Athīr recorded that many Turks left Tibet in 1046/47 and sent an envoy to the ruler of Balasaghun Arslan Khan to express gratitude for his kindness towards them. Arslan Khan asked them to convert to Islam. They refused, but remained in the Qarakhanid territory.[75] It can be concluded that a comprehensive analysis of Tibet in the Islamic literature of this period may

71 *Ḥudūd al-ʿalam*, 92–94, 254–263. For the discussion of the anachronistic information of Tibet in this work, see Schaeffer, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 27.

72 Akasoy, "Tibet in Islamic Geography," 33, 36, 40.

73 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 28.

74 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb,* ed. and trans. Said, 105, Arabic text, 128.

75 *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* ed. Tornberg, vol. 9, 345; *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh,* trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 213.

provide more details about Tsongkha and therefore, it is a task that remains to be done.

In 1099 the Song started their occupation of Tsongkha,[76] which caused a decrease in missions from the Qarkhanids. During the Song-Tsongkha conflict in 1099–1115 until the Jurchen conquest of present-day Kaifeng in 1126 and the end of the Northern Song, only six missions from the Qarakhanids came to the Chinese court.[77] Tsongkha was included in the Jurchen Empire in 1182 and the last mission from Tibet (Tubo) arrived in Song China in 1136.[78] Chinese sources do not mention missions from Khotan during the Southern Song.

5 Conclusion

The Qarakhanids' relations with the Khitans and the Tanguts, who sought to control trade roads to Song China, were not always peaceful. Therefore, Qarakhanid diplomacy in the East was primarily focused on finding alternative roads to the Northern Song. The Qarakhanids' main allies in the east were the Uyghur Khaganates located in Turfan and Gansu, and the Tsongkha kingdom in Tibet, which supported them in achieving their goals and establish diplomatic and commercial contacts with Liao and Song China.

The Xizhou Uyghurs played a significant role in Qarakhanid-Khitan relations. The Ganzhou Uyghurs that controlled the Hexi Corridor at the beginning of the eleventh century provided access to Song China. Later, when the road via Gansu became nearly inaccessible due to the Tangut conquest and the Song-Tangut confrontation, the Qarakhanids managed to find the alternative road via Tibet through their trade partners in Tsongkha.

The Tsongkha kingdom provided interpreters for Qarakhanid ambassadors who guided them to China. Diplomacy and trade between the Qarakhanid Khaganate and the Tsongkha kingdom resulted in greater knowledge about Tibet in the Islamic world. As we have already seen from several accounts written by Central Asian authors, who recorded new and more accurate information about Tibet, it can be concluded that due to the Qarakhanid-Tsongkha contacts and Qarakhanid activities in Tea and Horse trade along the Qinghai Road, Islamic geography was better developed by the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

76 Petech, "Tibetan Relations," 178.

77 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8061; *Song shi*, 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17; also see Appendix 3.

78 Petech, "Tibetan Relations," 178.

CHAPTER 5

Qarakhanid Allies and China

1 Introduction

The chapter is structured around Chinese records on the Qarakhanid allies in the Turko-Islamic world. Initially, I was looking for accounts in Chinese sources of the Khitan mission sent to the Ghaznavid court that was only depicted by Central Asian medieval historians. I found it strange that this important delegation had not been recorded in any Chinese written document. I could not find references related to the Khitan mission to Ghazna but I discovered a "Persian" country in the *Song shi* entry on India that sent an envoy to Northern Song China.

Moreover, I found solid discussions in Chinese scholarship on several missions recorded in Song sources that could refer to the Saljuq embassies. I discuss different theories on the origin of these missions and introduce new data and hypotheses that may prove "the Saljuq version." However, it should be noted that the records discussed in this part relate definitively to India, Asia Minor, and the Islamic world, which has languished in obscurity outside of Chinese scholarship. These embassies are also valuable when discussing the Qarakhanids' role as middlemen between China and their neighbors in the west.

In particular, Chinese records on the Khwarazmshahs connected with the Mongol conquest are well known but paradoxically are rarely consulted. There are no sources in either China or Central Asia that would directly prove contact between Song China and the Khwarazmshah Empire. However, descriptions of the Khwarazmshahs and their territories left by travelers and envoys who visited the Genghis Khan court during his conquest of Central Asia provide the general image of the region in China. The Khwarazmshahs were known as "Uyghurs." This may explain why the Qarakhanids disappeared from Chinese accounts of the twelfth century: they may simply have been referred to by different names, including by the term "Uyghurs."

2 The Liao Envoy in Ghazna and the "Persians" from Northern India in Kaifeng

Ghaznavid relations with China are usually associated with a Khitan envoy named Qul-Tonga or Kul-Tonga (Qultunkā), who was sent by Emperor Shengzong of Liao to the court of Sultan Mahmud in 1024. The story of the Liao envoy who arrived in Ghazna in 1026 or 1027 together with the Uyghur mission was recorded by several Muslim authors.[1] Conversely, Chinese chronicles do not provide any information on Liao-Ghaznavid relations or the Liao envoy sent to Central Asia. At the same time, the section on India in the official history of the Song dynasty, *Song shi* recorded a mission to Emperor Taizong of Song (976–997) sent by a ruler of the Persian (Bosi) country located near Northern India that arrived in 984.

The history of Chinese relations with India is long and complex. The entire Indian subcontinent was called Tianzhu in Chinese chronicles, a primarily geographical designation that was used from the Later Han to the Song periods. Song historians also mentioned other names used for India, such as Juandu (India), Majiatuo (Magadha), and Poluomen (Brahman), and divided India into three zones: Bei Yindu (Northern India), Zhong Yindu (Central India), and Nan Yindu (Southern India).[2] Song chroniclers counted six countries in the description of Northern India and one of these countries was called Bosi, a Chinese term for Persia and Persians.

This section deals with diplomacy and trade roads between China and Northern India and Islamic accounts on China in the tenth and eleventh centuries. I argue that Bosi, located by Song historians in or near Northern India, may refer to the Persianized Ghaznavid dynasty, and the envoy from this country was sent by the founder of the dynasty, Abu Mansur Sabuktigin.

2.1 *Journey to Ghazna*

The Khitan delegation headed by Qul-Tonga, who, judging by his name, was of Turkic origin, most likely started its journey from Shangjing (Supreme Capital) of Linhuang, located in modern-day Bairin Left Banner, Inner Mongolia. This expedition from Inner Mongolia to present-day Afghanistan began in 1024 and lasted 2–3 years. The envoy first arrived in Turfan where another mission by

1 *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 191; *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 19–21; *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 141, for the Arabic text, see 174.

2 *Song shi*, 490: 14103, 14105. The entire Indian subcontinent during the Song period was also known as Wu Tienzhu (Five Indians) referring to Central, Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern India. This division was borrowed from the Brahman system. *Guihai yuheng zhi*, trans. Hargett, 265, n. 403, for the Chinese text, see 231.

the Uyghurs joined the Khitans.[3] The next destination was the Qarakhanid realm. No records remain of their stay in Turkistan. We know that they crossed the Qarakhanid realm from the Khitan letter. The letter was preserved in the Arabic translation provided by Marwazī. The Khitan envoy was of Turkic origin. Therefore, it can be assumed that the original letter was written in Turkic or translated into Turkic at the Khitan court:

> Concerning the welfare [of the Qitāy Khan], to the Amir of Khurasan Mahmud Qarakhan:
>
> The lord of the Heavens has granted to us kingdoms upon the face of the wide earth and placed us in possession of regions occupied by numerous tribes. In our capital we enjoy security and act according to our will. Anyone in the world who can see and hear cannot help seeking friendship and close relations with us. Our nephews from among the amirs of the nearer regions constantly and without exception send their envoys, and their letters and presents follow upon one another. He [Mahmud] until now has sent no envoy or messenger, while we hear of his excellence in strength and courage, of his outstanding position in might and elevation, of his supremacy over the amirs by awe, of his control of the provinces by might and authority and of his peace in his homeland according to his own will. As he enjoys such a glorious position it is a duty for him to write his news to the Supreme Khan whom there is none higher beneath the heavens, and to treat him with consideration according to his state. So we have taken the initiative, limiting overselves to the dispatch of this lightly equipped envoy rather than someone who would exceed him in rank and equipage, in view of the greatness of the distance and the length of time for covering it.
>
> And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir Khan [i.e. Yusuf Qadir Khan] through a noble lady from the bosom of my house who became married to his son Chaghri Tegin, and both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir Khan to open the road to our envoy to him [Mahmud] and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgement, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

3 Minorsky assumed that the Uyghur mission was sent by the Ganzhou Uyghurs. For the discussion of this issue, see Chapter 4.

> The object in dispatching this envoy Qultunkā [Qul-Tonga or Kul-Tonga][4] is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity.[5]

It can be assumed that the joint delegation of the Khitans and the Uyghurs crossed and also probably stopped in Qarakhanid cities on their way to Ghazna. However, it is unclear whether the Qarakhanids accompanied them as far as the Ghaznavid realm. They did provide this service for their allies who sent delegations to China via their territories. However, it seems that it was a requirement from the Chinese side and may not have been necessary at the Ghaznavid court. Regardless, the Qarakhanids allowed the Khitan-Uyghur joint delegation to pass their realm and connected their eastern neighbors with the remote parts of the Islamic world. The Qarakhanids sought to create crossroads in their region with their foreign policy. They not only developed trade with China but also tried to introduce their neigbors to the Chinese market and vice versa. The existence of long-distance trade between China and the Ghaznavids during the rule of Sultan Mahmud can be proved based on a story about a merchant that was recorded by Niẓām al-Mulk:

> They say that a merchant came to Sultan Mahmud's court of complaints, and complained against Mahmud's son Masʿud, imploring justice and saying: "I am a merchant, it is a long time since I came here, and I want to return to my own city. I cannot go because your son has bought goods from me to the value of 60,000 dinars, and he has not given me the money. I request you to send the amir Masʿud with me to the judge." Sultan Mahmud was vexed at the merchant's words and sent a harsh message to Masʿud, saying: "I desire you either to pay this man due, or else to go with him to court so that judgment may be given according to the provisions of Muslim law." The merchant went to the judge's house and a messenger went to Masʿud and delivered the message. Masʿud was at loss to know what to do. He said to his treasurer: "See how much money there is in the treasury." The treasurer counted it, and said: "20,000 dinars." He said: "Take it to the merchant, and for the rest ask for three days grace." And he said to the messenger: "Tell the sultan that I have just given 20,000 dinars, and I will pay the rest after three days. I am standing

4 Minorsky assumed that the Khitan envoy could be a slave based on the reading of his name as Qul-Tonga. *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 21. It is unlikely that the official envoy would have the word "slave" (*qul*) as a part of the name. Qul can be the Arabization of the Turkic name Kul. I owe this comment to Étienne de la Vaissière.

5 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 19–20, for the Arabic text, see *7–*8.

> here with my cloak on and my loins girt, waiting for the sultan's command." Mahmud said: "Know for sure that you will not see my face until you pay the merchant in full." Mas'ud dared not to say anything further, so he sent people in all directions to ask for loans. By the time of afternoon prayer the 60,000 dinars had been paid to the merchant. When reports of this reached distant parts of the world, merchants from Chīn [Song], Khitāy [Liao], Egypt and 'Aden set out for Ghazna, bringing all the choicest goods in the world.[6]

Niẓām al-Mulk mentioned Chīn and Khitāy. Both terms could be used generally referring to China in Muslim sources but in this context the author wanted to point out that merchants arrived from the Song and the Liao realms. This passage also indicates the participation of the Ghaznavids in international maritime trade. Merchants from Egypt and Yemen mostly arrived in Ghazna by sea.

The Khitan diplomatic mission to Ghazna itself was not a success. Sultan Mahmud rejected the Khitan request for a marriage alliance on religious grounds. However, it seems that he was not interested in diplomatic relations with either Khitans or the Uyghurs. After several successful conquests in India, Sultan Mahmud had access to the sea and could reach Song China via maritime routes. Despite this, the mission had an impact on the development of geographical and ethnographical knowledge of China in the Islamic world.

2.2 *Images of China in Central Asia*

Major Central Asian works of the eleventh–twelfth centuries described the Khitan mission to Ghazna. For instance, the Saljuq scholar Marwazī provided the translations of the official letters sent by the Khitans and the Uyghurs to Sultan Mahmud and the detailed description of itinararies to Turfan, Liao and Song China.[7] The court historian Gardizī depicted the answer of Sultan Mahmud.[8] The polymath al-Bīrūnī, who also served at the Ghaznavid court, mentioned that he personally met the Khitan messenger (*rasūl-i* Qitāy) Qul-Tonga.[9]

China was usually known in early Islamic sources as al-Ṣīn/Chīn or Chīnistān. After the Khitan-Uyghur joint mission to Ghazna Central Asian authors started actively applying the term Qitāy or Khitāy referring to China.

---

6 *Siyāsatnāma,* trans. Darke, 248–249.

7 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 18–20, for the Arabic text, see *6–*8.

8 *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 191.

9 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 141, for the Arabic text, see 174.

Moreover, they divided China into different political and geographical regions. Marwazī, for example, pointed out that there are three parts (*āqsām*): al-Ṣīn, Qitāy known as Khitāy, and Yughur and the greatest kingdom (*mamlakat*) was al-Ṣīn.[10] Marwazī's description of China contains geographical, political, and ethnographic information. An astute reader may notice that the author referred to eleventh-century China when he provided information on land roads and distances, geographical and political divisions, diplomacy, and foreign relations. However, when he moved to the description of the sea roads and the ethnographic part it becomes obvious that he also used information from earlier records on China that were compiled during the Tang period.[11] The same mix can be observed in other Muslim sources of the tenth–twelfth centuries that contain records on China. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between new and irrelevant information.

Paradoxically, al-Bīrūnī's records on China contain the most accurate information. His works are among the earliest accounts of Song and Liao China in the Islamic world. He obtained relevant information about China from the Khitan messenger and from persons who visited China. For instance, he mentioned a man named Ibrahim Sandani, who traveled in the desert of China (al-Ṣīn) and shared what he saw and heard during his journey. He narrated a story about a big bird that lived between China and Zanj[12] and fed on huge elephants called *khutū*.[13] It seems that al-Bīrūnī was interested in the origin of *khutū.* It was the name for a material used for knife handles and presented by the Khitan delegation to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The Khitan messenger said that *khutū* is the forehead of a bullock and prized by people due to its ability to detect poison, as it becomes wet when brought close to toxic substances.[14] Furthermore, al-Bīrūnī also mentioned some Chinese products that traded in the Ghaznavid realm and were well known in the Islamic world:

> Ebony (*ābnūs*) from the country of al-Nasa in China
> Bezoar (*bādzahr*) from the borders of China
> Gunpowder (*thālj-i Sīnī* "Chinese snow")

10 *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 14, for the Arabic text, see *2.

11 For comparison, see the description of China in the tenth-century work *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, trans. Minorsky, 83–86. Pavel Lurje identified that the original text used in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* for the description of China was composed in the second half of the eighth century. Pavel B. Lurje, "Description of the Overland Route to China in Hudud al-'Alam: Dates of the Underlying Itinerary," Ouya xuekan 欧亚学刊 6 (2007): 179–197.

12 Zanj is a term used by Muslim geographers for Southeast Africa.

13 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 141, for the Arabic text, see 174.

14 Ibid.

Tea (*chā'ī*)
Galangal (*khāwalanjān*)
Rhubarb (*rīvand*)
Gold thread (*māmīrān*)
Khutū
Musk (*misk*)
Chinese rose (*ward-i Sīnī* "Chinese flower")[15]

Most likely al-Bīrūnī would have had access to reports of travel to China that circulated in the region. For instance, he provided the following coordinates of the major cities of Song and Liao China in his *Al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdi*:[16]

TABLE 3 Coordinates of Chinese cities according to al-Bīrūnī

Place names	**Long.**		**Lat.**		**Regions and Countries**
	zaman	**min.**	**degrees**	**min.**	
Banjū[a] – residence of Faghfūr[b] of China, named Tamghach Khan	125	0	22	0	al-Ṣīn [Song China]
Kūfū – a city larger than the capital Banjū	127	0	21	0	al-Ṣīn [Song China]
Ūtkīn	136	30	26	0	Turks [Khitans]
Qitā – in the northeast of al-Ṣīn [China], its king is Qitā Khan	148	40	21	40	Turks [Khitans]

a Minorsky read it as Yanjū. *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 69. Marwazī recorded the city as Yanjūr. Ibid, 18, the Arabic, text *7.

b Faghfūr or Baghbūr ("Son of God"), title of the emperor of China in Muslim sources used as the translation of the Chinese Tianzi "Son of Heaven."

Marwazī also mentioned these place names and recorded information of times for the voyage from the Qarakhanid cities to China. The journey from Kashghar to the Song capital Yanjūr (also can be read as Banjūr) took 130 days.

15 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 13, 69, 101, 105, 138, 141, 300, 304–305, 336, for the Arabic text, see 19, 88, 125, 128, 169, 174, 338, 345–346, 381.

16 *Al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdi*, trans. Bulgakov and Rosenfeld, 450.

The journey from Kashghar to the Khitan cities Ūtkīn and Ūjam (according to al-Bīrūnī Qitā) took 140 and 170 days respectively.[17]

Minorsky calculated the distances between the major places provided by al-Bīrūnī and compared to the information recorded by Marwazī. He suggested that Yanjū may refer to Luoyang, the Western Capital (Xijing) of the Song that had been previously known as Yongzhou. He also assumed that Kūfū could be identified with Kaifeng, the Eastern Capital (Dongjing) of the Song. He located Ūtkīn in present-day Zhuolu County in the northwest of Hebei Province and identified Ūjam (Qitā) with Linhuang, the Supreme Capital of the Liao Empire.[18] However, Kaifeng was known during the Song period as Bianjing (previosly Bianzhou) that served as the main residence of the Northern Song emperors. Therefore, Banjū is probably the more correct reading and may refer to Bianjing (Kaifeng) rather than to Luoyang.

The journey of the Liao envoy Qul-Tonga to Ghazna did not receive much attention in the Sinitic world. At least, the official history of the Liao dynasty as well as other contemporary Chinese sources have no information about this delegation. The reason for this is unclear. It can be only suggested that the Mongols who compiled *Liao shi* omitted this information for some reason, such as unwillingness to record an unsuccessful delegation sent by the Liao Emperor. However, this idea cannot be confirmed. At the same time, the official history of the Liao dynasty is one of the shortest standard histories of China, which demonstrates that historians already suffered from a lack of sources on the history of the Khitans in the fourteenth century. Therefore, even if there was any record on the Khitan mission to Ghazna it probably did not survive until the time the Khitan history was compiled. It could be also a secret mission and for this reason was not described in Chinese sources. We have an earlier example in the history of Sino-Islamic relations when the Chinese mission to Baghdad in 785 was not recorded in official sources. We know about this event only due to the discovery of the tomb stele of Yang Liangyao, a Tang dynasty eunuch, who was sent as an envoy to the Caliph via the sea road from Guangzhou to the Persian Gulf. Angela Schottenhammer suggested that it was a secret mission to ask the Arabs for military support against the Tibetans and for this reason, remained unrecorded in both Chinese and Muslim sources.[19]

17 *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 18, the Arabic text, *7.

18 For the details, see Ibid, 68–76.

19 Angela Schottenhammer, "Yang Liangyao's Mission of 785 to the Calip of Baghdād: Evidence of an Early Sino-Arabic Power Alliance?" *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 101 (2015): 177–241.

Similar to the Khitan mission to Ghazna, the journey of a Persian envoy from Northern India to the capital of Song China was described only in Chinese sources and ignored by Muslim authors.

2.3 *Journey to Kaifeng and What Was Bosi?*

The Song capital in Kaifeng that was known as Bianjing and Dongjing (Eastern Capital) at that time ranked among the most flourishing metropolises in the world and from the very beginning of the Song period attracted an array of foreign travelers and merchants. Official delegations from different parts of the world came to Kaifeng in order to encourage trade relations with Song China. Thus, according to Chinese sources, a delegation from Bosi arrived at the Chinese court during the rule of Emperor Taizong. This Persian country was not located in Iran but rather in the westernmost border of Northern India.

The Chinese term Bosi derived from the designation Pars and originally applied to the Sassanian Empire (226–651).[20] According to *Wei shu*, the Bosi country (the Sassanian Empire) was previously known as the country of Tiaozhi.[21] Tiaozhi is believed to be a short or corrupted form of Antioch and may refer to the Seleucid Empire (312 BCE–63 BCE).[22] The term Bosi was also used to refer to the Sassanian court-in-exile in the southern Hindukush during the seventh–eighth centuries.[23]

The term Bosi continued to be used even after the collapse of the Sassanians until the Song period. Tang sources clearly stated the borders of the Bosi country. For instance, according to *Jiu Tang shu*, in the east, Bosi was connected with Tokharistan (Tuhuoluo) and Sogdiana (Kang), in the north with the Khazar Turks (Tujue zhi Kesa) in the northwest with the Byzantine Empire (Fulin), and in the southwest with the Persian Gulf (Dahai).[24] The term Bosi applied not only to the geographical region, but also to foreign merchants and products coming from Persia, or in some cases from other places of the Islamic world.[25] Berthold Laufer claimed the existence of another country and people that were known as Bosi during the Tang period and earlier that was probably

20 For Chinese-Sassanian relations, see Matteo Compareti, "The Last Sassanians in China," *Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003): 197–213.

21 *Wei shu*, 102: 2270–2272.

22 Wang Tao, "Parthia in China: Re-examination of the Historical Records," in *The Age of the Parthians. The Idea of Iran,* ed. Vesta S. Curtis, and Sarah Stewart (London: Tauris, 2007), vol. 2, 91.

23 Domenico Agostini and Sören Stark, "Zāwulistān, Kāwulistān and the Land Bosi 波斯 – On the Question of a Sassanian Court-In-Exile in the Southern Hindukush," *Studia Iranica* 45 (2016): 17–38.

24 *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5311; the same description is given in *Xin Tang shu*, 221: 6258.

25 Schottenhammer, "Transfer of Xiangyao," 124–125.

located in Southeast Asia on the border of Burma and Malayan Kunlun and belonged to the Malayan group. Therefore, he concluded that the term Bosi should not be always automatically translated as Persia.[26] However, Chinese sources never indicated the existence of the second Bosi, and this term can also refer to a possible Persian diaspora that settled in this region.[27] This kind of Bosi also existed during the Song period; however, in order to make a distinction between the two Bosi, Song chroniclers probably applied a slightly different name for a region located in Southeast Asia. They mentioned a region or people called Bosilan (possibly from Pārsiān) located in the southeast of the Khmer Empire (802–1431).[28]

From the Song period, the designation Bosi for Persia was mainly replaced by the term Dashi, a name initially applied to the ʿAbbasids and Arabs, and later to all Muslims regardless of their origin and apparently to non-Muslim groups of the Islamic polities. According to *Song shi,* "Dashi was originally another kind of Bosi."[29] However, during the Song period, Bosi was still in use as a geographical designation and referred not to Iran, but to the region near Northern India.

2.4 *Bosi and Northern India*

The section on India in *Song shi* was included in Chapter 490 related to *waiguo* (outside countries) and India was grouped with different polities in Central Asia, Iran, and Arabia, which clearly illustrates Chinese perceptions of the "West" during the Song period.[30] India is also depicted in the Song map *Hua yi tu* (Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Countries) that I discuss in Chapter 3 (Figures 3.1. and 3.2.).

Song chroniclers recorded fifteen polities located in India: six countries in Northern India, eight in Central India, and one in Southern India. The description of Northern India mainly consisted of previously well-known geographical terms.

> 施護者，烏塡曩國人。其國屬北印度， 西行十二日至乾陀羅國，又西行二十日至曩誐囉賀囉國，又西行十日至嵐婆國，又西行十二日至誐惹曩國，又西行至波斯國，得西海。自北印度行百二十日至中印度。[31]

---

26 Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica. Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran: With Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919), 468–487.

27 Schottenhammer, "Transfer of Xiangyao," 125.

28 *Song shi*, 489: 14087.

29 大食國本波斯之別種。*Song shi*, 490: 14118.

30 *Song shi*, 490: 14103.

31 *Song shi*, 490: 14104–14105.

> Shihu [Danapala][32] was a person from the Wuxunnang [Uddiyana] state. His state belongs to Bei Yindu [Northern India], from which traveling for twelve days westward one reaches the Qiantuoluo [Gandhara] state, in twenty days more one reaches the Nangeluoheluo [Nagarahara] state; in ten days more one reaches the Lanpo [Laghman] state; in twelve days more one reaches the Erenang state; and traveling further westward one reaches the Bosi [Persia] state and finishes in Xihai [Western Sea].[33] From Northern India, if one travels one hundred and twenty days, he reaches Central India.

These place names in northern India, excluding Erenang and Bosi, were also mentioned in earlier Chinese sources. The description started from Wuxunnang, which is Uddiyana (Udyana) in the north of Punjab in present-day Pakistan, also known as Wuchang during the lifetime of the Chinese monk Faxian (337–422).[34] Qiantuoluo, which was visited not only by Faxian, but also by the Chinese monk Xuanzang (602–664), who traveled to India during the Tang period, refers to the ancient kingdom of Gandhara situated in the Peshawar valley of present-day Pakistan.[35] Nangeluoheluo, which is the Nagarahara kingdom and was known as Najieluohe during the time of Xuanzang, is located in the Jalalabad area of present-day Afghanistan.[36] Lanpo corresponds with Laghman in present-day eastern Afghanistan.[37] Erenang was not recorded in earlier sources but most likely it refers to a region in present-day Afghanistan. Song chroniclers mentioned all places in northern India, which mainly correspond to present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan from the southeast to the northwest, and located the Bosi country in the western-most part of Northern India.

A mission dispatched by the Bosi ruler arrived at the Song court in June, 984.[38] This mission was led by an envoy named Aliyan [LMC: ʔɑ-liʔjian], possibly Persian Aliyar or Alijan, who arrived at the court together with the monk Yongshi from Poluomen (Brahman). Aliyan was referred to by the Song

32 Shihu or Danapala (?–1018) was an Indian monk served as a translator of Buddhist texts at the Song court from 980. Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 112–113, 121.

33 This is probably the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea.

34 *Fa guo ji*, trans. Legge, 28–29. Also see *Da Tang Xi yu ji*, trans. Beal, 119–135. For the place of origin of Danapala, see Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 121.

35 *Da Tang Xi yu ji*, trans. Beal, 31–32.

36 Ibid, 91–94.

37 Ibid, 90–91.

38 *Song shi* recorded that the envoy came to the court sometime between 984 and 988. *Song shi*, 490: 14105; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 90.

chroniclers as a person of different faith *waidao* (foreign doctrine), meaning non-Buddhist or non-Confucian. The Bosi envoy provided the following information about his country:

> 本國王號黑衣，姓張，名哩沒，用錦綵為衣，每遊獵，三二日一還國。署大臣九人治國事。無錢貨，以雜物貿易。其國東行經六月至婆羅門。[39]
>
> The ruler of my state is called Heiyi [Heyi Dashi "Black-robed Dashi"], his family name is Zhang and personal name is Limei;[40] he wears clothes of colored brocade; whenever he goes hunting, he returns every 2–3 days. He appoints nine high officials to manage state affairs. There are no coins and various products are used for trade. If one goes eastward from this state, in six months one reaches Poluomen [Brahman].

The term Heiyi is a shortened version of the Chinese name Heiyi Dashi "Black-robed Dashi," used originally for the ʿAbbasids, but here meaning "Muslim." It is also possible that the envoy would have introduced his ruler as an appointee of the ʿAbbasid Caliph. The Caliphs were considered the head of the religious establishment in the eastern provinces of the former ʿAbbasid Caliphate and retained important moral authority and symbolic standing as heads of the Muslim community. The early Turko-Islamic dynasties, as well as the Ghaznavids, sought recognition by the Caliphs from the very beginning of their rule in order to provide moral and religious sanction for their conquests. Sabuktigin, in his *Pandnāma* written for his son Mahmud, stated that his origin was from Turkistan, from a tribe called Barskhan, and the name of his father was Jūq with a title Barskhan.[41] Sabuktigin was known by the title Amir[42] and the envoy probably introduced him as Amir Sabuktigin, a son of Jūq.

It can be assumed that the term Bosi in *Song shi* also applied to the Samanid Empire. However, the Samanids were centered in Transoxiana, the region that was known in Song sources as Dashi, so they could not have been located near Northern India as identified by Chinese chroniclers. The itinerary used by the Bosi envoy was hardly suitable for the Samanids. The envoy came together with the monk from Poluomen, which is located in the east or the southeast, six

39 *Song shi*, 490: 14105–14106.

40 In *Wenxian tongkao* and *Song huiyao jigao* it is given as *Lilimei*, see *Wenxian tongkao*, 338: 2655–3; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 89.

41 Muhammad Nazim, "The "Pand-Nāmah" of Subuktigīn," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (1933): Persian text 610, English translation 621.

42 Nazim, "The "Pand-Nāmah," 605–607.

months' journey from Bosi. The journey between Bosi and central India also took around six months. Therefore, Poluomen most likely referred to a region in central India. The monk from Poluomen said that his country was known as Lide.[43] Friedrich Hirth assumed that it refers to the country of Lata (Larike) in southern Gujarat on the Gulf of Cambay.[44] The monk from Poluomen reported that they went to the east, which corresponds to the modern northeast direction, and reached Dashi (Muslims, i.e., the Qarakhanids centered in Kashghar) in six months, then Xizhou (Turfan) in two months and Xiazhou (present-day northern Shaanxi) in three months.[45] The journey from Bosi to Song China took almost a year and the envoy crossed the territories of Kashgharia and Turfan. The Samanids were involved in a military confrontation with the Qarakhanids in this period and it is unlikely that the Qarakhanids would allow any mission of the Samanids to pass through their territories. Moreover, the Bosi envoy reported that they did not use money in commercial affairs. It can be assumed that the Bosi ruler did not mint coins; otherwise the Chinese would record the description of coins following the usual practice. This passage cannot be associated with the Samanids but may refer to the Ghaznavid situation at that time as Sabuktigin started his own mints not earlier than in 990.[46]

The Chinese scholar Qian Boquan suggested that this Bosi could refer to the Qarakhanids. He claimed that the term Heiyi, which comes from Heyi Dashi, corresponds to the Qarakhanids. He considered that Song chroniclers might be confused about the direction taken by the Bosi envoy and the Poluomen monk. He also assumed that the envoy Aliyan could be a Nestorian. He relied on Tang sources, which used the term Bosi *si* (Bosi temple), referring to Nestorian churches. Therefore, the term *waidao*, used for the faith of Aliyan may refer to Nestorianism.[47] However, the term *waidao* may also simply refer to Islam and it is unlikely that Song chroniclers included a description of the Qarakhanids in the section of India. The Bosi envoy went east, which is actually northeastward together with the Poluomen monk and reached Dashi that refers to the Qarakhanid realm, as it was just two months away from Turfan. It is clear that Bosi and Dashi were two different polities. This statement also becomes clear from the additional information provided in *Song huiyao jigao*. According to

43 *Song shi*, 490: 14105.

44 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 112, n.1.

45 *Song shi*, 490: 14105.

46 Syed Jabir Raza, "Coinage and Metallurgy under the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 224.

47 Qian Boquan 钱伯泉, "Dashi, Heiyi Dashi, Kalahan wangchao kaoshi 大石、黑衣大石、喀喇汗王朝考实 [Study on Dashi, Heiyi Dashi and the Qarakhanids]," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 1 (1995): 75–76.

this source the envoy Aliyan provided more information about his country that was omitted in *Song shi*:

> 男子以白疊布為衣，婦人豪富者著大食國錦綺，貧下止服絹布。種陸田，而無稻糯。土宜絲蠶、羊馬、果實。[48]
>
> Men wear clothes made from white cotton fabric; women who are powerful and wealthy wear brocade and patterned silk from the Dashi state; poor people wear clothes only from cotton-like lustring. They plant in dry fields and do not have glutinous rice. The land is suitable for silkworms, sheep, horses, and fruits.

In this passage, Dashi most likely refers to the Samanids in Transoxiana, which were the most notable centers of fabric production, rather than to the Qarakhanid realm. However, it is clear that Bosi was distinguished from the Qarakhanid as well as from the Samanid realms. The Qarakhanids were known not only as Dashi but also as Shule (Kashghar)[49] and later after the conquest of the Khotan kingdom as Yutian (Khotan).[50] When the Qarakhanids split into western and eastern parts, the western Qarakhanids centered in Transoxiana continued to be known as Dashi and the eastern Qarakhanids were called Yutian. The term Bosi was never applied to the Qarakhanids.

Therefore, the Bosi state mentioned in the section of India by Song chroniclers most likely refers to the newly founded Ghaznavid dynasty centered in Ghazna. The founder of this dynasty, Sabuktigin, continually extended the borders of the state from the very beginning of his rule. In 977, the first year of his reign, he conquered Bust, which was one of the main cities of Sijistan as well as the city Qusdar in Sind, and then the entire province of Qandahar. In the following years, he attacked the Hindu Shahi king Jayapal several times and established his power in almost all territory west of the Indus.[51] Sabuktigin probably sought to initiate relations with Song China and sent his envoy via highways that connected India with China. Song emperors issued special edicts in order to keep the peace on the roads linking India and dispatched monks in search of Buddhist dharma. As a result, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, one hundred thirty-eight Chinese monks visited India, and around

48 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 89.

49 *Song shi*, 490: 14106–14107.

50 *Song shi*, 490: 14107–14109.

51 For the Sabuktigin, conquests see Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World. Vol II: The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th–13th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 129.

eighty Indian monks arrived in China.[52] Therefore, the Ghaznavid envoy came together with the Indian monk, and when they arrived in Turfan an envoy of the Uyghurs accompanied them further to China.[53] The "Persian" envoy probably presented products of his country such as horses, sheep, silkworms, and fruit, which were recorded by Chinese chroniclers.

Why did Song chroniclers apply the term Bosi to the Ghaznavids? Taking into account the fact that the administrative apparatus of the Ghaznavids were formed by Persians, it can be assumed that the envoy was a Persian bureaucrat or a religious leader (*waidao*) and the official document which he brought to the Chinese court was also written in Persian. Moreover, Sabuktigin continued to formally recognize the supremacy of the Samanids, which was probably also indicated in the written document. Therefore, the Ghaznavids were Persians in the Chinese perception.

This is the only mission from Bosi in northern India that was recorded in Song sources. However, I presume that the Ghaznavids continued to send envoys to Song China, especially after the further expansions into India, which opened direct access to maritime trade, and the Ghaznavids became middlemen between Arabia and China. Foreign envoys, merchants, and travelers who arrived from the Islamic world via sea roads were generally recorded by Chinese chroniclers as Dashi. Therefore, it is not always possible to know the exact origin of the Muslim envoys, who arrived at the Song court. The Chinese chroniclers who compiled *Song shi* recorded that "the subordinates of Dashi are varied in name."[54] Therefore, as soon as the Ghaznavids started to use maritime roads in trade with China, they were also viewed as a part of the Islamic world and referred to as Dashi.

2.5 *Other Chinese Historical Records about the Ghaznavids*

The Song official Zhou Qufei (1135–1189), who served in China's southwest and left the geographical work *Lingwai daida* (*Notes from the Lands Beyond the Passes*), recorded that the term Dashi is a collective appellation for more than a thousand countries and provided descriptions of a few of them, including the Ghaznavid realm.[55] Zhao Rugua, a Song historian, who served as a supervisor of maritime trade in Quanzhou and wrote a two-volume book on foreign countries and trade *Zhu fan zhi* (*Records of Foreign Peoples*), provided

52 Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 102–105, 110–111. For Indian monks and translators in Song China, see also Ibid, 120–125.

53 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 90.

54 *Song shi*, 490: 14121.

55 *Lingwai daida*, 3: 53–54; for the German translation, see *Lingwai daida*, trans. Netolitzky 1977, 45–46.

a list of twenty-four Dashi countries. The Ghaznavid realm was also on his list and referred to as Jicini (Ghazna). Zhao Rugua finished his book around 1225 when the Ghaznavid dynasty no longer existed. Therefore, his description of the Ghaznavids was based mainly on earlier information recorded by Zhou Qufei. However, Zhao Rugua probably also relied on other earlier sources that have not survived. He provided a description of Sultan Mahmud, which is not available in the geographical work of Zhou Qufei:

> 王手臂過膝。有戰馬百匹，各高六尺餘。騾數十匹，亦高三尺。出則更迭乘之，所射弓數石，五七人力不能挽。馬上使鐵鎚，重五十餘斤。大食及西天諸國皆畏焉。[56]
>
> The king's arms reach below his knees. He has one hundred head of war-horses, each more than six *chi* high and several dozen heads of mules, three *chi* high. When he marches out, he alternates which one he rides; he shoots a bow that weighs several *dan*, and even with the effort of five or seven men it is not possible to bend it. On horseback, he uses an iron hammer, which weighs more than fifty *jin*. All countries of Dashi [Muslims] and Xitian [India] fear him.

Zhao Rugua probably used earlier sources that left records on Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, which was provided by merchants, travelers, and possibly envoys from the Ghaznavid realm. The description of the people of Ghazna and their customs, the climate, and products of this place is typical for official records on foreign countries, which were not well known in Song China and were usually obtained directly from ambassadors. Therefore, as a Song official, Zhao Rugua, as well as Zhou Qufei, could easily have had access to documents with the same accounts of Ghazna. However, I was not able to find any other source with this data. In addition to information that he collected during his official career, Zhou Qufei also used a famous geographical treatise known as *Guihai yuheng zhi* by Fan Chengda (1126–1193).[57] Fan Chengda did not mention any data about Ghazna in his work, and information about the Islamic world was given only in a short supplementary entry, in which Muslim countries (Dashi) were categorized as *man*, a Chinese ancient term applied to foreigners

56 *Zhu fan zhi*, 19–20; for the English translation, see *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill 1911, 138. Hirth translated Xitian simply just the west. Xitian was one of the names of India in Chinese sources.

57 *Guihai yuheng zhi*, trans. Hargett, XL.

in south and southwestern China and commonly called *nanman* (southern barbarians).[58]

Friedrich Hirth assumed that some stories about Sultan Mahmud were still well known among Muslim traders during the time of Zhao Rugua.[59] According to the Chinese geographical treatise, the Ghaznavid realm could be reached in one hundred and twenty days from Mirbat, located in modern-day Oman.[60] Therefore, it can be assumed that merchants from Arabia stopped at the Ghaznavid seaport on their way to China. The Chinese officials mentioned some local products of the Ghaznavid realm, which were probably also traded and brought as diplomatic gifts to China. The list of products includes "gold, silver, *yuenuo* cloth, golden brocade, camel hair in different colors, flower colored glass, storax oil, limonite, and bezoar stones."[61]

It can be concluded that the Chinese term Bosi, meaning Persia and Persians and originally applied to Iran, was used to refer to a region in Northern India during the Song period, which refers to the realm of the Persianized Ghaznavid dynasty. The founder of the Ghaznavids, Abu Mansur Sabuktigin, sent an envoy jointly with the Brahman monk, who was probably from the country of Lata in southern Gujarat. The country of the Brahman monk was located six months' journey away from Bosi. They jointly traveled almost a year to China crossing Central Asia, particularly the territories of the Qarakhanids and the Xizhou Uyghurs, and arrived at the Chinese court in 984.

The overland road that connected India with China was safe and often used by Buddhist monks during this period. Song emperors, in order to legitimize their authority, patronized Indian and Chinese monks and issued edicts to maintain the safety of the roads used by pilgrims that were terminated during the post-Tang period. Some eminent Indian monks also served at the Chinese court. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Brahman monk, in addition to his own mission, also provided guidance to the "Persian" envoy. These conditions made the Indian road to China the most beneficial for the Ghaznavid ruler than routes through Transoxiana, which was involved in the Samanid-Qarakhanid confrontation.

Chinese chroniclers mentioned only this mission from the "Persian" country in Northern India, which came by the overland road. Further expansion of India, started by Sabuktigin and continued by his son Mahmud, connected the

58 Ibid, 231–232, for the Chinese text, see 265.

59 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 139, n.2.

60 *Zhu fan zhi*, 19.

61 金銀、越諾布、金絲錦、五色馳毛段、碾花琉璃、蘇合油、無名異、摩娑石。*Zhu fan zhi*, 20.

Ghaznavid realm with the Indian Ocean and opened access to the Sino-Indian trade network. The Ghaznavid ambassadors and merchants started to arrive in China by the maritime roads; therefore, they were grouped together with other Muslims under the term Dashi. Moreover, al-Bīrūnī recorded that he obtained some records about China from seafolk (*āhl-i baḥr*) that proves the existence of maritime networks with China. For instance, he wrote:

> Seafolks [*al-baḥriyūn*] say that *kūlān* [or *kawlān*][62] grows on riversides of China, where the rivers advance and recede. Its root is called *khāwalanjān* [galangal], which is brought from China.[63]

Song officials Zhou Qufei and Zhao Rugua, who provided the description of the Ghaznavid realm in their works, probably obtained information from Ghaznavid ambassadors or merchants who arrived in China by sea as well as from earlier sources that have not survived.

3 Sultans and Rum: Saljuq Missions to Northern Song China

Any research on Saljuq history is mainly based on Muslim and Christian sources.[64] Chinese primary and secondary sources have usually not been consulted. However, Chinese official sources of the Song dynasty recorded several envoys that may refer to the Great Saljuqs and the Saljuqs of Rum offering unique information that cannot be obtained from other sources.

It has been mentioned that the Turks were known to China by the autonym Tujue, which was used from the sixth until the middle of the tenth century. The mass conversion among the Turks reflected their representation in the Sinitic world and the name Dashi, meaning Muslims, applied to them as a generic term. The Saljuqs were also viewed as a part of the Islamic world

62 This is a herbaceous part of cyperus.

63 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 182, for the Arabic text, see 221. Regarding the word "seafolks," in the original Arabic text the word is written as *al-naḥwiyūn*, therefore, Said translated it as "grammarians." Karimov translated the word as "seafolk" based on the Persian translation of *Kitāb al-ṣaydana*. In the Persian text the word is translated as *āhl-i baḥr* (seafolk). It means that the translator read the Arabic word as *al-baḥriyūn* (seafolk). *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, trans. Karimov, 529 and n. 15. In the Arabic text edited by Zaryab the word is also written as *al-baḥriyūn* following the same approach. *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. Zaryab, 334 and 335, n. 8.

64 Some materials used in this section were initially published in: Dilnoza Duturaeva, "Cengtan and Fulin: The Saljuqs in Chinese Sources," *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 15 (2017): 29–48.

and were recorded in Chinese sources generally as Dashi. This section argues that descriptions of Cengtan in Chinese official chronicles refer to the Saljuq Empire centered in Iran and that envoys from Fulin were dispatched by the Saljuq Sultanate in Anatolia.

3.1 *The Saljuq Empire in Chinese Sources*

The official history of the Song dynasty *Song shi* has a section on the state of Cengtan (LMC. tsɦəăŋ-tɦan), which was mentioned only in sources for the Song history and did not appear in sources for other periods.[65]

The first scholars who attempted to identify the location of Cengtan were Friedrich Hirth and William Rockhill. They suggested that Cengtan is the same as Cengba (Zanzibar) mentioned in *Zhu fan zhi*.[66] The Japanese scholar Fujita Toyohachi rejected this view and assumed that Cengtan was a Chinese transliteration of the main Saljuq title Sultan, and based on its geographical location claimed that Cengtan should refer to the Saljuq Empire.[67] Some Chinese researchers have recently tried to locate Cengtan in Arabia.[68] However, in Chinese scholarship, it is generally accepted that Cengtan refers to the Saljuq realm.[69]

The description of Cengtan in *Song shi* was taken from earlier sources of the Song period, which contain some crucial differences. One of the earliest extant descriptions of Cengtan can be found in *Qingbo biezhi* (*Other Miscellaneous Notes from the Gate of Qingbo*) compiled by Zhou Hui. Zhou Hui was a Song official who lived near the Qingbo gate in Hangzhou for many years after he retired. This gate served as one of the important entry points for ships from foreign countries. Zhou Hui left records on foreign countries and peoples that he probably obtained from merchants, envoys, travelers, interpreters, and many others who arrived in Hangzhou:

65 *Song shi*, 490: 14122–14123; this passage was translated into English, see *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 127, n. 4.

66 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 127, n.4.

67 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田丰八, *Zhongguo Nanhai gudai jiaotong congkao* 中国南海古代交通丛考 [Collection on relations between China and Lands of the Southern Sea], trans. He Jianmin 何健民 (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 222.

68 Zhou Yunzhong 周运中, "Songdai jiaotong Zhongguo de Cengtan guo kao 宋代交通中国的层檀国考 [On Cengtan during the Song dynasty]," *Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 2 (2014): 27–35.

69 Zhang Xinglang 张星烺, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shiliao huibian* 中西交通史料汇编 [Compilation of Historical Sources on Relations between China and the West] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), vol. 2, 256–259; Chen et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi*, II, 1047, 1076; Lu, "Songdai Cengtan," 32.

層檀，南海旁國也。國城距海二千里，海道須便風百六十許日，晝夜行。經勿巡、古林、三佛齊國乃至廣州。國主名亞美羅亞眉蘭，傳國五百年，十世矣。春冬暖。貴人以好越布纏頭，服土產花綿白疊布，不服綾羅絹帛，出入乘象馬。官有月俸。其法輕罪杖，重者死。有稻、麥、粟、胡羊、山羊、沙牛、　水牛、駝、馬、魚、犀、象、熏陸、沈水香、血竭、沒藥、鵬砂、阿魏、蘇合　香、真珠、玻璃、葡萄、千年棗、密沙華三酒。交易用官鑄錢，三分其齊，金銅相半而加銀一分，禁私鑄。人之語音如大食國云。[70]

Cengtan is a neighbor state of the Southern Sea lands. The state city is 2,000 *li* from the seaside;[71] the sea road takes around 160 days if one travels day and night with a favorable wind. It passes by Wuxun [Mazun],[72] Gulin [Kollam],[73] and Sanfoqi [Srivijaya] and goes so far as to Guangzhou [Canton]. The name of the ruler is Yameiluo Yameilan; [his family] handed down the state power for five hundred years and ten generations.[74] Springs and winters are warm. The noble people wear turbans of fine muslin, clothing made from local flowered brocade and cotton fabric; they do wear thin patterned fabric or silk; when they go out and come in they ride elephants and horses. Officials receive monthly

70 *Qingbo zazhi: Qingbo biezhi, juan zhong* 141, 142.

71 Alp Arslan resided in Ray, Malik Shah I in Isfahan. At the same time, by 1055 the Saljuqs captured Baghdad and established themselves as the new protectors of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate and Sunni Islam. Therefore, the description of the Cengtan capital most likely refers to Baghdad located on the banks of the Tigris, which empties into the Persian Gulf, and has a warm desert climate with mild winters. According to *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 225: 5469 the city was located 20,000 *li* from the Southern Sea (Nanhai), the same source in another chapter recorded that it was located 20 *li* from the seaside, see *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 332: 7998; for the reference of 20 *li*, also see *Song shi*, 490: 14122. According to *Wenxian tongkao*, 332: 2612–2 the city was located 2,000 *li* from the sea. I suppose that the *Song shi* information about the distance is more plausible, the compilers had access to different sources.

72 Wuxun (Mazun) is Sohar in modern Oman, one of the important trade ports located on the maritime road between the Islamic world and China.

73 Gulin (Kollam) is an old seaport and city situated on the Malabar Coast of southwestern India.

74 Hirth identified Yameiluo Yameilan [LMC. ʔja:ˋ-mi ´-la-ʔja:ˋ-mi-lan] with *Amīr-i Amīrān* (Emir of Emirs), *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 127, n. 4. Some Saljuq Amirs used this title. For instance, ʿUthman, the uncle of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah I (1072–1092), who was a governor of Saklakand in Tukharistan was known as *Amīr al-Umarā*. *Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 10, 53. It can be also a corruption of the title *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, which was borne by the Caliphs. The Saljuq ambassadors could introduce the Caliph as the spiritual ruler. The sentence "they had ruled the state for five hundred years and ten generations" may refer in this context to the ʿAbbasid Caliphs.

> salaries. By their law, minor offenses are punished with flogging and serious crimes with death. They have rice, wheat, millet, barbarian sheep, goats, ox, buffalo, camels, horses, fish, rhinoceros [can be also translated as rhino horns], elephants [can be also translated as ivory], frankincense, agarwood, dragon's blood [bright red tree resin], myrrh, borax, asafoetida, storax, pearls, glass, raisins, dates and three kinds of wine named *mi, sha,* and *hua*.[75] In commerce they use coins minted by the officials; they consist of three parts: gold and copper in equal proportion and one part of silver; it is forbidden to mint coins privately. The sound of their language is similar to that which is spoken in the Dashi state.

The author also added at the end that officials who recorded information about foreign envoys usually described products and commodities presented by foreigners. Descriptions of territories and customs are usually omitted. But the Cengtan records contained this kind of information. It shows that at the Chinese court Cengtan was unknown, therefore, officials sought to compile a picture of this place and its people as much as possible.[76]

The same description of Cengtan, with some changes and additional information, appeared in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* compiled by Li Tao. Cengtan was recorded as Dashi Cengtan *guo* (the Muslim Cengtan state) and its capital was situated 20,000 *li* from the Southern Sea. The list of commodities excluded millet and agarwood but included costus root. Moreover, it was stated that in 1071, the ruler of Cengtan sent an envoy to the Song court for the first time, and then did so again in 1081 and 1083. He also mentioned the Cengtan envoy Cengjiani[77] with the Chinese title *baoshun langjiang* (Maintaining Submission Commandant),[78] who came to the Chinese court twice and received imperial gifts, as well as 2,000 *liang* of silver.[79] *Baoshun* was a laudatory epithet commonly prefixed to titles of nobility and friendly alien rulers. For instance, Qarakhanid and Uyghur Khagans also received from the Song emperor honorary titles with this epithet.[80] All this information appears in the chapter

75 The Chinese words *mi*, *sha* and *hua* can refer to the Persian word *mai* and Arabo-Persian words *sharāb* and *khamr* for wine. Also see *Zhu fan zhi*, Hirth and Rockhill, 126, n. 4; Fujita Toyohachi, *Zhongguo Nanhai*, 220.

76 *Qingbo zazhi: Qingbo biezhi, juan zhong* 141, 142.

77 For the name, see *Zhu fan zhi*, Hirth and Rockhill, 127, n. 4.

78 *Baoshun langjiang*, laudatory title conferred on friendly alien military chiefs. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford University Press, 1985), 369.

79 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 225: 5469; 313: 7592; 332: 7998; 333: 8017.

80 *Song shi*, 490: 14108, 14117.

on Cengtan in the official history of the Song dynasty. However, Chinese chroniclers of the Mongols, who compiled it, recorded only two delegations from Cengtan in 1071 and 1083.[81] *Song huiyao jigao* records also confirm that Cengtan was a part of the Islamic world.[82]

The information about the ruler and his dynasty that ruled "for five hundred years and ten generations" refers to the ʿAbbasid Caliphs, a religious leader of the Islamic world. The similar records can be also found in *Zhu fan zhi,* which was compiled in 1225, referring to the ʿAbbasid Caliphs in the chapter devoted to Baghdad: "the king is a direct successor of Fo Maxiawu (Buddha Muhammad) and the throne has, down to the present time, been transmitted through twenty-nine generations, covering a period of from six to seven hundred years."[83] When the Cengtan envoy arrived in China in 1071, the ʿAbbasid Caliph was al-Qa'im and calculating the number of generations between the period of prophet Muhammad and Caliph al-Qa'im, we can count about "five hundred years and ten generations."

It can be concluded that according to the Song sources, Cengtan was located in the Islamic world and had not sent official missions to China before the Song period. The maritime road from Cengtan to Guangzhou passed via the port cities in Oman, South India and Sumatra, which may confirm that the itinerary was started in the Persian Gulf. Bielenstein assumed that Wuxun was located in the south of present-day Vietnam based on information that appeared in the entry on Champa in *Wenxian tongkao*.[84] However, according to *Wenxian tongkao* Wuxun was one of the states at sea (*hai shang*) that arrived at the Chinese court together with Champa in 1011. The text says nothing about the location of Wuxun near Champa and cannot be placed in Vietnam.[85] The location of Wuxun near Champa can also be rejected by the itinerary between Cengtan and Guangzhou recorded in Song sources. It would be illogical for any mission arriving to China from the west to go first to Champa and then return to Kollam and Srivijaya before reaching Guangzhou. Moreover, Wuxun was recorded as a polity located in the Islamic world in Song sources.[86]

81 *Song shi*, 490: 14122–14123.

82 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 92, 7:36.

83 王乃佛麻霞勿直下子孙，相袭传位，至今二十九代，经六、七百年。*Zu fan zhi*, 19. According to Hirth Muslim travelers who supplied this information cannot have ignored the Caliphs, who ruled before the ʿAbbasids. For the English translation and the note regarding the calculating the number of generations, see *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 135–136, n.2.

84 Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade*, 10.

85 *Wenxian tongkao*, 332: 2609–2.

86 *Song shi,* 490: 14121; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 92, 7: 32.

The same maritime roads between the Persian Gulf and China were recorded by Muslim authors of the ninth–twelfth centuries. For instance, al-Bīrūnī mentioned a story about a sailor called Māfannā from the port city Siraf in the Persian Gulf, who lived shortly before his time and traveled from Siraf to Khānfū (Guangzhou), the main seaport of China (al-Ṣīn).[87] Marwazī describing Guangzhou stated that the majority of Persian and Arab merchants, who traveled there on their ships, were the Persians from Siraf and Arabs from Basra. The goods imported to Guangzhou were elephant tusk, pepper, asafoetida, glass, lapis lazuli, saffron, steel, tamarisk wood, walnuts, and all kinds of dried fruit, such as dates and raisins. He also added that the most appreciated thing imported to Guangzhou was *khutū* (rhino horn or walrus tusk), known in Chinese as *bishān*.[88] Besides al-Muqaddasī stated that ʿAden, a port city in Yemen as well as Sohar in Oman were the passages (*dahlīz*) to China (al-Ṣīn).[89] Masʿūdī provided the itinerary of a merchant from Samarqand, who traveled from Basra to Guangzhou. The interesting fact is that his road exactly repeats the passage and the stages of the Cengtan delegation:

> It is related that a merchant of the town of Samarqand in Transoxiana went from his home with a good stock of wares to Iraq, where he bought many goods of this country and proceded to Basra. He went by sea to Oman,[90] whence he directed his voyage to Kalla [Kollam], which is half way to China, or about that. It is at present the commercial mart of the Muslim vessels of Siraf and Oman, where they meet with the merchants of China, who come to this island in their own vessels. In most ancient times it was different; for the Chinese vessels used to come to Oman, Siraf, to the coasts of Pars, and Bahrein, and al-Ubulla, and Basra and in the same way the vessels went from the ports mentioned as far as China. But since justice was no longer practised, and under the depraved state the government which we have described, both parties meet halfway. The aforementioned merchant went to Kollam on board a Chinese vessel which brought him into the sea-port of Khānfū [Guangzhou].[91]

87 *Kitāb taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin*, trans. Bulgakov, 88–89, for the identification of Khānfū with Guangzhou (Canton), see 278, n. 90.

88 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 22. Elephant tusk, rhino horn as well as drugs and fruits mentioned by Marwazī were also recorded in the list of the Cengtan products.

89 *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* ed. Goeje, 34. Also see the English translation *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʾrifat al-aqālīm,* trans. Collins, 49.

90 According to Ibn Khurdādhbih Oman is the same as Sohar. *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, trans. Velikhanova, 76.

91 *Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. and trans. de Meynard, vol. 1, 307–308; for the English translation, see *Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar,* trans. Sprenger, 328–329. I slightly modified the English translation based on the Arabic text.

A detailed description of the sea route from the Persian Gulf to China with the stages in Oman, Kollam and Sumatra is also recorded by Ibn Khurdādhbih.[92] George Hourani, following the information of times for the voyage to China given in *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa al-Hind* that was compiled in 851, stated that the voyage from Masqat (Oman) to Guangzhou took 120 days, excluding stops.[93] The road from Cengtan to Guangzhou took 160 days "traveling day and night with a favorable wind." If we exclude the distance between Cengtan and Oman[94] then it is almost the same duration. It should be pointed out that these durations are estimated by medieval Muslim and Chinese authors excluding stops and based on optimal weather and climate conditions. The real duration of the voyage from the major port cities in the Persian Gulf to China with the stops for trade in Oman, India and Sumatra could be much longer and the round trip might take about a year and a half.[95]

The interesting part of the passage on Cengtan is the use of elephants in logistics. Elephants are normally associated with sub-Saharan Africa, India, and Southeast Asia. However, the use of elephants in warfare and logistics was not unique or entirely unknown in Iran and Central Asia. Elephants were deployed, for instance, during the Sassanid dynasty, which procured these animals from their Indian allies.[96] The most famous dynasty in the Islamic world that extensively used elephants in military affairs and made them symbols of power and authority were the Ghaznavids. Among this Turkic dynasty, the possession of elephants was a royal privilege; however, elephants could be granted to Amirs in some circumstances or used as diplomatic gifts to allied rulers. For instance, the Ghaznavid historian al-ʿUtbī in his *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* mentions war elephants in the list of gifts presented by Sultan Mahmud to Yusuf Qadir Khan.[97] The presence of elephants in the Qarakhanid army is stated in Chinese sources, too. The Khotan ambassador who arrived at the court of Emperor Taizu of Song in 971 reported their victory over the Qarakhanids and the capture of one dancing elephant.[98] According to Juwaynī's *Ta'rīkh-i Jahāngushā,* Indian elephants were even used in the army of the Qara Khitai, who gained them

92 *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, trans. Velikhanova, 77–83.

93 George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 74.

94 According to *Wenchang zalu,* the road between Cengtan and Sohar took 20 days, see *Wenchang zalu*, 1: 3.

95 Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 74–75.

96 For elephants in the Sassanian army, see Melville B. Charles, "The Rise of the Sassanian Elephant Corps: Elephants and the Later Roman Empire," *Iranica Antiqua* 42, (2007): 301–46.

97 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 316.

98 *Song shi*, 490: 14107.

in the battle with the Ghurids (1186–1215) and brought them to Balasaghun.[99] The Saljuqs also could receive elephants as diplomatic gifts during peace negotiations or obtained them during the war with the Ghaznavids. After the Saljuq conquest of Baghdad, when Sultan Toghrul Beg arrived in the city to have an audience with the Caliph in 1057–58, the Caliph sent his people to meet Toghrul Beg and he was accompanied by his intimates, some in boats and some mounted on elephants.[100] Moreover, the Saljuq ruling elite was depicted on horses, camels and elephants on *mīnā'ī* ware and pottery figurines found in Iran.[101] Masʿūdī also mentioned the use of elephants in official ceremonies at the ʿAbbasid court in Baghdad.[102]

Chinese authors often recorded commodities brought from foreign places as local products of those regions if they were widely used or traded there. However, these products could be also often imported from other countries and transferred further to China. The same applies to elephants. Certainly, elephants were not so common but represented power and prestige in the Turko-Islamic world at that period. Therefore, the Saljuqs often depicted elephants in their artworks and their envoys at the Chinese court could also point out the usage of elephants in their realm.

Most of the products of Cengtan were widely traded in the Islamic world and brought to China via the maritime routes. The existence of rhinoceros or rhino horns in the list of products may also lead the reader to Africa or Southeast Asia. However, according to records of medieval travelers and visual sources, rhinoceros were found in the Indus Valley and across the mountains of present-day Afghanistan at least until the sixteenth century.[103] Moreover, Cengtan missions passed through Sumatra and they could transport rhino horns from there to China. Rice is also mainly associated with China, South and

99 *Ta'rīkh-i Jahāngushā*, trans. Boyle, 360.

100 *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tā'rīkh al-aʿyān,* ed. Sevim, 25.

101 For instance, see *Bowl Depicting a Lady Riding an Elephant*, Iran, Saljuq period, retrieved from Minneapolis Institute of Art, bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, no. 50.46.434, https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1096/bowl-depicting-a-lady-riding-an-elephant-iran; *Elephant with howdah and figure*, stonepaste, Iran, Saljuq period, retrieved from Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F1967.26, https://asia.si.edu/object/F1967.26/; *Elephant Carrying Two Figures Seated on Hawda and Mahout Seated on Neck*, stonepaste, Iran, Saljuq period, retrieved from Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 65.109.1, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451803?exhibitionId=%7Bfff5063f–8917–4243–83f0–0694of436c91%7D&oid=451803.

102 *Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. and trans. de Meynard, vol. 8, 169.

103 For the discussion of historical records, artifacts and paintings, including Babur on a rhinoceros hunt, see Leendert C. Rookmaaker, "Records of the Rhinoceros in Pakistan and Afghanistan," *Pakistan Journal of Zoology* 32, no. 1 (2000): 65–74.

Southeast Asia. At the same time, rice was introduced to Central Asia already during the Kushan period and became an important culinary aspect of the culture in Central Asia and Iran by the Islamic era.[104] It should be pointed out that the Persian Gulf was famous for its many pearl fisheries. Idrīsī recorded that there were about three hundred renowned places in the Persian Gulf where pearls were fished and these fisheries were richer and more productive than in India and Yemen.[105] The main centers of glass and wine production of the Islamic world were located in Iran. Wine has been always a traditional symbol of Persian culture. For instance, Shiraz was known as the center of the best wine-producing region in the pre-modern world.[106] It should be also pointed out that the Cengtan missions stopped in the port cities of Oman, South India, and Sumatra, and could bring different commodities from these places that were viewed as local products of Cengtan at the Chinese court.

Another fact that may connect Cengtan with the Saljuq Empire is information about the coinage. According to the text, Cengtan used billon coins minted by the state. Saljuq dinars were not struck according to a standard. They had to be weighed, rather than counted. Moreover, in the eleventh century eastern Saljuq mints issued a debased composition with a low gold content and a mostly silver alloy. This practice was first initiated by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and then continued by the Saljuqs in the region.[107]

The location of Cengtan was discussed in *Wenchang zalu* in more detail and may lead towards the Persian Gulf rather than to Zanzibar:

> 主客所掌諸番[...] 南方十有五:[...] 其十三曰層檀，東至海，西至胡盧沒國，南至霞勿檀國，北至利吉蠻國。其十四曰勿巡，舟船順风泛海，二十昼夜至层檀。[108]

104 For the recent archaeological report on rice agriculture in Uzbekistan during the Kushan period published by the joint Uzbekistan-Chinese mission, see Chen Guanhan et al., "Kushan Period Rice in the Amu Darya Basin: Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange along the Southern Himalaya," *Science China Earth Sciences* 63 (2020): 841–851. For the history of rice in Iran, see Marcel Bazin et al., "Berenj "Rice"," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1989), IV/2, 147–163, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/berenj-rice.

105 *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, trans. Jaubert, vol. I, 375.

106 Jancis Robinson ed., *The Oxford Companion to Wine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 512–513.

107 For some examples of the Saljuq pale gold dinars, see Sheila R. Canby et al., eds., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Saljuqs*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016, 51–53.

108 *Wenchang zalu*, 1: 3.

> The Bureau of Receptions is in charge of all foreigners [...] There are fifteen states in the south: [...] The thirteenth one is called Cengtan; in the east it reaches the sea, in the west it reaches the Hulumo [or Hulumei] state, in the south it reaches the Xiawutan state, in the north it reaches the Lijiman state. The fourteenth one is called Wuxun; if one sails the sea on a ship or boat with a favorable wind, one will reach Cengtan in 20 days and nights.

All the place names mentioned in this passage are unknown and do not appear in any other sources, except for Wuxun, which refers to Mazun, a Persian name of Sohar,[109] an important trade port between the Islamic world and China. This means that Cengtan was not located too far away from the main port cities of Oman. Therefore, Cengtan cannot be identified with Zanzibar. The sea that was located in the east of the Cengtan state is probably the Caspian Sea, but it could also refer to the Persian Gulf, or even to the more remote South China Sea.

Recently, Lu Yun, following Fujita Toyohachi, suggested that the term Hulumo (LMC. xɦuǎ-luǎ-mut) should be derived from the word "Hurum," which was an Armenian word for Rome and refers to Byzantium.[110] However, if Cengtan refers to the Saljuqs, it seems unlikely that the Saljuq ambassadors used this name instead of the Persian term Rum for Rome, which also applied to former Byzantine territories conquered by the Saljuqs. I contend that this word should be read as "Rum of the *hu* people." The first part of this name, *hu*, meaning "barbarian," was a general term for foreign peoples living north and northwest of China and was mainly associated with peoples speaking Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic languages. However, it could also sometimes refer to other peoples of the Western Regions, like Tokharians or Sogdians. During the Song period, this term was also used referring to Central Asia, particularly in the context of products imported from this region. The second part of this term, Lumo (LMC. luǎ-mut), is very similar to the Chinese name Lumei (LMC. luǎ-mi) for Rum that was used by the Southern Song official Zhao Rugua in his records on foreign countries.[111] Cengtan sent three envoys to China in 1071, 1081 and 1083 according to the Song sources.[112] All of them were sent after the battle of Manzikert when the Saljuqs began to occupy Anatolia, the territories

109 Fujita Toyohachi, *Zhongguo Nanhai*, 220; Chen et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi*, II, 999.
110 Lu, "Songdai Cengtan," 30; Fujita Toyohachi, *Zhongguo Nanhai*, 222–223.
111 *Zhu fan zhi*, 116–117; for the English translation, see *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 141–142.
112 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 313: 7592; 33: 7998; 333: 8017.

known in the Islamic world as Rum. However, despite their conquest of this region, the Sultans of the Saljuq Empire never styled themselves as rulers of Rum; although it was common practice to include the names of the different countries that they conquered in their titles, Rum never appeared among them.[113] For instance, the Saljuq Sultanate of Anatolia was viewed as a subordinate state of the Saljuq Empire until 1084.[114] At the same time, Malik Shah was mentioned as the owner of Khurasan, Transoxiana, Kashghar, Balasaghun, Khwarazm, Nimruz, Iraq, Pars, Syria, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Arran, Antioch and Jerusalem.[115] Rum was not in this list. Therefore, the ambassadors who came to the court of the Chinese emperor might refer to their subjects, the Saljuqs of Rum, as their western neighbors.

Fujita Toyohachi assumed that the southern neighbor of the Cengtan state Xiawutan (LMC. xɦja:- ʊut-tɦan) should refer to Hamadan.[116] However, Hamadan was a part of the Saljuq Empire and could not be recorded as a neighbor state of Cengtan. Lu Yun suggested that Xiawutan may refer to the Ghaznavids.[117] When the Cengtan ambassadors arrived in China, the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs had signed a peace agreement initiated by the Ghaznavid ruler Ibrahim ibn Masʿud (1059–1099), which stopped the further Saljuq conquest of the Ghaznavid territories. It was a time of cultural and social interaction via marriage alliances between the two dynasties. The Ghaznavids were strong enough in many ways to deal with the Saljuqs on equal footing.[118] It was a time of cultural and social interaction via marriage alliances between the two dynasties.

The Lijiman (LMC. liˋ-kjit-ma:n) country, which was located in the north of Cengtan, according to Lu Yun, can refer to the western Qarakhanids. He attempted to read Liji as a Chinese word for the Turkic title Ilig.[119] Ilig was the highest title of the Qarakhanids after the supreme title Khagan. Muslim authors often applied this name to the Qarakhanids.[120] Thus, Lijiman may be a corrupt version of Ilig Khan or Ilig Turkman.[121] The realm of the western

113 Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The King of the East," 71.

114 Ibid, 72.

115 *Siyāsatnāma,* trans. Darke, 170.

116 Fujita Toyohachi, *Zhongguo Nanhai*, 222–223.

117 Lu, "Songdai Cengtan," 30.

118 Bosworth, "Ghaznavids," 578–583.

119 Lu, "Songdai Cengtan," 31.

120 For instance, see *Saljūqnāma*, ed. Bosworth and trans. Luther, 29–30; *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 315–318.

121 It should be noted that terms "Turk" and "Turkman" were to some extent interchangeable in Muslim sources at least until the end of the thirteenth century. The difference between the terms did not depend on their language or ethnic divisions. The term "Turk" was

Qarakhanids was viewed in China as a part of the Islamic world, and the western Qarakhanids as Muslims (Dashi). I could not find any other name in Chinese sources that refers to the western Qarakhanids, except Puhualuo (Bukhara), which is mentioned in the list of the Muslim states recorded by the Southern Song official Zhao Rugua.[122] However, during that period, the Saljuq Sultans established close relative links through marriage alliances not only with the Ghaznavid Sultan, but also with the Qarakhanids, which went on until the times of Sultan Sanjar. Therefore, if Cengtan is the Saljuq Empire then Lijiman and Xiawutan should most likely refer to the western Qarakhanids and the Ghaznavids, as the neighboring territories of the Saljuq Sultans in the north and the south.

Song sources also depicted a mission dispatched from "Muslim Tabriz" (Dashi Tuopoli) in 1073.[123] Tabriz that was a center of the Rawadid dynasty had been incorporated into the Saljuq Empire by this time. The envoy from Tabriz Pu Tuopolici (Abu Tabrizi?)[124] had the Chinese title *baoshun langjiang*. This mission was probably organized by the Saljuq regional ruler and for this reason distinguished from Cengtan.

The envoys from Cengtan were sent to China during the rule of Alp Arslan (1063–1072) and his son Malik Shah I, the most prosperous period of the Saljuq Empire. They greatly expanded the empire's territory and consolidated their power from Khurasan to Jerusalem, defeating rivals to the south and northwest. Therefore, it seems that the Saljuq Sultans sought to have direct diplomatic contacts with China, which, despite the silver crisis of the eleventh–twelfth centuries, paid pure silver for commodities from the Islamic world. Malik Shah I was well known in Song China: his name was even applied to the Saljuq territories in the description of Anatolia, where the territories of Mielisha (LMC. mjiat-liăk-ʂa:) were depicted as the southeastern neighbors of

used referring to both the sedentary and nomadic groups, while Turkmans were mostly nomads. Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 3–4.

122 *Zhu fan zhi*, Hirth and Rockhill, 116–117. Zhao Rugua started this work in 1190 and completed it in 1225. The Khwarazmshahs defeated the Qarakhanids in 1210 and Bukhara became one of the residences of the Khwarazmshah. However, the author could have obtained information on the territories long before these events, when Bukhara was one of the main cities of the western Qarakhanids.

123 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 246: 5977; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 33; 4: 92. For the identification of Tuopoli or Tuopolici with Tabriz, see Chen et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi*, II, 1053.

124 For the Chinese "Pu" as a transliteration for Arabic "Abu," see Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China*, 59–61.

the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum.[125] It should be pointed out that the missions from Cengtan had been sent via the maritime road before the Malik Shah's conquest of the Qarakhanid territories. Chinese sources recorded missions from the Dashi realm that arrived jointly with Qarakhanid delegations via land roads.[126] These missions could be also dispatched by the Saljuqs, when the Qarakhanids submitted to Malik Shah.

Brief information about the Saljuqs also appeared in *Liao shi,* in the description of the Qatwan battle between the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar and the Qara Khitai Gurkhan Yelü Dashi in 1141 near Samarqand (Xunsigan). The Saljuq Empire was called Huershan (Khurasan) of the Western Regions.[127] Before his reign, Sultan Sanjar was a governor (*Malik*) of Khurasan from 1096, appointed by his half-brother Barkyaruq (1094–1105).

Chinese sources often applied different names to the same polity. The Saljuq Empire was generally known as Dashi. The official missions dispatched via maritime roads from the Saljuq Sultans Alp Arslan and Malik Shah were depicted under the term Cengtan. Later, when the Saljuqs established their rule at the Qarakhanid realm, the polity was also known under the name of Sultan Malik Shah (Mielisha).

The identification of Cengtan with the Saljuq Empire remains open for further discussion. However, according to the Chinese text it is known that Cengtan was a part of the Islamic world and located not far from the Gulf of Oman. It should be also pointed out that there were not so many polities in the region during the second half of the eleventh century would have had all products and commodities mentioned in the Cengtan entry at their disposal and been capable of dispatching ships to China.

3.2 *Envoys from Fulin: The Byzantines or the Saljuqs of Anatolia*

Chinese sources applied different names to Anatolia under the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum: Fulin,[128] Meilugudun[129] and Lumei.[130] Fulin, which is most likely derived from Middle Persian *Hrwm* (Rome), originally referred to the Byzantine

125 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 317: 7661; *Song shi*, 490: 14124.

126 *Song shi*, 18: 345; 490: 14109; *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 300: 7310; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 42.

127 *Liao shi*, 30: 356. *Liao shi* mentioned Huershan as a name for the coalition of the Western Region's states. However, it is clear that it refers to Khurasan.

128 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 317: 7661–7662; *Song shi*, 490: 14124–14125.

129 *Lingwai daida*, 3: 54; for the German translation, see *Lingwai daida*, trans. Netolitzky, 46.

130 *Zhu fan zhi*, 20; for the English translation, see *Zhu fan zhi,* trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 141–142.

Empire in official Tang sources.[131] The description of Fulin in Song sources differs from the Tang accounts and refers to the new polity in Asia Minor.[132] Lumei comes from the term Rum, which referred to the Byzantine Empire in the medieval Islamic world. The Saljuqs called the lands of their sultanate as Rum because it had been established on territory long considered "Roman" in the Islamic world. Meilugudun was identified by Hirth as the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum.[133] However, he also suggested that it could be a Chinese transcription of the Arabic word *mulḥidūn,* meaning "infidels" or "heretics," and referring to Constantinople. Furthermore, he assumed that it could be a composite picture of the remote Mediterranean region in China.[134] However, the Qur'an uses the term *mulḥidūn* mainly for non-believers and does not apply to Christians. I suggest that Meilugudun (LMC. mi-luǎ´-kut-tun) probably derives from the designation "*mulk-i* Rūm," meaning "the kingdom of Rum" and refers to the entire territory of the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum.

The term Fulin was used by court historians in official Chinese histories, while Lumei and Meilugudun appeared in records of foreign countries that were written by officials who served in border regions and relied mainly on information that they obtained from foreign merchants. It seems that court historians preferred to use the familiar term for the region, while other authors applied the name, which was in use among the Saljuqs themselves and in the entire Islamic world.

The description of Fulin in *Song shi*[135] is shorter than the account recorded in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*. It omitted important information that helps to identify Fulin with the Saljuqs of Rum rather than with the Byzantium. Therefore, the description of Fulin in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* can be applied in tracing the usage of this term during the Song period:

131 For the term Fulin and its origin during the Tang period, Samuel N.C. Lieu, "Epigrahica Nestoriana Serica," in *Exegisti Monumenta. Festsschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams,* ed. Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze, and Francois de Blois (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 236–245.

132 For the term Fulin during the Song period, see Friedrich Hirth, "The Mystery of Fu-lin," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, no. 1 (1909): 1–31. For a more recent overview of the issue, see Xu Jialing 徐家玲, "Baizhanting haishi Saierzhuren guojia? Xi *Song shi*, 'Fulin guo chuan' de yi duan jizai 拜占庭还是塞尔柱人国家? 析《宋史・拂菻国传》的一段记载 [Byzantium or Saljuq Sultanate? On a piece of Narrative on "Fulin" in History of Song Dynasty]," *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 3, no. 4 (2009): 63–67; Duturaeva, "Cengtan and Fulin," 29–48.

133 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 141–142.

134 Ibid, 142.

135 *Song shi*, 490: 14124–14125.

元豐四年，拂菻國貢方物，大首領儞廝都令廝孟判言，其國東南至滅力沙，北至大海，四十程。又東至西大石及於闐王所居新福州，次至舊於闐，次至灼昌城，乃於闐界，次東至黃頭回紇，又東至達靼，次至種榲，又至董氈所居，次至林檎城，又東至青唐，乃至中國王界；西至大海約三十程。其名滅力伊靈改撒，國地甚寒，王服紅黃衣，以金線織絲布纏頭，每歲遇三月入佛寺燒香，坐紅床，人舁之。首領皆如王之服，或青綠、緋白、粉紅、褐紫，亦各纏頭跨馬。城市田野各有首領主之。每歲惟夏秋兩得俸，給金、銀、綿、錦、穀、帛，以治事大小為差。刑罪輕者杖五七十，重者一二百，大罪盛以毛囊投之海。土屋無瓦。產金、銀、珠、綿、錦、牛、羊、馬、獨棲駝、杏、梨、糖、千年棗、巴欖子、大小麥、粟、麻，以蒲桃釀酒。音樂彈胡琴、箜篌，吹小篳篥，擊偏鼓，唱歌拍手戲舞。不務戰鬥，事小止以文字往來詰問，事大亦出兵。以金銀為錢，無穿孔，面鑿彌勒佛名，背鑿國王名，禁私造。其言語與滅力沙同。至是貢鞍、馬、刀、劍、珠。[136]

In the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* era [1081], the Fulin state offered local products; main chieftain Nisidulingsimengpan said that in the south east his state reaches Mielisha [Malik Shah], in the north it reaches the Great Sea [the Black Sea], both are forty days of a journey. Also in the east it reaches western Dashi[137] and Xinfuzhou[138] resided by the king of Yutian [Khotan],[139] next comes old Yutian,[140] next comes the city of Zhuochang[141] and then the borders of Yutian; next are the Huangtou Huihe [Yellow-Head Uyghurs], further in the east come the Dada [Tatars], and next come the Zhongwo [Chonghuls][142] and further come

136 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 317: 7661–7662.

137 The Western Qarakhanids.

138 Xinfuzhou is the capital of the Khotan kingdom, which is modern Khotan.

139 The Eastern Qarakhanids.

140 Dividing the state of Khotan into new and old is unclear. I suppose that the new Khotan should be the entire territory of the eastern Qarakhanids centered in Balasaghun and Kashghar. The old Khotan refers to the previous territories of the Khotan kingdom, which was conquered by the Qarakhanids by the eleventh century and served as a residence for the Qarakhanid co-Kaghans.

141 Zhuochang is Yuechang, a city near present-day Cherchen or Qiemo county in Xinjiang.

142 Chonghul is a Turkic clan name still in use among the modern Yogurs. Christopher P. Atwood, "The First Mongol Contacts with the Tibetans," in *Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Paris: UMR 8155 (CRCAO) of the French National Center for Scientific Research, 2015), 26.

places resided by Dongzhan, next comes the city Linqin,[143] further in the east comes Qingtang[144] and then comes the boundaries of the kings of Zhongguo [China]; in the west it reaches the Great Sea, which is approximately thirty days' journey. The name of the king is Mieliyilinggaiche, the climate of the state is very cold, the king wears red-yellow clothes and a gold threaded silk turban; each year, when the third month comes he enters the temple of the Buddha to burn incense, he sits on a red bed and people carry him.[145] The chieftains all wear royal-like cloth, some green-blue, [some] dark red, [some] white, [some] soft red, [some] brown and violet, as well as turbans, and ride horses. Each fortified city and province has its own chieftain who is in charge of it.[146] They receive an official salary twice every year in summer and autumn, they are given gold, silver, cotton, brocade, grain, and silk, which differs according to the degree of seniority of their service. Minor offenses are punished with fifty to seventy strokes, more serious crimes with one to two hundred strokes, and major crimes are punished by throwing the accused into the sea in a sack.[147] Local houses are without tiles. They produce gold, silver, pearls, silk floss, brocade, cattle, sheep, horses, dromedaries, apricots, pears, sweets, dates, almonds, various kinds of wheat, millet, sesame, and wine made from grapes. For music, they play *huqin* [fiddle],[148] *konghou* [harp],

143 The exact location of this city is unclear. It was most likely a territory of Tsongkha in the Qinghai region. It probably refers to the present-day Dulan, which was one of the main cities along the Qinghai Road during the Tibetan Empire. For more details on Dulan and the Qinghai Road, see Makiko Onishi and Asanobu Kitamoto, "A Lesser Known Route: the Qinghai Route," In *Silk Road in Rare Books: Narratives on Cultural Heritage along Silk Road with Figures and Photographs from Rare Books,* Digital Silk Road Project, National Institute of Informatics, http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/rarebook/07/, Japanese edition 2005, English revised edition 2010.

144 Qingtang is a place near present-day Xining that belonged to the Tsongkha confederation.

145 The visit of the ruler of Fulin to the so-called temple (which is a mosque) in the third month of each year probably refers to the Mawlid, the birthday of the prophet Muhammad, which is celebrated in the third month in the Islamic calendar Rabi' al-awwal.

146 This refers to the *iqtā'* practice.

147 This description seems to correspond with the Romano-Byzantine punishment of *poena cullei* (from Latin "penalty of the sack"). It is likely that Byzantine law influenced Saljuq jurisprudence. For the solid Greek influence in the Sultanate, see Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, 289–297. This punishment was also adopted by the Ottomans and mainly applied to women. This goes back to an old Turko-Mongol taboo on shedding women's blood. Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 101.

148 *Huqin* is a generic term for a Chinese fiddle, literally 'barbarian string instrument'. The instruments are held vertically on the player's lap, and their music is marked by slides

> *bili* [small zurna][149] and one-sided *piangu* [drum]; they sing songs, clap hands and dance. They do not engage in military confrontations; if the matter is small, they try to ask about it only by written contacts and if the matter is significant, they also dispatch troops. They mint gold and silver coins; they have no holes, on the obverse is engraved the name of Milefo,[150] and on the reverse there is the name of the king of the state. Private minting of coins is prohibited. The language they speak is similar to the language of Mielisha [Malik Shah]. As tribute they offer saddles, horses, knives, swords and pearls.

The entry on Fulin has an interesting commentary from *Fulin zhengzhuan* (Official Chronicle of Fulin) and added that according to this source, the Fulin state had not come to the Chinese court "for more than nine hundred years until today."[151] There is no doubt that the information stating that this country did not send envoys in previous times applied to the new dynasty in Asia Minor, since Chinese sources recorded several embassies from Fulin during the Tang period, when this term was used for the Byzantine Empire.[152] Therefore, the author of these words obviously meant the Saljuqs of Rum, who sent their envoy for the first time. Moreover, the dynastic histories of the Tang clearly stated that Fulin is ancient Daqin, the Chinese name for the Roman Empire,

---

and vibratos as the left hand moves freely along the strings. Typically, the horsehair of the bow passes between the strings and the arched wooden stick remains on the outside. The name *huqin* appears in China during the Song dynasty; however, this instrument apparently entered China from nomadic peoples centuries earlier.

149 *Bili* is a Chinese shawm, which is probably related to the Central Asian zurna.

150 *Milefo* is Maitreya, the Bodhisattva that will be the next to come after Shakyamuni Buddha (Siddhartha Guatama, the physical incarnation of the Buddha on Earth). As the term "Buddhist temple" (*fosi*) in the text refers to an Islamic mosque, Maitreya may also represent the Caliph, a person considered a religious successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad. It should be noted that prophet Muhammad was also mentioned as Buddha (Fo Maxiawu) in Song sources, *Zhu fan zhi*, 17, 19; for the English translation, see *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 124, 135. Therefore, Maitreya as a successor of Buddha may refer to the Caliphs who were religious successors of the prophet Muhammad. The Great Saljuqs as well as Sultans in Anatolia minted coins with the caliph's name on the obverse and the ruler's on the reverse, including a variation of the profession of faith (*shahada*). They carried uniform inscriptions which were used by all dynasties that recognized the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. In the initial stage, the Saljuqs of Rum used the coinage of the Great Saljuqs and also Byzantine coins that were circulated at least in local markets. Later their coinage was separated from that of the Great Saljuqs. As far as I know, it was not earlier than the rule of Masʿud I (1116–1155). Therefore, the description of Fulin coins may refer to dinars and dirhams of the Great Saljuqs.

151 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 317: 7662.

152 *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5313–5315; *Xin Tang shu*, 221: 6260–6261.

and descriptions of Fulin are passages copied from earlier sources.[153] Song sources offer entirely new information that did not appear in previous eras and completely differs from the earlier descriptions of Fulin. This term was used as a geographical term during the Song period and applied to the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum.

There are some hypotheses regarding the name of the envoy and the ruler. Hirth assumed that the name Nisidulingsimengpan (LMC. ní-sẓ-tuə̆-liajŋ-sẓ-ma:jŋ´-pʰuan`) might refer to one or two persons. He reads this name as Nisidouling Simeng, which may stand for "Nestorius Simeon" or "Nestorius and Simeon." He did not consider the last character *pan* to be a part of the name and instead offered a meaning identical to *ban*, "in a company" or *panguan* "companion officer," "attaché." He assumed that governors Nestorius and Simeon could come in a company or the governor was accompanied by Nestorian Simeon.[154] The Japanese scholar Kurakichi Shiratori suggested that Nisidu might be an official title of the envoy, which he could not identify, and Ling may stand for Rum. He assumed that the name of the envoy Simeng could be a Chinese transliteration of 'Uthman or Sulayman and *pan* may stand for the Turkic title Beg/Bey or Pasha.[155] Yang Xianyi assumed that Nisidouling derives from the honorific noble title Maistre and Simengpan is Simon de Monfort. Yang Xianyi suggested that he could be appointed as ambassador by the Byzantine emperor.[156] However, there is no historical record to confirm this assumption. It should be added that the title *da shouling* (main chieftain) was often applied to Turkic tribal leaders.

The name of the ruler was recorded as Mieliyilinggaiche (LMC. mjiat-liə̆k-ʔji-liajŋ-kaj´-trɦiat). The envoys from Fulin arrived at the Song court in 1081 and 1091. The rulers of the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum in this period were its founder Sulaiman ibn Qutulmish (1077–1086) and his relative Abu'l-Qasim (1086–1092). In *Song shi* it was given in a slightly different form, as Mieliyilinggaisa.[157] Hirth suggested that Mieliyi is the name of Nicephorus Melissenus, who had

153 For descriptions of Fulin in the Tang sources, see Friedrich Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Medieval Relations in Old Chinese Records* (Shanghai & Hong Kong: 1885, rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1975), 51–61; Donald D. Leslie, and Kenneth H.J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: Bardi, 1996), 113, 281–282.

154 Hirth, "The Mystery of Fu-lin," 29–30.

155 Kurakichi Shiratori, 白鸟库吉, *Saiwai shidi lunwen yicong* 塞外史地论文译丛 [Translations of Research on History and Geography of the Regions Beyond the Great Wall] (Changsha: Shangpang yinshuguan, 1938–1939), 62.

156 Yang Xianyi 杨宪益, *Yiyu oushi*译余偶拾 [Occasional Collection made during the time remained after translation] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1983), 213–214.

157 *Song shi*, 490: 14124.

the title of the Byzantine emperor in this period; Ling is an imperfect attempt at the word Rum and Gaisa stand for the Greek "Kaisar" (Caesar).[158] Shiratori assumed that Mieliyiling is the Saljuq title *Malik al-Rūm* ("King of Rum") and Gaisa is the Islamic title *Ghāzī* ("Warrior").[159] The Saljuq Sultan of Rum could be also introduced as a ruler of territories that once belonged to the Roman Emperor (Turk. *Rūm Qaiṣar*). Therefore, his name can be also read as *Malik-i Rūm Qaisar* ("King of the Roman Caesar"). Sulaiman ibn Qutulmish supported Nicephorus Melissenus, who received the title "Qaiṣar" in gaining the Byzantine throne, and Sulaiman, as his supporter, could emphasize it in his letter sent to China. At the same time, until the mid-twelfth century we have no reliable information on the royal titles of the Saljuqs of Rum with which we can confirm the existence of this title.

It should be pointed out that attempts to identify the names of the Fulin ruler and his envoy do not provide strong evidence on the origin of this mission. But the description of Fulin offers some crucial details that refer to the Saljuqs. For instance, the territories between Fulin and China illustrate that the envoy came to the Song court by land roads. *Song shi* confirms this information, stating that the Fulin delegations used overland roads to get to China despite the threat of the Khitans and Tanguts along the way.[160] The envoy reported that they first arrived in the properties of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah (Mielisha) and then crossed the territories of the Qarakhanids (Xi Dashi). In Khotan they joined the Qarakhanid delegation, crossed Cherchen, places occupied by the Yellow-Head Uyghurs, Straw-Head Tatars and Chonghuls. Then they passed through the cities of the Tsongkha kingdom Linqin and Qingtang and arrived in Kaifeng. The Qarakhanid envoy also confirmed this itinerary.[161] It would have been difficult and expensive for the Byzantines during the wars with the Saljuqs to organize the mission that had to cross the territories of the Saljuqs and also to negotiate with the Qarakhanids, who were the allies of the Saljuqs to get their support along the way to Tibet and China.

Song sources recorded another mission from Fulin that came to the Song court twice in 1091.[162] I tried to find any mention of these missions from Rum in Muslim sources. The envoys passed through the territories of the Great Saljuqs and the Western Qarakhanids before they arrived in Khotan and traveled further to Tibet and China. In fact, Ibn al-Athīr recorded that in

158 Hirth, "The Mystery of Fu-lin," 25, 27–28.

159 Shiratori, *Saiwai shidi,* 61–62.

160 *Song shi*, 485: 13981.

161 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 335: 8061; 455: 10906. For the discussion of this road, also see, Chapter 3.

162 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 455: 10906; 457: 10943; 458: 11186.

1089/1090 an envoy from *Malik al-Rūm* arrived in Isfahan to offer fixed tribute (*al-kharāj al-muqarrar*) to Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah. The envoy accompanied Sultan Malik Shah during his military campaign in Transoxiana. They crossed the Amu Darya, conquered the cities of Bukhara and Samarqand, and when they reached Uzgend Malik Shah requested that the Qarakhanid Khagan in Kashghar submit to him. The Qarakhanid Khagan acknowledged his supremacy. The envoy was brought by Saljuq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk in order to show him the territories that belonged to Malik Shah, and when they reached Kashghar he allowed him to return to his country. He wanted the chronicles to record that the envoy from *Malik al-Rūm* brought tribute (*jizya*) to Sultan until the gate of Kashghar.[163] This envoy from Rum probably went farther to the East accompanied by the Qarakhanid delegation and arrived at the Song court in 1091. Ibn al-Athīr did not provide details that could clarify the origin of this mission from Rum. At the same time, the Saljuqs of Rum were often depicted as *Malik al-Rūm* in Muslim sources.[164] The Byzantine emperors were known as *Qaiṣar-i Rūm*.[165] The author applied first the term *kharāj* and then *jizya,* referring to the taxes offered by the envoy. *Kharāj* was a type of Islamic land tax that was initially collected from conquered territories and non-Muslim subjects but later used as a general term to refer to any kind of taxes. *Jizya* also referred to a poll tax that was charged on non-Muslim subjects. The terms *kharāj* and *jizya* could be also used interchangeably. Obviously, this tax was collected from the Byzantine subjects of the Saljuqs.

Xu zizhi tongjian changbian recorded important information that was omitted in *Song shi,* which relates to the language of Fulin. It was pointed out that their language was similar to the language of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah.[166] This means that descriptions of Fulin in Song dynasty sources refer to the Saljuq Sultanate of Rum and not to Byzantium. Moreover, Fulin ambassadors presented typical nomadic products at the Chinese court such as horses and swords.[167] The image of the Fulin mission presenting horses and other commodities was depicted by Li Gonglin in his portrait of foreign envoys from ten countries *Wanfang zhigong tu.*[168]

The Qarakhanids accompanied the Saljuq missions from Rum to Tibet and China. They offered the same service to other diplomatic delegations from the

163 *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh,* ed. Tornberg vol. 10, 113; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh,* trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 222–223.

164 Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The King of the East and the West, 79.

165 *Siyāsatnāma,* trans. Darke, 61, 79.

166 The same information can be found in *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 19.

167 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 317: 7662.

168 For the image, see Figure 8.2.

Islamic world. For instance, a mission from Dashi (Muslims) that arrived in the Chinese court in 1096 came together with the Qarakhanid delegation.[169] This mission was probably sent by the Western Qarakhanids from central parts of Transoxiana or by the Great Saljuqs. The Qarakhanid Khagans also provided written documents for foreign delegations, which allowed them to travel from Turkistan to Tibet and China. Thus, in 1089 a mission from the ruler of the Miaoli state arrived at the Song court for the first time. The ambassadors Lingyi (Rūmī?) and Si Masumi (or Hui Masumi, Muslim Maʿṣūmī?) provided documents from their ruler and the Qarakhanid Khagan, asking to treat them the same as Qarakhanid delegations and grant permission to trade. The request was approved by imperial edict. Moreover, the Miaoli envoy was also called *banci* like the Qarakhanid envoys.[170]

The role of *banci* in Song China included diplomatic, commercial and military service.[171] It is not clear what kind of state was meant here. It was recorded that Miaoli was located in the west or more precisely in the southwest from Anatolia:

> 拂菻國東至于闐西至邈黎 南至大石北至黑海[172]
>
> In the east the Fulin state [the Saljuqs of Rum] reaches Yutian [the Qarakhanids of Khotan], in the west it reaches Miaoli, in the south it reaches Dashi [the ʿAbbasids or the Great Saljuqs], in the north it reaches the Black Sea.

In the following description we find more ethnographical information:

> 邈黎國王都邈達州東至大食東南至西涼東北至拂菻民俗七日一次禮佛[173]
>
> In the east Miaodazhou, the capital of the king of the Miaoli state reaches Dashi [the ʿAbbasids or the Great Saljuqs], in the southeast it reaches Xiliang [?], in the northeast it reaches Fulin [the Saljuqs of Rum]. According to the custom of people, they worship the Buddha once every seven days.

169 *Song shi*, 18: 345; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 42.
170 *Song shi*, 489: 14087–14088; *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 429: 10357.
171 I give more details on the meaning of this term in Chapter 2.
172 *Yueshu,* 158: 14a.
173 Ibid, 157: 15b.

The expression *lifo*, literally translated as "worship the Buddha," does not necessarily mean that the people of Miaoli were Buddhists. It was a common practice among Chinese authors to use Buddhist expressions for other religions. For instance, the prophet Muhammad was also referred to as "Buddha" in Song sources.[174] Here the last phrase refers to the *jumu'ah* a congregational prayer that Muslims hold every Friday. Taking into account the fact that the Miaoli ambassadors had Muslim names, it can be assumed that Miaoli was a part of the Islamic world. The geographical descriptions imply that this state was located somewhere in the west of Asia Minor, which can refer to a very broad area, including Northeast Africa.

The Qarakhanids evidently played a significant role in the Sino-Tibetan world: not only did their documents allow foreign delegations to travel to Tibet and China, they also enjoyed special treatment at the Chinese court. This means the Qarakhanids established themselves as intermediaries between the Islamic world and China.

TABLE 4 Missions to the Northern Song from the Saljuq territories

	Name and date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans
1.	Cengtan (Sultan) July 75, 1071 (*XZTC* 225: 5469 *SS* 490: 14108, 14117)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified
2.	Tuopoli (Tabriz) 1073 (*XZTC* 246: 5977; *SHY: FY* 7: 33; 4: 92)	*baoshun langjiang* Pu Tuopolici (Abu Tabrizi?) and his son Pu Mamo (Abu Mahmud?)	Pearl, glass, golden belts, beckets and bridles, beads, camphor, frankincense, ivory, dates, opaque glass vessels, drugs	Title *langjiang* for Pu Mamo
3.	Cengtan July 31, 1081 (*XZTC* 313: 7592; *SHY: FY* 4: 92)	*baoshun langjiang* Cengjiani	unspecified	unspecified

174 *Zhu fan zhi,* trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 124.

TABLE 4 Missions to the Northern Song from the Saljuq territories (*cont.*)

	Name and date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans
4.	Fulin (Rum) November 9, 1081 (*XZTC* 317: 7661; *SS* 16: 305; *SHY: FY* 4: 19)	Main chieftain Nisidulinsimengpan	local products	
5.	Cengtan February 2, 1083 (*XZTC* 332: 7998, 333: 8017; *SS* 490: 14108, 14117)	unspecified	local products	2000 *liang* silver (February 26)
6.	Fulin 1091 (*XZTC* 457: 10943; *SHY: FY* 4: 19)	unspecified	unspecified	200 bolts of cloth, silver bottle, garment, golden belt (May 10)[a]
7.	Fulin February 1, 1092 (*XZTC* 468: 11186)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified

a The arrival date of this envoy who received imperial gifts was not recorded.

4 The "Uyghurs" of Khwarzm: Records on the Khwarazmshahs

Khwarazm usually appears in chapters related to foreign countries in the Chinese official histories as a country located in the Western Regions. However, Khwarazm was not mentioned in the history of the Song and the Liao dynasties. Was this because the Khwarazmshahs did not send official delegations to the Song and the Liao courts, or perhaps because not all archival documents survived till the time when the Mongols compiled the official histories of the previous dynasties? Can we also assume that the Mongols decided to omit possible information about their main confronters in Central Asia? These questions remain open. Even if the Qarakhanids were able to provide the Khwarazmian market with Chinese goods, it is strange that the Khwarazmshahs did not attempt to send official envoys with the Qarakhanid assistance to China as the

Saljuq Sultans did. Even the Ghaznavids sought to establish direct contact with China in the initial stage of their rule. The only Song documentation that may refer to possible contacts with Khwarazm is *Zhu fan zhi* written by the Song official Zhao Rugua. He provided a list of twenty-four Muslim countries. The country of Luoshimei in this list may be a corrupt transliteration of Khwarazm that represents the sound "razm."[175]

Chinese sources provide more information on the Khwarazmshahs within the events concerning the Khitan conquest of Samarqand and later the Mongol invasion in Central Asia. The first data on the Khwarazmshahs in Chinese accounts appeared in the description of the Qatwan battle between the Khitans and the Saljuqs in 1141. After the Jurchen invasion and the fall of the Liao dynasty in 1125, the Khitans, who once dominated in a vast area of Siberia and North China did not want to become subjects of the newly emerged dynasty of the Jurchens. Therefore, some Khitans decided to join a group headed by a representative of the imperial family Yelü Dashi and move towards Central Asia, where they founded the Westren Liao, or as it was known in Muslim sources, the Qara Khitai Empire. Yelü Dashi defeated the army of the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar in 1141 on the Qatwan steppe, near Samarqand and took the political dominance over the region into his hand.[176] After his victory, Atsiz Khwarazmshah (1127–1156) arrived in Samarqand and submitted to Yelü Dashi.[177] This event was described in *Liao shi*:

> 至尋思干，西域諸國舉兵十萬，號忽兒珊，來拒戰。兩軍相望二里許。諭將士曰：「彼軍雖多而無謀，攻之，則首尾不救，我師必勝。」遣六院司大王蕭斡里剌、招討副使耶律松山等將兵二千五百攻其右；樞密副使蕭剌阿不、招討使耶律术薛等將兵二千五百攻其左；自以眾攻其中。三軍俱進，忽兒珊大敗，僵屍數十里。駐軍尋思干凡九十日，回回國王來降，貢方物。[178]
>
> When he [Yelü Dashi] reached Xunsigan [Samarqand], all states of the Western Regions mobilized troops, numbering 100,000 men and called it Huershan [Khurasan],[179] and arrived to resist an attack. The two armies

175 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 116–117, 121, n. 12.

176 *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 11, 53–57; *Al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, trans. Bulgakov and Kamoliddin, 241–247.

177 *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, 238–239; *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-gushā*, trans. Boyle, 356.

178 *Liao shi*, 30: 356.

179 Emil Bretschneider assumed that Huershan has some resemblance in sound with the title Khwarazmshah. But the Chinese authors obviously referred in this text to Sultan Sanjar, who was a ruler of Khurasan. Emil Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern*

> faced each other from a distance of 2 *li*. He [Yelü Dashi] instructed his officers and men and said: "Although those troops are numerous, they do not have a strategy; if we attack them, then its head and tail will not come to the rescue and our army will certainly win." He dispatched a troop of 2,500 men commanded by the *liuyuansi dawang* [Great King of the Bureau of the Six Divisions] Xiao Wolila, the *zhaotao fushi* [Bandit-suppression Vice Commissioner] Yelü Songshan and others to attack them from the the right; he dispatched a troop of 2,500 men commanded by the *shumi fushi* [Military Affairs Vice Commissioner] Xiao Laabu, the *zhaotaoshi* [Bandit-suppression Commissioner] Yelü Shuxue to attack them from the left; [Yelü Dashi] himself with the crowd attacked them in the center. These three troops rushed together and Huershan suffered a crushing defeat and there were corpses on the ground for 10 *li*. The army was quartered in Xunsigan in total for ninety days, and the king of the Huihui state arrived with submission and presented local products.

Khwarazm was recorded in this text as Huihui, a term that applied during the Mongols to Central Asians and westerners in general. Huihui is considered to be a term meaning "Muslims," replacing the name Dashi, which was used from the Tang to the Song periods. But the Mongols also used this term referring to people of other religions. The origin of the term Huihui is unclear. It could derive from the name Huihe or Huigu used for the Uyghurs in Chinese sources before the Mongols.[180] For instance, Khwarazm was recorded as "the Uyghur state" and Muhammad Khwarazmshah as "the ruler of the Uyghurs" in Chinese accounts compiled shortly after the Mongol conquest of Central Asia.

When Genghis Khan was in Central Asia, he also received foreign embassies from different places. One of these delegations was sent by the Jin Emperor Xuanzong (1213–1224). It was headed by Wugusun Zhongduan, who visited the Mongol court in Khurasan in 1220–1221. His journey was depicted by his friend Liu Qi (1203–1250), who compiled the travel book *Bei shi ji* (*Records of the Northern Embassy*). The author called Khwarazm and other territories Huihe *guo* (Uyghur state), which was probably a common name of Central Asia in China during this period. The region was probably associated with the Uyghurs due to the similar customs and traditions of Turkic peoples. Chinese

---

Asiatic Sources (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1888), vol. 1, 215. For the name of Khwarazm in Chinese sources, see Ying Lin, "Some Chinese Sources on the Khazars and Khwarazm," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 339–64.

180 Liu Yingsheng, "A Lingua Franca along the Silk Road: Persian language in China between the 14th and the 16th centuries," in *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea,* ed. Ralph Kauz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 87.

authors could also just follow names used among the Mongols, who appointed mostly Uyghurs to administrative positions and might have inspired the term "Uyghur" for Central Asians. Later this term in the form of Huihui started to be associated with western people in general during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Huihui was also used to the Khanate of Khiva during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912).[181]

The Jin ambassador described the peoples of Central Asia dividing them into main three groups. The first group was "Muslim Uyghurs" (Mosuluman Huihe), which most likely referred to the people who lived in the territory of the former Khwarazmshah Empire including Transoxiana. The second group was called "Herat Uyghurs" (Yili Huihe), which applied to the people of Khurasan. The third group was "Indian Uyghurs" (Yindu Huihe):

> 其人種類甚衆，其須髯拳如毛，而緇黃淺深不一。面惟見眼、鼻。其嗜好亦異。有沒速魯蠻回紇者，性殘忍，肉必　手殺而噉，雖齋亦酒脯自若。有遺里諸回紇者，頗柔懦，不喜殺，遇齋則不肉食。有印都回紇者，色黑而性愿，其餘不可殫記。[182]
>
> Their [Huihe] people have various kinds of physical types; their mustaches and beards are curly like wool and the blackness and yellowness of them are not the same in lightness and darkness. Only their eyes and noses are seen on their faces. Their addictions and hobbies are also different. There are the Mosuluman Huihe, by nature they are cruel and ruthless, they eat meat [of animals] that should be killed by their own hands, even during fasting they freely drink wine and eat dried meat. There are the Yili Huihe, they are quite weak and timid, they do not like to kill, if fasting comes no meat is eaten. There are the Indu Huihe, their faces are black and they are honest by nature, and the rest of them cannot be completely recorded.

The Jin envoy, on his road back to China near Talas, encountered the famous monk Chang Chun (1148–1227) who was traveling to the Mongol court. Their conversation was recorded by Li Zhichang (1193–1256), one of the disciples of the monk who accompanied him during the journey to the Western Regions

181 *Qing shi gao*, 4: 100; 7: 244.

182 *Gui qian zhi*, 13: 167–169; for the English translation, see Emil Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers to the West* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press; London: Trübner & Co., 1875), 100–107.

and compiled a travelogue.[183] The envoy said that he had left the Mongol court seven months and twelve days ago. He informed Chang Chun that Genghis Khan moved towards India to pursue "Sultan Khan" (Suanduan Han).[184] Here the envoy meant the confrontation between Genghis Khan and Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah.

Chang Chun and his disciples started their journey in North China and were dispatched from Beijing in February 1221. They reached Samarqand in December 1221, shortly after the fall of the Khwarazmshahs, and stayed in the city until the next summer, living in a former palace of Muhammad Khwarazmshah. The camp of Genghis Khan was located twenty days' journey from Samarqand. Therefore, Chang Chun preferred to stay in Samarqand and came to the camp when it was necessary before his final departure from Samarqand in December 1222. Li Zhichang provided a detailed description of Samarqand and depicted the customs and traditions of people who lived during this time. He pointed out that during the rule of the Khwaramzmshahs, Samarqand had a population of more than 100,000 families, which is equivalent roughly to a half million people:

> 方算端氏之未敗也，城中常十萬餘戶。國破而來，存者四之一，其中大率多回紇人，田園不能自主，須附漢人及契丹、河西等。其官亦以諸色人爲之，漢工匠雜處城中。有岡高十餘丈，算端氏之新宮據焉，太師先居之。[185]

> When the dynasty of the Sunduan [Sultan] had not been yet defeated, the city [of Samarqand] usually had more than one hundred thousand families. But after the fall of the state only the fourth survived; among them in general, there are more people of Huihe, they cannot manage fields and gardens themselves and they depend on the Han people[Chinese], Qidan [Khitans], Hexi [Tanguts] and others. Their officials are also from diverse groups of people and Han craftsmen live together unsegregated in the city. There is a ridge of more than ten *zhan* high, the new palace of the Sunduan dynasty was built based on it.

183 *Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji*; for the Russian and English translations, see *Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji*, trans. Palladius 1866; Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers*, 15–56; *Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji*, trans. Waley 1931.

184 *Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji*, 1: 12.

185 Ibid, 1: 14.

Li Zhichang also applied the term "Huihe" to refer to the country and people of the Khwarazmshahs, which can sometimes be translated as "Muslims."[186] However, Huihe did not have this meaning during the Mongol conquest of Central Asia. Later the Mongols used the term in the form Huihui for Central Asians who were, in fact, mostly Muslims but it still did not circulate exclusively with the meaning "Muslims."

Samarqand was described as a former residence of the Khwarazmshahs by Li Zhichang. Yelü Chucai (1190–1244), the Minister of Genghis Khan, who participated in the conquest of Central Asia and visited most of the Khwarazmshah cities, also mentioned Samarqand as the capital of Muhammad Khwarazmshah. Gurganj was recorded as the residence of his mother.[187]

Detailed information about the Mongol conquest of Khwarazm is recorded in the official history of the Yuan dynasty compiled during the Ming period. This kind of information was also accurately recorded by Muslim authors. The Ming historians who compiled *Yuan shi* used the historical term Xiyu, meaning the Western Regions, in reference to Khwarazm.[188] It means that Khwarazm was not viewed as *waiguo* "outside country," but a part of the Yuan Empire. Central Asians were grouped under the term Huihui, replacing the earlier form Huihe.

The Mongols in China divided people into four classes. The first class was the *mengguren* "Mongol people," a tiny but highly privileged minority. Next came the *semuren* "various people," persons with special status who mainly came from Central Asia, such as Turks and Persians. This class furnished higher officialdom. Like the Mongols, they were exempt from taxation and enjoyed preferential use of official services. This term was also applied to all westerners. The third group was called the *hanren*, "Chinese people," a term that generally means Chinese but was used to specify the inhabitants of northern China. This class included the Chinese and other Sinicized ethnic groups such as Jurchens, Khitans, and Koreans, who could be employed in some functions and who also formed military units under Mongol leadership. However, the Khitans, who formed the Western Liao dynasty in Central Asia, were probably classified as *semuren* rather than *hanren*. The last group was the *nanren*, "southern people," which referred to the former subjects of Song China.[189]

186 Emil Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers*, 15–56.

187 *Xi you lu*, 25: 2a; also see Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Hsi-yu-lu 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材," *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 1–128.

188 *Yuan shi*, 22: 116.

189 Frederick Mote, *Imperial China 900–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 489–490.

Central Asians were classified as *semuren.* Yuan China had no specific terms to distinguish Turkic- and Persian-speaking populations. They were grouped under the name Huihui. The term Huihui had been used already in the histories of the Song and Liao dynasties. For instance, the Huihui Dashi tribe (Huihui Dashi *bu*) was given in the list of tribes that Yelü Dashi occupied on his road to the west.[190] It is an interesting combination of terms. Both terms meant "Muslims" and were used during different periods in China. The word Huihui replaced Dashi during the Yuan period. Before the Mongols, Huihui was used as a version of Huihe. Therefore, it can be assumed that Huihui Dashi mentioned in *Liao shi* refers to Central Asia, specifically to the Khwarazmshahs and the Qarakhanids. The Huihui, meaning probably Uyghurs, also appeared in *Song shi* in the list of united armies of foreign polities that additionally to Huihui included the Tanguts, Jurchens and Tibetans.[191] This term Huihui first mentioned in *Mengxi bitan* (*Dream Pool Essays*) written by Northern Song polymath and official Shen Kuo (1031–1095). The author referred to the Uyghurs from the Tang Anxi Protectorate.[192] It proves that the term Huihui was indeed known and used for the Uyghurs before the Mongols and it was not an addition of the Mongol historians who compiled the histories of the Song and Liao.

It was during the Yuan dynasty that Huihui was applied mainly to people from the Western Regions. Probably in order to distinguish them from the Uyghurs, the Mongols adopted another term, Weiwu'er or Weiwu, which was simply a Mongol transcription of the word "Uyghur."[193] It should be also noted that the term Huihui applied not only to Muslims but also to other peoples of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and according to Liu Yingsheng can be categorized into four groups: "Jewish Huihui" (Zhuhu Huihui), "Indian Huihui" (Jingduhei Huihui and Xindu Huihui), "Green Eyed Huihui" (Lüjing Huihui) and "Gypsy Huihui" (Luoli Huihui).[194] The earlier term Huihe was also used in Chinese sources in the early Mongol period to refer to peoples of Central Asia and India regardless of their religion or origin. It confirms connections between Huihe and Huihui.

Hui is now the standard term for the Hui people, a group of Chinese-speaking Muslims living throughout modern China. They are considered to be the

190 *Liao shi,* 69: 1123.

191 *Song shi,* 449: 13235.

192 *Meng xi bi tan,* 5: 225.

193 The modern Chinese transliteration Weiwu'er is derived from this term.

194 Liu, "A Lingua Franca along the Silk Road," 87–88; Liu Yingsheng 刘迎胜, *Huayan yu fanyin: Zhonggu shidai houqi dongxi jiaoliu de yuyan qiaoliang* 华言与蕃音: 中古时代后期东西交流的语言桥梁 [Chinese and Foreign languages: Linguistic Connections of the East-West Relations during the late Middle Ages] (Shanghai: Shaghai guji, 2013), 119–120.

descendants of Muslim travelers and traders from Central Asia and the Middle East who arrived in China along the Silk Roads in large numbers, especially from the Tang to the Yuan periods. During the Qing dynasty all Muslims living throughout the Empire, including the Turkic-speaking Muslim population such as modern Uyghurs, were also grouped under the term Hui, and the circulation of the term Uyghur was interrupted. However, the Turkic Muslim population did not use Hui as a self-designation.

The ancient term Uyghur was used first as the name of one of the Turkic ethnic groups and became a common self-designation during the Uyghur Khaganate from the seventh to the ninth centuries. Chinese sources transcribed the name as Huihe, while Muslim authors applied the term Toquzoguz, meaning "nine tribes." Therefore, the term Toquzoguz is sometimes viewed as related to the name Uyghur or even to the Chinese term *jiu xing*, meaning "nine families." In fact, both terms Uyghur and Toquzoguz appeared in Old Turkic inscriptions but were applied to different groups. The Chinese term *jiu xing* had different meanings and referred to various ethnic groups and its connection to the Uyghurs is disputed.[195]

After the Islamization of the Turkic peoples, ethnic group names began to be replaced by general designations such as "Muslims" or "Turki." The terms "Uyghur" and "Uyghuristan" continued to be in use among some groups in the region as self-designation probably until the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries; at least, these terms appeared in major sources of that period. Later the usage of the term disappeared, but people continued to believe in historical ties with the ancient Uyghurs, which was the most common and most preferred term, especially among local nineteenth-century intellectuals, as it was pointed out by prominent scholars of that time.[196] Therefore, it was not unexpected that the term "Uyghur" was reintroduced by local representatives at the Conference (Qurultai) of Turkic intellectuals held in 1921 in Tashkent and most scholars agree that following the decision of this conference, it replaced the previous names.[197]

---

195 Vladimir V. Tishin, "K probleme sootnosheniia plemennykh nazvaniy uigur i tokuz oguz i ikh otnosheniia k "deviati familiiam" kitaiskikh istochnikov," *Obschestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae* (2014): 131–40.

196 For instance, see Vasily V. Bartold, "Dvenadtsat' lektsii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii," in *Sochineniia* 5 (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 192; Valikhanov, Chokan Ch. *Sobranie sochineniy v piati tomakh* (Alma-Ata: Glavnaia redaktsiia kazakhskoi sovetskoi entsiklopedii, 1985), vol. 3, 158.

197 It was the first meeting of an organization entitled "The Revolutionary Union of Altishahri-Jungharian Workers" that was organized to attract all people under Soviet rule who migrated from present-day Xinjiang. After the meeting, the organization was renamed "The Revolutionary Union of Uyghur-Altishahri-Jungarian Workers." For more

It can be concluded that the first records of the term Huihui date back to the Northern Song dynasty. But it was used to describe the Uyghurs of the Tang period, which means that it was probably just a corrupt version of Huihe. The usage of Huihui with the meaning Muslims was started from the Yuan period and was probably first applied to the realm of the Khwarazmshahs.

5 Conclusion

Song-era Chinese sources recorded envoys from Northern India and the Islamic world that arrived in Kaifeng via the land routes in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. I attempted to utilize different hypotheses on the origin of these delegations and prove that these missions were dispatched by the Ghaznavid and Saljuq Sultans. There were also other missions from Muslim polities called Dashi and Miaoli that arrived in China accompanied by Qarakhanid envoys. The exact origin of these delegations can be discussed further but the role of the Qarakhanids in fostering international relations cannot be denied.

The Qarakhanids established themselves as middlemen between the Turko-Islamic and Sino-Tibetan worlds and helped their allies in the west to make contacts with Tibet and China. Thus, the Uyghur and Khitan delegations could cross the Qarakhanid territories and arrive to Ghazna. Diplomatic missions from Northern India, Asia Minor, and more remote territories of the Islamic world reached China accompanied by Qarakhanid envoys and official documents issued by the Khagans. These documents allowed the Qarakhanid allies not only to initiate diplomatic relations with the Song emperors but also to gain access to the Chinese market. The records on these missions give a clear idea of the trading networks and land roads in eleventh-century Central Eurasia.

The last section of this chapter reconsidering Chinese texts on the Khwarazmshahs demonstrates that Central Asia was known by the term "Uyghurs" in the twelfth and early thirteenth-century China. It proves the idea that accounts of the Uyghurs in Jin dynasty sources may also refer to the Qarakhanids and Central Asia in general.

---

details on the conference and its outcomes, see *Pis'mo Razybakeeva Stalinu o rabote sredi uigur n November 1922*, f.62, op.2, d.64, l.27–39. For conference participants, their nationality and occupation, see David Brophy, "Taranchis, Kashgharis, and the 'Uyghur Question' in Soviet Central Asia," *Inner Asia* 7, no. 2 (2005): 172–176; also see Sean R. Roberts, "Imagining Uyghurstan: Re-Evaluating the Birth of the Modern Uyghur Nation," *Central Asian survey* 28, 4 (2009): 361–81; Ablet Kamalov, "Birth of Uyghur National History in Semirech'ye: Näzärγoja Abdusemätov and His Historical Works," *Oriente Moderno* 96 (2016): 182.

CHAPTER 6

The Qarakhanid Silk Roads and Beyond

1 Introduction

Historical trade roads across Eurasia are usually associated with the so-called Silk Road. Its image is very well-known among scholars, travelers, and politicians. At the same time, the concept of the Silk Roads is an entirely abstract invention of 19th-century scholarship and mainly refers to ancient international trade networks dominant in China and Central Asia that functioned in the east-west direction. The Silk Road has been widely investigated in recent years, even spawning a new discipline in humanities known as "Silk Road Studies." But it is clear that silk was not even the primary commodity traded across Eurasia, as international trade in the ancient world was much more complex and far-flung, and its routes and directions cannot always be easily fitted into the concept of the "Silk Road." It refers specifically to Qarakhanid international trade that not only developed existed networks but, in some cases, invented new passages to control the movement of the most high-value products along ancient routes such as amber, frankincense, and tea.

This chapter deals with the Qarakhanid trade roads and networks beyond the Silk Roads through analyzing Song dynasty texts on commodities transported by Qarakhanid caravans to China involving Central Asian sources and relevant archaeological data. I present the Silk Road images during the Liao and Song periods in China and introduce Qarakhanid activities in the amber, frankincense and tea trades.

2 Silk Road Symbols and Images

This section utilizes archaeological materials on so-called *huren* (foreigner) figurines unearthed from the Liao and Song tombs and examines images portrayed by Song artists that may refer to Central Asia.

Archaeological materials are crucial to studying the history of cross-cultural contacts and exchanges between China and Central Asia. Some material findings or historical sites often become symbols of contacts along the Silk Road. For instance, Tang ceramic figures of *huren* and the tomb of An Jia representing Turks and Sogdians in China, or the Afrasiyab painting in Samarqand depicting Chinese, Korean, and Iranian ambassadors are well-known in academic

and museum circles and widely presented in scholarship. Generally speaking, the majority of the famous Silk Road symbols are archaeological discoveries involving the Sogdians. In fact, the large number of cultural relics and archaeological findings unearthed in Liao tombs also contain data about contacts and exchanges between China, Central Asia and beyond. Many excavations of Liao and Song sites, except some tombs, are conducted and supported by local teams and are published mainly in Chinese journals. Therefore these artifacts remain obscure and relatively unrepresented outside of China.

Below, I will focus on Liao and Song materials that contain cultural relics related to contacts along the Silk Road. I will discuss images of foreigners or so-called *huren* that were unearthed in Liao and Song tombs. The concept of *huren* was used differently in the post-Tang period. For instance, the Khitans, the Tanguts and the Jurchens were also viewed as *huren* in Song China and it was not as widely associated with Central Asian merchants as it was during the Tang.[1] But for simplicity, I will follow Chinese archaeologists and use this term discussing Central Asian images in Liao and Song China. Additionally, I will also briefly introduce some rare findings of Song coins that have been recently discovered in Kyrgyzstan and Russia.

2.1 *Hu Artists in Liao China*

The most famous archaeological findings related to the Liao contacts with the Qarakhanids and the Islamic world were found in the Liao Tomb of the Princess of Chen and her husband Xiao Shaoju, who were buried together in 1018 in the place known as Qinglongshan in Naiman Banner, Inner Mongolia and unearthed from 1983 to 1986. They were discovered lying on a brick funerary bed and their bodies were covered with precious metals and metal netting, from golden crowns and masks on their heads and faces to the gold and silver boots on their feet. Many precious objects discovered from the tomb were originally produced outside of the Liao realm such as Khotan jade, Islamic glass vessels, Baltic amber, and a metal bowl bearing an inscription in Arabic. These foreign objects reached Liao China as a result of Qarakhanid trade along the Silk Road.[2]

Among numerous pieces of amber, jade, agate and coral jewelry, the archaeologists also discovered an amber figure of a foreigner bearing a lion (Figure 4). The man wears a conical hat and a scarf wrapped around his head,

1 Yang Rui 杨蕤, "Lun Songdai de huren 论宋代的胡人 [Huren during the Song Dynasty]," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 1 (2011): 87–94.

2 These materials are published in the catalogue of the exhibition *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire (907–1125)*, see Shen, *Schätze der Liao*.

FIGURE 4 *Foreign Envoy Presenting a Lion*, Amber Plaque from the Liao Tomb of the Princess of Chen and her husband Xiao Shaoju, Qinglongshan town, Naiman Banner INNER MONGOLIA INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL RELICS AND ARCHAEOLOGY (AFTER SHEN ED. *SCHÄTZE DER LIAO*, FIG. 77, P. 285)

and resembles the famous Tang images of *huren*. This figure could be a representation of a Central Asian envoy offering a lion to the Liao emperor, apparently a Qarakhanid messenger.

It is known from Chinese official sources that the lion was presented in the list of commodities brought by the Qarakhanids to the Song court and obviously was also sent as a gift to the Liao emperor.[3] Moreover, the Northern Song artist Li Gonglin painted the *Yutian guo gong shizi tu* (*Portrait of Khotanese envoys presenting a lion*). This portrait was mentioned by the Southern Song writer Zhou Mi (1232–1298) in his art catalog.[4] It indicates that images of Qarakhanid envoys presenting lions were common both in Liao and Song China. I am not aware of the location of this portrait and whether it has survived until today.

3 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian,* 362: 8655, 8658; *Song shi,* 17: 320–321, 490: 14109; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 38.

4 *Yunyan guaoyan lu*, 23. For other works depicting lions from Khotan and the Western Regions, see *Yunyan guaoyan lu*, 12.

This is not the only image of Central Asians found in the Liao sites. These materials are known in Chinese archaeology but rarely studied outside of China. Yang Rui has recently provided an overview of *huren* images found from tombs of the Five Dynasties, Liao, and Song periods.[5] For example, a three-color pottery bowl with a scene of a *huren* training a lion and playing a musical instrument was discovered in 1959 in the Liao tomb, which dates from the second half of the eleventh century in Xiaoliuzhangzi village, Ningcheng, Inner Mongolia (Figure 5). The bowl is octagonal and the lion-training scene appears on each side. The foreign artist, wearing a knee-length robe, a triangular scarf around his waist, a triangular hat, and soft boots, is depicted dancing with the lion and playing a musical instrument known as *huqin*.[6]

A Liao porcelain statue of a foreigner riding a lion was found in Lamagou village in Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia in 1984 (Figure 6). The lion with the saddle stands on a rectangular base and the man sits on the lion playing a type of lute known as *pipa*. He wears a long light red robe and a petal-like curled hat, the two sides of which are tied with ropes under the collar, and carries on a pot on his back.[7]

Lions are not native to either China or the Khitans. They were a common gift from delegations from Central Asia and Iran starting from the Han period and were strongly associated with foreigners from these regions. The lion image became a popular motif in Chinese culture, as it was believed that lions could expel evil. The image of the lion in Liao China was also widely used in decoration, paintings and sculpture. Lion performances, which integrate singing, dancing, music, and acrobatics, share typical characteristics with the Western Regions in terms of content and form of expression. The famous Lion Dance,

5 Yang Rui 杨蕤, *Huigu shidai: 10–13 shiji lushang sichou zhi lu maoyi yanjiu* 回鹘时代：10–13世纪陆上丝绸之路贸易研究 [The Uyghur Era: A Study on the Overland Silk Road in the 10th–13th Centuries] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015).

6 Li Yiyou 李逸友, "Zhaowudameng Ningchengxian Xiaoliuzhangzi Liao mu fajue jianbao 昭乌达盟宁城县小刘仗子 辽幕发掘简报 [Brief Report on the Excavation of the Liao Tomb from Xiaoliuzhangzi in Ningcheng County, Zhaowu Dameng]," *Wenwu* 文物9 (1961): 44–51; Lu Fuhua 吕富华, "Cong chutu de huren xunshihupo peishi kan xifan wenhua yinsu dui Liaowenhua de yingxiang 从出土的胡人驯狮琥珀佩饰看西方文化因素对辽文化的影响 [The Influence of Western Cultural Factors on Liao Culture from Unearthed Amber Ornaments of Hu People Tame Lions]," *Chifeng xueyuanxuebao* (*hanwen zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 赤峰学院学报(汉文哲学社会科学版) 35, no. 2 (2014): 16.

7 Shao Guotian 邵国田, "Neimenggu Aohanqi faxian huren qi shi Liaoci xiang 内蒙古敖汉旗发现胡人骑狮辽瓷像 [The Discovery of the Liao Porcelain Statue of the Hu Man Riding a Lion in Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia]," *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 2 (1988): 38; Lu, "Cong chutu de huren," 16.

FIGURE 5 *Foreign Artist Training a Lion*, Three-color Pottery Bowl from the Liao Tomb, Xiaoliuzhangzi Village, Ningcheng
INNER MONGOLIA MUSEUM (AFTER FENG ED. *ZHONGGUO TAOCI*, FIG. 123, P. 150)

which is now considered an integral part of Chinese culture, was introduced by Central Asians. Unearthed cultural relics from the Liao tombs demonstrate that the Lion Dance was also popular among the Khitans and often performed by artists and acrobats from Central Asia. It also gives the assumption that these foreign artists lived and served at the Liao court.

The Song envoy Wang Yande, who visited Turfan, mentioned that various musical instruments were very popular among the Uyghurs and they took them even when they traveled:

> 樂多琵琶、箜篌。出貂鼠、白氈、繡文花蕊布。俗好騎射。婦人戴油帽，謂之蘇幕遮。... 好游賞，行者必抱樂器。
>
> For music there are many *pipa* and *konghou*. They produce sable fur, white fine cotton cloth and floral embroidered fabric. They are fond of horse riding and archery. Women wear *youmao* [oil hat] called *sumuzhe* ... Those, who like to travel and wander surely carry musical instruments.

FIGURE 6 Foreign Artist Riding a Lion, Porcelain Statue from the Liao Tomb in Lamagou Village
AOHAN BANNER MUSEUM (AFTER TA AND CHEN ED. *ZHONGGUO CHUTU*, FIG. 67, P. 67)

One may ask, was it a depiction of contemporary foreigners in the Liao society or duplication of *huren* images of the previous times? The *huren* of the Tang period are usually depicted riding horses and camels. Lions mainly appear in hunting scenes in artifacts associated with the Sogdians in China. The images of *huren* musicians and artists with dancing lions of the Liao period may refer generally to the Uyghurs, particularly to the Xizhou Uyghurs that had most frequent contacts with the Khitans, or to the Qarakhanids, who also had close relations with the Liao dynasty fostered through marriage alliances.

2.2 *Hu Merchants in Song China*

Kaifeng, or as it was known during the Northern Song dynasty, Bianjing, was the biggest, wealthiest, and most advanced city in the world at the time, with about a million residents and a maze of commercial streets filled with bustling activity day and night. Kaifeng's prosperity attracted travelers, monks, scholars and merchants from all over the world. However, in contrast to Tang culture,

foreign images are not so well presented in Song artifacts, which may give the incorrect impression that foreign trade and contacts were not as important during the Song.

Why did *huren* images disappear after the Tang? Was it due to the withdrawal of the Sogdians from the Silk Roads or was it just a matter of taste? Overland trade roads continued to be widely used by Uyghur, Tibetan, and Qarakhanid merchants during the Northern Song. Records on the Qarakhanids in Chinese sources mainly contain information on official delegations and caravans sent by the Khagans and do not provide detailed data about their culture and society. The Chinese usually recorded more details on remote peoples and dynasties that were not well known in China. It demonstrates that the Chinese were familiar with the Qarakhanids. Additionally, foreigners from many other remote places of the world also arrived in Song China via the maritime routes, which were even more developed and flourished at that time. During the Song period numerous Muslim merchants from different parts of the world were living in the Chinese port cities. They formed self-controlled enclaves with the permission of the government.[8] Jewish merchants also lived in these settlements and formed the Kaifeng-Jewish community that has lasted to the present day.[9] According to the letter from the Qarakhanid Khagan that was presented to Emperor Shenzong in 1081, members of three Qarakhanid delegations that were sent earlier did not come back.[10] These delegations arrived in China and completed their official missions but for some reason did not return home. It is not known what happened with the members of these delegations. It can be assumed that they decided to settle in China. But this was an exception rather than the rule. The main difference from the Tang period was that foreigners in Kaifeng did not occupy high positions at the Song court. Royal intermarriage was not a common practice either; no sources confirm marriage alliances between the Song emperors and ruling elites of Central Asia. However, the Qarakhanid Khagans, like the Uyghurs and Tibetans, addressed the Song emperors as "maternal uncle" in official correspondence, probably following the protocol that had existed during the Tang.[11] It is true that exotic foreign cultures and ways of life were deeply admired by the people of the

8 For maritime Muslim merchant communities in Song China, see Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China*, 76–123.

9 For the Jewish community in Kaifeng during the Song period, see Donald D. Leslie, "Integration, Assimilation, and Survival of Minorities in China: The Case of the Kaifeng Jews," in *From Kaifeng to Shanghai: Jews in China*, ed. Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute and the China-Zentrum, 2000), 45–76.

10 *Song shi*, 490: 14109.

11 Ibid. For the discussion on this issue, see Chapter 2.

Tang dynasty, which was reflected in their arts. But the complexity of trade networks and international relations along the Silk Roads cannot be judged by the existence of foreign images in Chinese artifacts. At the same time, it would be implausible if the Song passion for foreign commodities and its open foreign policy described in written documents did not leave any signs in material culture. In this section I present some examples of *huren* images in the Song arts.

A bluish-white porcelain figurine of a foreign merchant pulling a horse that resembles *huren*, produced during the Tang dynasty, was discovered in a Song tomb in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province in 1970 (Figure 7).[12] Another figurine of a *huren* with a horse was also found in Leping near Jingdezhen in 1978.[13] During the Song period, Jingdezhen was famous for the production of Qingbai (bluish-white) ware, which was a transparent, jade-like type of porcelain. Specimens of Qingbai ware were also unearthed from the Qarakhanid capital in Afrasiyab, near Samarqand.[14]

Fragments of Song porcelain have been unearthed in the Tangut realm, which confirms its transportation via continental trade roads to the west.[15] But it is believed that Song porcelain was mainly exported by sea due to its fragility and complexity of transportation by land. At the same time, the Qarakhanid rulers sent "exquisite Chinese vessels" to the Ghaznavid court as diplomatic gifts.[16] What if these jewel-like vessels were Song porcelain brought from Jingdezhen? Diplomatic gifts often provide information about highly prized commodities that could be traded in the region. Qarakhanid merchants received cash payment for their goods at the Chinese court. Song coins did not circulate in the Qarakhanid realm; therefore, merchants used their rewards in the Chinese market. They could obtain highly valued Song porcelain along with Chinese silk, silver and tea, and transport it to Central Asia.

Rong Xinjiang has recently raised a question on the possible depiction of caravan merchants in the Song masterpiece *Qingming shang he tu* (*Along the River during the Qingming Festival*) painted by the court artist Zhang Zeduan (1085–1145).[17] The artist depicted an image of urban life in Kaifeng with more

12 Peng Shifan 彭适凡 and Peng Tao 彭涛, "Cong huren qian ma ci song tan Songdai Xiaode zhen ciqi de waixiao 从胡人牵马瓷俑谈宋代景德镇瓷器的外销 [Discussion on the Porcelain Export in Xiaode during the Song Dynasty following a Porcelain Hu man pulling a Horse]," *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛 1 (1995): 68–71.

13 Ibid.

14 Sokolovskaia and Rougeulle, "Stratified Finds of Chinese Porcelains," 91.

15 Kessler, *Song Blue and White Porcelain*, 23.

16 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 317.

17 *Qingming shang he tu* 清明上河圖 [Along the River during the Qingming Festival], by Zhang Zeduan 張擇端 (1085–1145), retrieved from the Palace Museum Beijing, https://minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/author/detail?id=7.

FIGURE 7 *Foreign Merchant Pulling a Horse*, Qingbai Porcelain Statue from the Song tomb in Jingdezhen
COURTESY OF THE JIANGXI PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

than 800 people of different professions and social statuses such as actors, craftsmen, sellers, monks, doctors, teachers, scholars, officials, and many others, including a caravan merchant who is depicted crossing the main city gate pulling a group of camels. The image of the camels laden with heavy bags of commodities evokes foreign caravans going to long-distance places.

Rong Xinjiang pointed out that the merchant wears Chinese-style clothing but has a face with typical *huren* features such as a high-bridged nose, deep-set eyes, and protruding cheekbones, and called him "the only *huren* on the *Qingming shang he tu.*"[18] However, Cheng Minsheng assumed that the breeding of camels brought from the Western Regions was also practiced in Kaifeng during the Northern Song period, and thus the merchant could be local.[19]

The image of merchants with camels was always strongly associated with the Silk Road trade and foreigners in China. Therefore, the picture of the merchant leading a camel on the Qingming scroll can be seen as a symbol of the Silk Roads during the Northern Song dynasty. At the same time, it seems strange that the artist did not depict the other foreigners who lived in a cosmopolitan city as Kaifeng. In fact, Zhang Wen suggested another image that may refer to a foreigner on this scroll. He assumed that a person sitting near the sheep market surrounded by a group of people was a Uyghur from the Western Regions.[20] The person has a long beard, thick eyebrows, fluffy hair and clothing that distinguishes him from the local people.

Zhang Wen suggested that the Qingming scroll was most likely created in the period before 1104, when selling goods and settling in Kaifeng was prohibited for maritime merchants.[21] It explains why the artist only depicted images of caravan merchants and why there are so few foreigners in the streets and markets of Kaifeng. Moreover, caravan merchants lived and traded mostly in the Xihe Circuit, and arrived in Kaifeng only to offer tribute and receive rewards. The Song emperors even issued edicts to limit the duration of stay at the court

18 Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, "Qingming shang he tu huren xingxiang jiexi《清明上河图》胡人形象解析 [Analysyis of the Image of a huren on Qingming shang he tu]," *Xinjiang daily* 11, June 23, 2009.

19 Cheng Minsheng 程民, "Qingming shanghe tu zhong de tuodui shi hu shang ma – jian tan Songchao jingnei de fenbu 《清明上河图》中的驼队是胡商吗 – 兼谈宋朝境内骆驼的分布 [Are the Figures of the Camel Caravan on Qingming shanghe tu Foreign Merchants? Distribution of Camels in Song Territory]," *Lishi yangjiu*历史研究 05 (2012): 176–82.

20 Zhang Wen 张文, "Ye tan "Qingmimg shanghe tu" zhong de huren ji xiangguan wenti 也谈《清明上河图》中的胡人及相关问题 [Huren and Related Issues in "Qingmimg shanghe tu"]," *Suzhou Daxue xuebao* (*zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 苏州大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) 37, no. 3 (2016): 169–70.

21 Ibid, 171–173.

in Kaifeng for foreign missions.[22] Therefore, eleventh-century Kaifeng was depicted as a purely Chinese city.

It is easier to find foreign images in paintings related to tributaries of the Song emperors. Song official artists depicted foreign envoys at the court. In fact, during the Song period, a considerable number of artistic works portraying foreign tributary missions appeared. This artistic tradition is known as *zhigong tu* (portraits of tributaries). The most notable example created during this period is *Wanfang zhigong tu* (*Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions*) by Li Gonglin, which was painted during the rule of Emperor Shenzong in 1079.[23] It was the period of the Song statesman Wang Anshi's New Policies. The reforms in state finance and trade as increasing the supply of copper coins, improving trade management, and creating the Tea and Horse Agency to buy up Sichuanese tea and trade it to western horse suppliers attracted foreign caravan traders to the Song market. Therefore, Li Gonglin had plenty of opportunities to meet foreigners and accurately represent them in his paintings. The *Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions* depicted ten delegations from foreign countries. Each country contains inscriptions by Zeng Yu (1073–1135), which were added during the Southern Song period in 1131. It is important for understanding the names of foreign countries as during the Southern Song period the usage of terms applied to foreign countries in China and their meanings changed. The tributary envoys depicted by Li Gonglin are from Zhancheng (Champa), Boni (Borneo), Chaoxian (Korea), Nüzhi (Jurchens), Fulin (Rum), Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Nüren *guo* (the Kingdom of Women), Handong,[24] Xiyu (Western Regions), and Tubo (Tibet). This artwork has been recently analyzed by Ge Zhaoguang. He assumed that some parts of the painting could be the imagination of the Song dynasty, which sought to represent itself as a universal empire.[25] At the same time, Song sources recorded frequent missions from most of the countries in this list during Li Gonglin's lifetime. The illustration depicts Chinese international relations along the maritime and continental roads in the eleventh century.

22 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 18.

23 *Wanfang zhigong tu.*

24 The location of Handong is unclear. It could have been in Dunhuang or in the Qinghai region.

25 Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, "Xiangxiang tianxia diguo – yi chuan Li Gonglin "Wanfang zhigong tu" wei zhongxin 想象天下帝国 – 以(传) 李公麟《万方职贡图》为中心 [An Imaginative Great Empire: Focused on Li Gonglin's Wanfang zhigongtu in the Song Dynasty]," *Dan xue bao* (*Shehui kuxue ban*) 旦学报(社会科学版) 60, no. 3 (2018): 36–48. For the images, see *Wanfang zhigong tu.*

FIGURE 8.1 *Envoys from the Western Regions with Camels and Khotan "Floral Horses,"* from Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions by Li Gonglin (1049–1106), Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1911.180, Detail

The portrait of the envoys from the Western Regions contains images of horses and camels (Figure 8.1). It means that this delegation arrived via the land route. The horses should be brought from Khotan, which are known as "floral horses" (*huama*) due to their spotted coat patterns. Many images of the Khotan "floral horses" dated to the late Tang period were discovered in the Dandan Oilik site. The envoys from Rum were also depicted with horses (Figure 8.2).

Li Gonglin was famous for his horse paintings, including images of Khotan horses.[26] For instance, he is the author of *Wuma tu* (*Portrait of Five Horses*) created in 1090 that depicted Khotan "floral horses," including a groom from Central Asia (Figure 9).[27] Therefore, it can be assumed that the envoys with

26 For the Khotan *huama* (floral horses) during the Northern Song period, see Lin Meicun 林梅村, "Yutian huama kao: jian lun Bei Song yu Yutian zhijian de juan ma maoyi 于阗花马考: 兼论北宋与于阗之间的绢马贸易 [On Images of the Khotan Horse: Silk and Horse Trade between the Northern Song and Khotan]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2 (2008): 44–54.

27 The masterpiece is lost. For the reproduction of all five sections of the masterpiece, see Zhang Anzhi 张安治, *Li Gonglin* 李公麟 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979), 7–12. For the recent full-scale reproduction also, see Itakura Masaaki, *Li Gonglin's Scroll Painting Five Horses* (Tokyo: Hatori Shoten, 2019).

FIGURE 8.2 *Envoys from Rum*, From Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions by Li Gonglin (1049–1106), Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1911.180, Detail

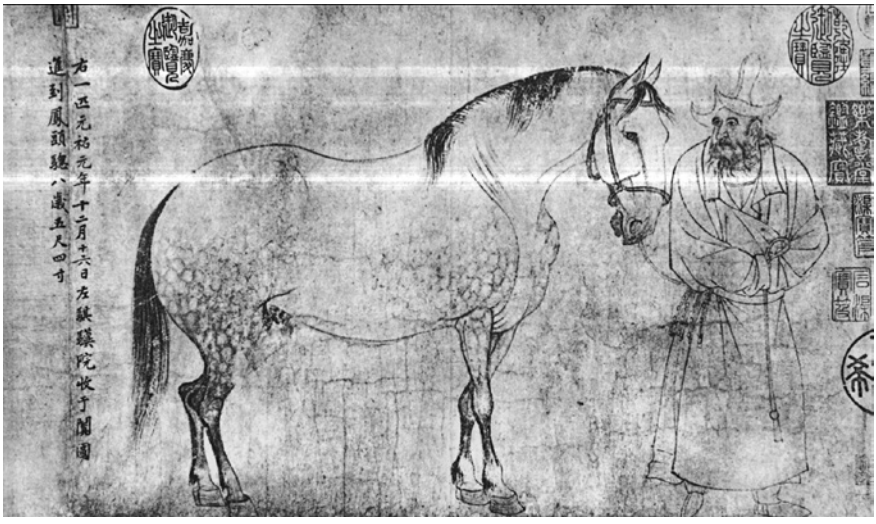


FIGURE 9 *Central Asian horseman leading a horse brought from Khotan in 1087*, from Portrait of Five Horses by Li Gonglin, 1049–1106, current location is unknown (after Zhang, Li Gonglin, fig. 7, p. 7)

camels and Khotan "floral horses" painted by Li Gonglin may be the portrait of the Qarakhanid mission.

Besides, foreign images coins are also often viewed as symbols of trade. The next section deals with rare findings of Song coins along the Silk Roads and explains their limited presentation in Central Asia.

2.3 *Song Coins along the Silk Road*

Northern Song coinage circulated through much of Asia, including present-day Japan, Korea, Vietnam and Indonesia. Large hoards of Song coins are still being found in these places. Qarakhanid envoys received mainly cash payments as a reward from the emperor for their commodities. However, compared to East and Southeast Asia, Song coins are rarely found from the territories of the Qarakhanid Khaganate and more generally from Central Asia. For instance, several Northern Song coins were found from a hoard unearthed at the hill fort of Krasnaya Rechka (ancient Nawikath) in 1998. The hoard consisted of three Wu Zhu coins, eight Tang coins and thirty-three Northern Song coins.[28]

Kamyshev also mentioned Northern Song coins from a private collection in Osh that was brought to Bishkek in 2010. This collection contained mainly Northern Song coins but also included five Tang coins and one Southern Song coin dated 1253.[29] The exact place where these coins were found is unknown. As far as I know, several Song coins were also found from the Qarakhanid site in Ahsikent (Namangan region, Uzbekistan) in 2010–2011, which are stored in a private collection. Song coins from Osh that were mentioned by Kamyshev could be from Ahsikent. Unfortunately, this data remains unpublished.[30]

When the Qarakhanids converted to Islam they adopted Muslim coinage. Therefore, Chinese coins were not widely circulated in the region after the conversion. Qarakhanid merchants used cash payments received from the emperor to obtain luxury goods in Chinese markets and transported them to Central Asia. For instance, a memorial from the attendant in charge of presents from Qarakhanid Khotan dated March 21, 1064 stated that the envoy Luo Sawen (Boyla Saghun), who received a cash payment, would probably have wanted to receive Chinese commodities instead.[31] This may explain why hoards of Song coins are so rare in Central Asia.

---

28 Aleksandr Kamyshev, "Monety Kitaia iz Kyrgyzstana," in *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, ed. Edward Rtveladze (Tashkent, 1999), vol. 4, 60–61, 64; Aleksandr Kamyshev, *Numizmatika Kyrgyzstana* (Bishkek, 2014), 67.

29 Kamyshev, *Numizmatika Kyrgyzstana*, 67.

30 I owe this information to Anvar Atakhodjaev.

31 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7: 31; see Document 5 in Appendix 2.

If Song coins were not circulated in the region, why did merchants still carry them? A few coins could have remained without any purpose, but some could have been brought as souvenirs or even as relics in later periods. It is known that Northern Song coins were used in ritual burials in Yakutia (Russia) dated no earlier than the twelfth century.[32] Song coins were also found at the Golden Horde settlements of the fourteenth century in the Volga Region.[33] It should be noted that the majority of Song coins found in Central Asia and Siberia were minted during the Northern Song period. The main reason is that in the mid-twelfth century the Southern Song government started to introduce numerous prohibitions to stop the outflow of copper and replace it with paper money.[34]

This is a short survey of cultural relics from the continental trade in the tenth–twelfth centuries. Indeed, the Chinese of the Song period did not create many artifacts related to foreign cultures when compared to the Tang people, but the disappearance of Sogdian images should not be viewed as the "Silk Road crisis" that continued until the Mongol rule. It should be pointed out that the Northern Song emerged after the rebellion of An Lushan and existed during the rise of the Khitans and Tanguts. These political-military events caused the rise of "ethnicized orthodoxy," as Yang Shaoyun termed the Song interpretation of Chineseness that had a great impact on the representation of foreigners.[35] In other words, the main reason for the disappearance of foreign images during the Song period and the representation of Kaifeng as a purely Chinese city in *Qingming shanghe tu* is not due to the "Silk Road crisis" but rather the rise of the new discourses on the Chinese identity and foreign cultures. Moreover, Chinese texts provide crucial data that allows us to speak about "the revival of the Silk Road" during the Qarakhanids. These materials are discussed in the following sections on the Qarakhanid amber and frankincense trade in China.

32 Aleksandr D. Stepanov, "Ritual'nyi klad sunskikh monet," *Izvestiia laboratorii drevnikh tekhnologii* 1, no. 9 (2012): 147–54.

33 Evgenii M. Pigarev, and Xiaolin Ma, "Nakhodki kitaiskikh monet na zolotoordynskikh gorodischakh Nizhnego Povolzh'ia," *Arkheologiia evraziiskikh stepei* 6 (2017): 65–8.

34 Angela Schottenhammer, "The Role of Metals and the Impact of the Introduction of Huizi Paper Notes in Quanzhou on the Development of Maritime Trade in the Song Period," in *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147–9; Cheng Minsheng 程民生, "Songren shenghuo shuiping ji bizhi kaocha 宋人生活水平及币值考察 [Living Standards and Monetary Value of the Song Dynasty]," *Shixue yuekan* 史学月刊 3 (2008): 107–8.

35 Yang Shao-yun, *The Way of the Barbarians: Redrawing Ethnic Boundaries in Tang and Song China* (Washington: Washington University Press, 2019), 4.

3 The Amber Road and Migration of Culture

Commodity history can offer interesting examples of cultural "migration."[36] However, migration history and commodity history are often treated as separate fields. At the same time the trade of luxury goods, from silk to oil, has often been a key driver of international migration. International trade also often caused the migration of ideas and cultures, which moved from one place to another along with tangible commodities. Trade objects in the process of transfer from one place to another brought cultural patterns connected with them, forming new aesthetics and even identities among peoples of other cultures. Thus, material objects from foreign places could become a strong part of the cultures despite not being local or traditional.

Amber in China is one of the best examples of cultural migration and the "traveling" of aesthetics in history that was transferred to China along the Amber Road from Europe. However, the "Chinese passage" of the Amber Road has received less attention in recent scholarship. Amber has been transported to China via international trade networks since ancient times and is deeply integrated into Chinese culture. Amber markets can still be found all over China and it is truly considered a symbol of the country. Amber used in present-day China also comes from Fushun, Liaoning Province in Northeast China. The mining district in the Fushun basin that was found around a century ago is closing, ending the supply of domestic amber. However, this region was never recorded in Chinese histories as a source of amber. Amber was usually mentioned in ancient Chinese sources among products of the Western Regions and the "southern barbarians" and was transferred to China along international trade roads.

The most studied amber-bearing locations in Eurasia stretch from the shores of the North Sea up to the Black Sea. When discussing the ancient Amber Road, scholars usually refer to trade networks used for the transfer of amber from the North Sea and the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean region. At the same time, recent discoveries of Baltic amber in more distant territories have prompted a fresh look at the issue in the scholarship.[37]

---

36 The materials used in this section were initially published in: Dilnoza Duturaeva, "The Amber Road to China: Trade and Migration of Culture in Pre-Modern Eurasia," in *Migration and Identity in Eurasia from the Ancient Times to the Middle Ages,* ed. Victor Cojocaru and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2021), 251–267.

37 For instance, see Mira A. Bubnova, and Inna A. Polovnikova, "Iantar' v Srednei Azii," in *Drevnie tsivilizatsii Evrazii: Istoriia i kul'tura,* ed. Aleksandr V. Sedov (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2001), 124–35; Kashani N. Bagherpour, and Thomas Stöllner, "Iron Age Amber Beads from Vešnave/Iran," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 43 (2011): 71–8;

The Amber Road was much more complex than a simple connection of the northern and southern parts of Eurasia. Central Asian and Chinese written sources report that amber was transferred from Europe to remote areas of Asia by overland routes. Using infrared spectroscopy, archaeologists have also confirmed the movement of amber from Europe, more precisely from the Baltic region, to Central Asia and China.

3.1 *Baltic Amber in Central Asia*

No natural sources of amber have been found in Central Asia. However, amber items are found throughout the entire territory from the Bronze Age to the fourteenth century. Therefore, it can be concluded that amber arrived in Central Asia via trade routes. The most ancient sample discovered so far was found in the Bronze Age settlements Zaman-Baba and Gujayli located in the Bukhara Oasis (present-day Uzbekistan).[38]

If amber was brought to Central Asia by trade, where did it originate from? The main sources of amber in Eurasia are found along the Baltic and North Sea coasts. General archaeological research on amber items found in various parts of Central Asia has been done by Bubnova and Polovnikova. The authors collected relevant data from scholarly publications and unpublished materials in museums and archaeological collections. As they pointed out, relevant publications on amber items found in archaeological monuments in Central Asia provide precious little information about their origin. Therefore, the authors examined 68 amber items collected during their research using infrared spectroscopy. These items belonged to different historical periods. The analysis demonstrated that most of the items originated in the Baltic region.[39]

Archaeological evidence indicates that amber was actively traded in Central Asia, particularly from the middle of the first millennium BCE to the fifth century CE. From this period onward, amber appeared in Caucasia and Iran, where no natural sources of amber are known either. Amber was well-known and widely traded in the entire territory of Caucasia. The recent infrared spectroscopic analyses of amber items from the Kichmalka II burial

David Braund, "Nero's Amber-Expedition in Context: Connectivity between the Baltic, Black Sea, Adriatic and India from Herodotus to the Roman Empire," in *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World*, ed. Victor Cojocaru, Altay Coşkun, and Mădălina Dana (Cluj-Napoca: Mega Publishing House, 2014), 435–56.

38 Makhsuma Niyazova, *Drevnie i srednevekovye iuvelirnye izdeliia kak istochnik ob istorii kul'tury Bukhary* (*po arkheologicheskim materialam*), Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk (Samarkand: Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, 2007), 7.

39 Bubnova, and Polovnikova, "Iantar' v Srednei Azii," 124–135.

ground (Kabardino-Balkaria), which is known as the richest amber finding in the region, unsurprisingly indicated the Baltic origin of all samples.[40] Amber was probably further transported from Caucasia to Iran. The most interesting samples of amber in Iran were found in the Veshnave copper mine near Qom. Sixty-two amber beads and three pendants were found in this location in the area that dates to the period between the late Iron Age and the Sassanian Era. Infrared spectroscopy proved that these items were imported from the Baltic region. Moreover, several amber items were similar to the bag-shaped amber beads produced in Europe. This indicates that amber was transported to remote territories not only as raw material but also as finished jewelry.[41]

The amber trade connected the Baltic region with the Eastern Mediterranean starting in the middle of the second millennium BCE. This route may have later been connected with the Silk Roads and used for the amber transfer to Central Asia. At the same time, there were other networks used for the amber transfer to Central Asia. Archaeological analysis of amber items found in Central Asia demonstrated the importance of Khwarazm as the main transit point of the Baltic amber to the region.[42] The same statement can be done based on medieval Muslim written sources, which recorded that amber was transported from the Volga Region to Khwarazm, from whence it reached Transoxiana and other territories in the Islamic world. For instance, a tenth-century Arab geographer and traveler, al-Muqaddasī, enumerated a rich list of items transported by merchants of Volga Bulgharia to Khwarazm, including amber.[43]

Amber was generally known as a commodity from the Bulghar and the Slavonic regions in medieval Central Asia. For instance, al-Bīrūnī pointed out that amber was known as "as the dew that falls on the mountains in Bulgharia (*jabāl bi*-Bulghār)."[44] Marwazī, a Central Asian physician who served at the Saljuq court, mentioned that amber derived from the seas of Ṣaqāliba, meaning

40 Elena E. Vasileva, "Iantar' v skifskoe vremia na Kavkaze," in *Iantar' v drevnikh kul'turakh: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia iz sobraniia Ermitazha,* ed. Olga Fedoseenko (Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2010), 25–34.

41 Bagherpour, and Stöllner, "Iron Age Amber Beads," 71–78.

42 For the discussion on archaeological evidence, see Bubnova, and Polovnikova, "Iantar' v Srednei Azii," 126.

43 *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* ed. Goeje, 324–325. Also compare with the English translation *Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm,* trans. Collins, 286.

44 This information is given in the description of amber (*kahrubāy*, *kārubā*) in the manuscript copy translated by Karimov, see *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, trans. Karimov, 776. The description of amber in the manuscript edited and translated by Said is shorter and this information is not recorded, see *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 284–285, for the Arabic text, see 324–325. This passage is recorded in the text edited by Abbas Zaryab, see *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. Zaryab, 548.

the Slavonic lands.[45] It should be noted that the term Ṣaqāliba, meaning "Slavs," could be used by Muslim authors to refer to Central and Eastern Europeans in the medieval period, including the Volga Bulghars.

Among the imported commodities from Khwarazm into the Islamic world are items not only from the Volga Bulghars but also from the Vikings, who actively traded in Bulghar markets.[46] Furs, as well as slaves, were the main commodities from the North exported for dirhams and other luxury items from the Islamic world, India, and China. Baltic amber was also among these precious commodities from the North.

Trade with Northern Europe continued during the Qarakhanid period. The Vikings shipped various goods from their realm to the Volga Bulghars to obtain commodities from the Islamic world, including fabrics produced in Central Asia that are found in Viking burials.[47] Northern and Eastern Europe are also referred to as Rūs, Varang, and Ṣaqāliba on the map of the Turks and their neighbors that appeared in *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*.[48] From these and other Muslim written sources, it becomes clear that Bulghar merchants played a significant role in trade between Central Asia and Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Volga Bulghars traded in Khwarazm, bringing commodities from the Vikings' world. From Khwarazm, these items were transported to the Qarakhanid realm. However, Bulghar merchants could also pass farther, to the Qarakhanid realm.[49] Therefore, it can be assumed that Qarakhanid merchants could also trade in Volga Bulgharia, and if so, they could directly obtain products from the Vikings, including Baltic amber. Chinese sources indicated that the Qarakhanids were the main supplier of amber to China in the eleventh century. This explains why the Qarakhanids prized amber and sought to acquire it: it was valuable for trade with China.

Mapping of the amber items in Central Asia by Bubnova and Polovnikova illustrates that amber was circulated within the region mainly in two directions: along the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. According to the authors, the Syr Darya road was used for the transportation of amber via Ferghana to China.[50] It is difficult to determine when exactly Baltic amber began to be transported to China. To the best of our knowledge, Baltic amber appeared in Siberia starting in the seventh century BCE. A rich cache of Baltic amber items dated to this period has recently been discovered in Arzhan, a site of early Skythian

45 *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 16–17.

46 *Risāla* / Faḍlān, trans. Lunde and Stone, 45–47.

47 For Central Asian fabrics found from the Vikings' burials, see Vedeler, *Silk for the Vikings*.

48 *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* trans. Auezova, 1289–90.

49 Ibid, 316, 2529.

50 Bubnova, and Polovnikova, "Iantar' v Srednei Azii," 125.

kurgan burials, located in Tuva Republic, Siberia. These items are currently the easternmost findings of Baltic amber from this period.[51]

Amber in Caucasia and Central Asia are mainly found in kurgans of the Skythian period, when the Skythians extended their influence across the Eurasian steppe from the western borders of China to the northern Black Sea during the seventh–third centuries BCE. Archaeological data demonstrates that there was a high demand for amber among the Skythian elites, probably as a sign of power and nobility. The Skythians played a significant role in the international trade networks connecting the Mediterranean region with Central Asia, Iran, and China. As a result of migration and cultural contact along the trade routes, amber became common and fashionable in the region. The amber trade continued in Central Asia in the post-Skythian period; however, amber is poorly preserved in the region, especially after the ninth century. At the same time, written sources indicate that the amber trade continued and flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, especially under Qarakhanid rule. The lack of archaeological findings can be explained by Islamic burial traditions and therefore most amber items of this period were found only in settlements. At the same time, both Central Asian and Chinese sources confirm that there was a high demand for amber at the Qarakhanid court as well as in Liao and Song China.

3.2 *Baltic Amber in China*

China has the richest history of amber use outside of Europe. Once a symbol of luxury and power in China, amber is still used nowadays for jewelry as well as in traditional medicine. Chinese miners recently found a native deposit of amber in Fushun, Liaoning Province; however, as mentioned above, this source of amber was not recorded in historical sources.

Baltic amber was identified among amber objects of different historical periods from East Asia, mostly from China, with a few from Korea and Japan, which are stored at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The collection also includes other sources of amber that require further investigation.[52] The question arises: how and from what sources did the Chinese obtain their amber? The earliest record of amber in Chinese sources appeared during the Former

51 Konstantin V. Chugunov, "Iantar' sredi zolota kochevnicheskikh vladyk. Tsar'skii kurgan ranneskifskogo vremeni Arzhan-2 v Tuve," in *Iantar' v drevnikh kul'turakh: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia iz sobraniia Ermitazha,* ed. Olga Fedoseenko (Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2010), 47–54.

52 Lin Yingchun Linda 林盈君 and Adriana Rizzo, "Conservation of amber at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA: Regalrez® 1126 as a consolidant and adhesive for amber and copal," *Studies in Conservation* 59.1 (2014): 100.

Han period. Amber was described as a local product of Jibin, a polity located in present-day Afghanistan.[53] Archaeological records also confirm that amber appeared in China in the form of amulets and jewelry from the second–first centuries BCE.[54] From the Late Han period, amber was listed among products of the Ailao people who lived in the region of modern Yunnan Province of China, northwest Vietnam, northern Laos, and northern Myanmar.[55] This information refers to Burmese amber. At the same time, amber was also recorded among commodities of the Roman Empire. This amber could be from the Baltic region or brought from Burma, if the Romans traveled by sea:

> 土多金银奇宝，有夜光璧、明月珠、骇鸡犀、珊瑚、虎魄、琉璃、琅玕、朱丹、青碧。[56]

> In the land [of Daqin, i.e. the Roman Empire] there are a lot of gold, silver and incredible treasures, there are night-blooming jade [i.e. pearls], bright-moon pearls, *haijixi*,[57] coral, amber, glass, pearl-like stone [white carnelian], red cinnabar and bluish green jade.

The Chinese word for amber in ancient written sources is *hupo*, also *wupo* or *shoupo*. Pulleyblank pointed out that the word *hupo* may represent Greek ἄρπαξ "amber."[58] Laufer assumed that the word derived from the Tai languages of Yunnan, which was the main trading post of Burmese amber.[59] Both Baltic and Burmese amber were well-known in China during the Later Han period. Trade between Han China and the Roman Empire was carried on by the Parthians in the initial stage and Baltic amber was probably introduced to China by the Parthian merchants. For instance, *Hou Hanshu* recorded that the Parthians sought to control the trade routes with China and the Romans as the Romans did not have direct relations with China until the first envoy was sent to the Han court in 166 CE.[60]

53 *Han shu,* 96: 3885.
54 Jenny F. So, "Scented Trails: Amber as Aromatic in Medieval China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23, no. 1 (2013): 88–9.
55 *Hou Han shu*, 86: 2849.
56 *Hou Han shu*, 88: 2919.
57 *Haijisi*: the term for rhino horn, literally "rhino horn that frightens chickens."
58 Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese," *Asia Major* 9 (1962): 124.
59 Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 523.
60 *Hou Hanshu*, 88: 2919–2920.

It is difficult to prove amber transfer to China via Khwarazm and Transoxiana during the Han period. This road seems to be more widely used from the fourth century. For instance, Khwarazm appeared in Chinese sources of this period as an "amber land":

> 呼似密國，都呼似密城，在阿弗太汗西，去代二萬四千七百里。土平，出銀、琥珀，有師子，多五果。[61]
>
> The Hushimi [Khwarazm] state and its capital the Hushimi city are located at the north of Afutaihan; it is 24,700 *li* away from the Dai.[62] The land is peaceful, it exports silver and amber, and there are lions and many fruits of five kinds [peach, plum, apricot, chestnut, jujube].

During the Sui and Tang periods, amber transportation from Khwarazm to the East was most likely controlled by Sogdian merchants, who played a significant role in trade between Central Asia and China from the second century BCE up to the tenth century CE, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries.[63] The Baltic amber that arrived via Khwarazm to Transoxiana may have been transported by the Sogdians along the Syr Darya, then to China and other parts of East Asia. For instance, the archaeological analysis of amber from the Shosōin treasure house located in Nara, Japan and dated to the eighth century confirms its Baltic origin.[64] The contributions of written sources are for this part very scattered. Chinese chronicles recorded amber among the products of Persia (Bosi).[65] The term "Bosi" mainly referred to the Sassanian Empire in Iran, but it can also be used for Sogdia in Central Asia.

The Sogdians are considered the earliest and the most numerous migrants into China from western lands. The image of "Persia" and "Persian" products was mediated largely by the Sogdians at the Chinese court rather by the Sassanians. The latter had infrequent contacts with China compared to the Sogdians. Therefore, amber, which was considered a "Persian" product during the Sui-Tang period, was most likely transported by the Sogdians from Central Asia.

During the Tang period, amber was also recorded as a product from the lands of the "Southern Barbarians" or the Huanwang country in present-day

61 *Bei shi*, 97: 3224.

62 Dai was a state, existed in northern Hebei during the Spring and Autumn Period.

63 For more details on the Sogdian traders and their trade with China, see de la Vaissiere, *Sogdian traders*.

64 For Baltic amber in Japan, see de la Vaissiere, *Sogdian traders*, 253.

65 *Nan shi*, 79: 1986; *Sui shu*, 83: 1857.

TABLE 5 Amber imports during the Han-Tang

	Period	Origin	Remarks
1.	Former Han	Jibin[a]	*HS* 96: 3885
2.	Later Han	Ailao[b]	*HHS* 86: 2849
3.	Later Han	The Roman Empire	*HHS* 88: 2919
4.	Northern and Southern Dynasties	Byzantium	*BS* 97: 3224
5.	Northern and Southern Dynasties	Khwarazm	*BS* 97: 3224
6.	Northern and Southern Dynasties	Persia	The word "amber" was written as *wupo* *NS* 79: 1986; *BS* 97: 3222
7.	Sui	Persia	The word "amber" was written as *shoupo* *SS* 83.1857
8.	Tang	Japan	As big as 1 *dou* *XTS* 220: 6208; *JTS* 4: 73
9.	Tang	Byzantium	*XTS* 221: 6261
10.	Tang	Nanping Lao[c]	*XTS* 222: 6328–6329

a Jibin, an ancient country located in present-day Afghanistan.
b Ailao located in modern Yunnan province of China, northwest Vietnam, northern Laos and northern Myanmar.
c Nanping Lao located in present-day Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan.

Vietnam and from the territory of Fulin, which refers to Byzantium.[66] Amber did not often appear as a diplomatic gift at the Tang court. Chinese histories did, however, record information about an envoy from Japan who presented an amber item to the Chinese Emperor in 655.[67]

Unlike previous periods, amber became extremely popular in China at both the Song and the Liao courts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which can be confirmed by written and archaeological sources. Chinese official histories that recorded commodities from foreign rulers brought to the court as a tribute can also give information about objects traded in China. For instance, amber

66 *Xin Tang shu*, 221: 6261; 222.6297.
67 Ibid, 220: 6208; *Jiu Tang shu*, 4: 73.

used as decoration for imperial clothing at the Northern Song court arrived in China from the Western Regions.[68]

Initially, amber was brought mainly by the Uyghur polities located in the Hexi Corridor, the main passage of the Silk Roads that connected China with Central Asia. Obviously, the Uyghurs had access to amber through the trade with the Qarakhanids. Later, the amber trade in China was carried out directly by the Qarakhanids themselves. Chinese records demonstrate that compared to earlier periods, there was a high demand for amber at the Northern Song court (See Tables 4 and 5).

The passion for amber among the Song elites could be adopted from the Khitans, their northern neighbors and the founders of the non-Han Chinese Liao dynasty. In fact, no other previous Chinese dynasty prized amber as much as the Liao. Infrared spectroscopy testing of amber items found in Liao tombs demonstrated that these were made of amber from the Baltic region.[69] According to Marwazī, the Khitans prized amber because they believed it to be helpful against the evil eye, and they preferred to import Slavic amber due to its higher quality than the local supply. Marwazī claimed that the "local amber" was blackish and there was no demand for it.[70] He was probably referring to Burmese amber that was transported to the Liao realm from Song China.

TABLE 6 Amber trade during the Northern Song

	Date	Envoy	Quantity
1	January 12, 962 (*SHY: FY* 7: 1)	The Uyghurs	not specified
2	964 (*SHY: FY* 4: 1; *SS* 490: 14114)	The Uyghurs	40 *jin*
3	May–June, 965 (*SHY: FY* 4: 1)	The Uyghurs	229 *jin*
4	December 2, 965 (*SHY: FY* 4: 2; 7: 3; *SS* 490: 14110)	Xizhou Uyghurs (Turfan)	a cup

68 For amber as a decoration of Imperial dresses, see *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, 206: 4992, 4994.

69 Shen, *Schätze der Liao*, 110–111, 152–153, 166–173, 182–183, 186–187.

70 *Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. and trans. Minorsky, 16–17.

TABLE 6 Amber trade during the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Quantity
5	December 26, 965 (*SS* 2: 23)	The Ganzhou Uyghurs and Khotan	500 *jin*
6	January 6, 966 (*SHY: FY* 4: 2; 7: 3; *SS* 490: 14114)	The Ganzhou Uyghurs together with Shazhou, Guazhou and Khotan	50 *jin*
7	April 13, 980 (*SHY: FY* 4: 2, 7: 10)	The Ganzhou and Shazhou Uyghurs	not specified
8	988 (*SHY: FY* 7: 12)	Srivijaya	not specified
9	February–March, 1010 (*SHY: FY* 4: 14; *SS* 490: 14116	Kucha	40 *jin* and 45 *jin*
10	October 30, 1010 (*SHY: FY* 2: 4)	The Khitans	not specified
11	1011–1012 (*SS* 490: 14121)	Dashi	not specified
12	July 1022 (*SHY: FY* 2: 12)	The Khitans	not specified
13	April 13, 1025 (*SHY: FY* 7: 23)	The Ganzhou Uyghurs	not specified
14	March 13, 1028 (*SHY: FY* 7: 23)	The Ganzhou Uyghurs	not specified
15	January 27, 1037 (*SHY: FY* 7: 25)	The Shazhou Uyghurs	not specified
16	March 18, 1071 (*SHY: FY* 7: 32)	The Qarakhanids	not specified
17	December 4, 1072 (*SHY: FY* 7: 33; *SS* 491: 14137)	Japan	beads
18	March 3, 1074 (*SHY: FY* 7: 33)	The Qarakhanids	not specified
19	May 2, 1077 (*SHY: FY* 7: 33)	The Qarakhanids	not specified

According to *Qidan guo zhi*, amber was a common diplomatic gift to the Liao Emperor presented by envoys from the Qarakhanid and Uyghur territories.[71] Amber was also brought to Liao China for trade. Numerous amber objects such as beads, earrings, and amulets from the tomb of the Liao Princess of Chen and her husband demonstrate that these items were made in the Liao realm; thus, it can be concluded that the Qarakhanids transported to China mainly raw materials. It can be also observed from the table on the amber trade in the Northern Song.

It is difficult to explain why amber became so popular at the Liao and Northern Song courts. Central Asian merchants were aware of the high demand for amber in China. It was believed that the Chinese, particularly the Khitans, prized amber for its purported evil-averting properties.[72] The demand caused a flourishing amber trade in China from the tenth to the twelfth centuries that stopped after the fall of the Liao Empire. Was this because the continental trade routes were reduced in the twelfth century due to the conflict between the Jurchens in North China and the Khitans who had to migrate to Central Asia and found the Qara Khitai Empire in the new region? Or was it because "amber fashion" simply left China with the Khitans? Nevertheless, amber continued to be circulated in China and viewed as a commodity from western lands during the Ming dynasty. For instance, it was mentioned as a commodity from Holland and Timurid Central Asia.[73] Amber was also among the diplomatic gifts presented by the Ottomans to the Ming Emperor.[74] The interesting thing is that amber fashion was reintroduced into Chinese culture again by the non-Han northern people during the Qing period. In the present day, it is nearly impossible not to consider amber a fully localized cultural object of China.

To sum up, the Amber Road that connected Northern Europe with the Mediterranean region reached Caucasia and Central Asia by the late Bronze Age and flourished from then on, especially during the Skythian period, when "amber fashion" was introduced to the region. Amber was transferred to Central Asia and then to China from the Mediterranean, and also from Eastern Europe via the Volga Region. Khwarazm served as the main point used for the amber transfer from the Volga Region to Central Asia. According to archaeological data, amber was further transported, mainly by means of river routes along the

71 Amber appeared in the list of diplomatic gifts presented by the joint delegations from the Qarakhanid and Uyghur polities that arrived once in three years, *Qidan guo zhi*, 21: 205. For the list of gifts, see Chapter 2.

72 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 285, Arabic text 325; *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān,* ed. and trans. Minorsky, 17.

73 *Ming shi*, 325: 8437; 332: 8612.

74 *Ming shi*, 332: 8627.

Amu Darya and the Syr Darya. The Syr Darya road was used for amber transfer via Ferghana to China. Alternatively, amber also reached China via Siberia, where it was known starting from the seventh century BCE. Chinese sources, however, begin to mention amber during the Former Han period, roughly from the second century BCE. Archaeological evidence also confirms the circulation of amber during this period in China.

From the Han to the Tang periods in China, amber was known mainly as a commodity from the southern territories and the Mediterranean region. Amber was not a common trade commodity in China during this period and was presented mainly as a diplomatic gift, or so we may assume based on Chinese official histories. The situation changed during the Northern Song period from the tenth to twelfth century in China, when amber began arriving in large quantities. Amber became very fashionable at the Chinese court and was widely used for jewelry and decorating imperial dress. The high demand for Baltic amber, which was (and still is) prized for its quality, prompted the flow of this commodity into China along the continental trade routes during the tenth–twelfth centuries. The Qarakhanids became the main suppliers of Baltic amber to the East. Therefore, by the time of the Northern Song court, amber was no longer associated exclusively with the Romans or the Byzantines. The Chinese were well informed about the exact origin of Baltic amber that was presented by merchants traded in China. It was probably starting in the Song period that amber became a strong part of the Chinese culture and has remained so until the present day. China is still the biggest market for Baltic amber.

4 The Frankincense Road

Frankincense is an aromatic resin that has been widely traded along the ancient trade roads collectively known among modern historians as the Incense Road. It is not "French incense," as may be assumed from its name. Frankincense is produced from varieties of trees of the genus *Boswellia* that grow in South Arabia, East Africa and some parts of India. The purest frankincense, both during ancient times and now, comes from South Arabia. It was a key product imported by merchants from Arabia to the Mediterranean region, India, Southeast and East Asia in the pre-modern world. Therefore, it is also known as olibanum that derived from the Arabic word *al-lubān* meaning "milk" due to its milky color. The Chinese also called it "milky incense" (*ruxiang*); another term was *xunluxiang*, which was derived from its Persian name *kundur*. It indicates that the product was also brought and made known to China by Persian merchants.

The overland trade in drugs and aromatics between South Arabia, the ancient Near East, Greece and Rome began at the start of the first millennium BCE. Frankincense was widely used in drugs and medicines and highly prized in ancient China starting in the Han period. It was most likely first transported from the Mediterranean region, as the Chinese recorded frankincense as incense produced in the Roman Empire.[75] The incense trade flourished between Arabia and the Mediterranean region during the Romans from the second century BCE to the second century CE. The Roman Empire became a center of the incense trade and consumption of aromatics. The Romans considered frankincense to be a symbol of wealth, prestige and religion.[76]

TABLE 7 The maritime frankincense trade during the Northern Song

	Date	Origin	Quantity
1.	961 (*SS* 489: 14079)	Champa	1000 *jin*
2.	962 (*SHY: FY* 4: 63)	Champa	1200 *jin*
3.	964 (*SS* 1: 16)	Quanzhou[a]	unspecified
4.	966 (*SHY: FY* 4: 63)	Champa	30 *jin*
5.	972 (*SS* 489: 14089)	Srivijaya	unspecified
6.	977 (*SHY: FY* 7: 7–9)	Quanzhou	103,000 *jin* in total during the year
7.	978 (*SHY: FY* 7: 10)	"Southern barbarians"	10,000 *jin*
8.	983 (*SHY: FY* 4: 22)	Jiaozhi[b]	200 *jin*

a Quanzhou is a prefecture-level port city in Fujian, China. It was a capital of Qingyuan that was conquered by the Northern Song dynasty in 978 and later became a center of the Song maritime trade.

b Jiaozhi, located in present-day northern Vietnam.

75 *Tong zhi*, 76: 875–1.

76 For the history of the frankincense trade, see Nigel Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London-Beirut: Longman and Librairie du Liban, 1981); David Peacock, and David Williams, *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006).

TABLE 7 The maritime frankincense trade during the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Origin	Quantity
9.	993 (*SS* 490: 14119)	Dashi	1800 *jin*
10.	995 (*SS* 490: 14119)	Dashi	unspecified
11.	1015 (*SS* 489: 14097)	Chola	60 *jin*
12.	1018 (*SS* 489: 14083 *SHY: FY* 4: 69)	Champa	50 *jin*
13.	1018 (*SHY: FY* 7: 21)[c]	Srivijaya	81,680 *jin*
14.	1029 (*SHY: FY* 4: 69)	Champa	2000 *jin*
15.	1030 (*SS* 489: 1084; *SHY: FY* 4: 70)	Champa	2000 *jin*
16.	1068 (*SS* 489: 14085)	Champa	unspecified
17.	1070 (*SHY: FY* 7: 32)	Dashi	unspecified
18.	1072 (*SHY: FY* 7: 32)	Dashi	unspecified
19.	1072 (*SHY: FY* 7: 32; 4: 71)	Champa	unspecified
20.	1073 (*SHY: FY* 4: 92)	Dashi	unspecified
21.	1077 (*SS* 489: 14099)	Chola	unspecified

c A note from *Shang tang kao suo.*

If the Romans caused the rise of frankincense fashion in Europe, then it was definitely during the Song period that the Chinese passion for this incense made it popular in Asia. During the Song period, frankincense was one of the most-traded drugs and aromatics in China and was viewed mainly as a product from the lands of the Dashi and the Qarakhanids (Tables 6 and 7). Arab merchants transported their commodities, including frankincense, to China by sea

and used Srivijaya on the island of Sumatra as a transshipment point. Zhao Rugua recorded that frankincense came from the three Arab countries known as Mirbat, Shihr and Dhofar, located in present-day Oman and Yemen, and it was first shipped to Srivijaya for barter and after that to China.[77] Therefore, the official histories of the Song dynasty recorded Srivijaya and other countries in Southeast Asia as places that imported frankincense to China. It should be noted that Southeast Asia served in Song China as the main source of luxury goods supplied by Persian, Arab and Indian traders.

Studies on the ancient Incense Road mainly deal with the transportation of frankincense and myrrh from Arabia to the Mediterranean region. Even when China is noted as one of the centers of the aromatics trade, it is often discussed in the context of the international maritime network. However, frankincense was transported to Song China both by sea and overland. This section of the continental Frankincense Road has rarely attracted scholarly attention.

The main suppliers of this incense to China via overland roads were the Qarakhanids. They brought it in such great quantities that the Chinese recorded it as a product of the Qarakhanid lands.[78] What was the origin of frankincense brought by the Qarakhanids? They could certainly obtain it from India. Ghaznavid sources recorded frankincense in a list of gifts presented to the Qarakhanids by Sultan.[79] However, an influx from India probably was not enough to meet the demands of the frankincense trade of the Qarakhanids in the East. In his descriptions of frankincense (*kundur* and *lubān*), al-Bīrūnī mainly described the varieties of Arabian origin. He mentioned Indian frankincense saying that it was bitter and green, and was inferior to the Shihr variety.[80] It means that Indian frankincense was less-prized even in the Ghaznavid realm.

Qarakhanid merchants supplied this gum-resin not only to China in great quantities (up to 100,000 *jin*), but to other polities located on their road to China. The Guazhou and Shazhou Uyghurs, as well as the Tsongkha kingdom re-gifted frankincense to Song China, as can be seen from the table below. South Arabia and East Africa always remained as main sources from which the pre-modern world obtained its most valued gum-resin. Its quality was most likely different from the Indian type, as it had been transported in large amounts to South Asia since ancient times. Therefore, the gum-resin that the Qarakhanids obtained from the Ghaznavids were probably mostly of South Arabian or East African origin.

77 *Zhu fan zhi*, trans. Hirth and Rockhill, 195.
78 *Song shi*, 490: 14108.
79 *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, trans. Reynolds, 316.
80 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 283, 291, Arabic text 324–325, 329–330.

Commodities brought by the Qarakhanids to China are often depicted as tributes offered to the emperor. Some items certainly served as diplomatic gifts, but most were transported exclusively for trade. Tributary relations were an official form of trade with Imperial China along the Silk Roads from the very beginning. The Qarakhanids sent envoys to China to conduct trade in the name of contributing to the Song dynasty. Merchants also sometimes acted as envoys. Frankincense was a trade product that brought enormous profit for the Qarakhanids in China. They supplied it not only to the court but also sought to trade in private markets in China. Their activity even caused the expansion of the state's monopoly on frankincense. In 1078 Emperor Shenzong of Song issued an edict prohibiting frankincense import for Qarakhanid merchants:

> 地產乳香，來輒羣負，私與商賈牟利；不售，則歸諸外府得善價，故其來益多。元豐初，始詔惟齎表及方物馬驢乃聽以詣闕，乳香無用不許貢。[81]
>
> The land produces frankincense and when they arrived they always carried it in great numbers and privately benefited from it with merchants and businessmen; if it was not sold out, then they returned it to *waifu* [Outer Treasury] at a good price, therefore, they came more and more. In the beginning of the *Yuanfeng* era [1078], Imperial Edicts began to be issued that stated to bring only a memorial as well as local products, horses and donkeys to get permission to pay a visit to the court and if frankincense was not required, it was not permitted to be offered.

Two years later after the state embargo on frankincense, a Qarakhanid delegation arrived at the court with 100,000 *jin* of frankincense that was stopped due to the imperial interdict.[82] This delegation started their mission before the edict was issued and was not aware of new regulations. It was the last Qarakhanid caravan to carry frankincense, according to the official Chinese sources. Due to this interdict, Qarakhanid merchants suffered great losses. The price of frankincense was around 1.4 *guan* for each *jin*. It is clear from the following official report:

> 于闐國進奉使羅阿廝難撒溫等有乳香三萬一千餘斤，為錢四萬四千餘貫，乞減價三千貫賣於官庫。[83]

81 *Song shi*, 490: 14108.

82 *Xu zizhi tongbian changbian,* 309: 7506; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16, 7: 36.

83 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 6.

> The envoy of the Yutian [Khotan] state, Luo Asinan Sawen [Boyla Arslan Saghun], and others that came with offerings had more than 31,000 *jin* of frankincense worth more than 44,000 *guan*, they asked to reduce the price by 3,000 *guan* and sell it to the official treasury.

During the Song period, 1 *guan* was equivalent to a string of 1000 *wen,* the smallest unit of traditional Chinese copper coins. Sometimes 1 *guan* could contain fewer coins but rated as equivalent to a full string of 1000 coins. For comparison of prices, it is necessary to point out that the daily income of the lower-class people living in the countryside during the Northern Song period was around 100 *wen*, which was equivalent to the price of 1 *dou* of rice or 1 *jin* of beef or fish in some provinces. The average income of people in the cities was 300 *wen*. The official minimum the cost of living in Kaifeng was 20 *wen* a day.[84]

It seems that the state tried to control the frankincense trade and prohibited the import via the overland roads, mostly used by Qarakhanid merchants for this purpose. Therefore, the edict on the embargo of frankincense stopped its transportation via the continental roads.

TABLE 8 The continental frankincense trade during the Northern Song

	Date	Origin	Weight
1.	1007 (*SHY: FY* 5: 3)	Guazhou and Shazhou	unspecified
2.	1010 (*SHY: FY* 4: 14)	Kucha	249 *jin*, 69 *jin* 76 *jin*, 39 *jin*
3.	1023 (*SS* 490: 14124 *SHY: FY* 5: 3)	Shazhou	unspecified
4.	1024 (*SHY: FY* 4: 15)	Kucha	unspecified
5.	1025 (*XZTC* 103: 2394; *SS* 9: 181, 490: 14108; *SHY: FY* 7: 23)	Qarakhanids	unspecified
6.	1025 (*SHY: FY* 4: 9)	Ganzhou	unspecified

84 For more details on cost of living and prices, during the Song period in China, see Cheng, "Songren shenghuo shuiping," 100–101.

TABLE 8 The continental frankincense trade during the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Origin	Weight
7.	1025 (*SS* 490: 14117)	Uyghurs	unspecified
8.	1027 (*SHY: FY* 7: 23)	Ganzhou	unspecified
9.	1028 (*SHY: FY* 7: 23)	Ganzhou	unspecified
10.	1031 (*SHY: FY* 7: 24)	Kucha	unspecified
11.	1037 (*SHY: FY* 7: 25)	Kucha and Shazhou	unspecified
12.	1041 (*SHY: FY* 7: 26)	Uyghurs	unspecified
13.	1071 (*XZTC* 220: 5349; *SS* 15: 279, 490: 14108; *SHY: FY* 7: 32)	Qarakhanids	unspecified
14.	1072 (*SHY: FY* 7: 32)	Kucha	unspecified
	1073 (*SHY: FY* 7: 33)	Qarakhanids	unspecified
15.	1074 (*XZTC* 250: 6082 *SS* 15: 285 *SHY: FY* 7: 33)	Qarakhanids	unspecified
16.	1077 (*XZTC* 281: 6891 *SHY: FY* 7: 33)	Qarakhanids	unspecified
17.	1077 (*XZTC* 285: 6972 *SHY: FY* 4: 16)	Qarakhanids	31,000 *jin*
18.	1077 (*SS* 492: 14164)	Tsongkha	unspecified
19.	1080 (*XZTC* 309: 7506 *SHY: FY* 4: 16, 7: 36)	Qarakhanids	100,000 *jin*

The table on the continental frankincense trade is only a rough estimate, but it reflects the general situation (Table 7). It demonstrates that the resin began to be transported to China after the conquest of Khotan by the Qarakhanids at the beginning of the eleventh century. The first mission to present frankincense to China arrived from the Guazhou and Shazhou Uyghurs in 1007. It was most likely obtained from the Qarakhanids. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Qarakhanids immediately initiated contact with their eastern neighbors to build a bridge towards China. This plan worked out, and the first mission from the Qarakhanids to the Song court arrived in 1009. The Qarakhanid envoy also pointed out that it was possible due to the peaceful roads between Khotan, Guazhou and Shazhou.[85]

Kucha also sent an envoy to present frankincense to the Song court in 1010. It is not clear when the Qarakhanids conquered the Kucha kingdom. But in 1010 it was most likely not yet under Qarakhanid control. If Kucha had access to frankincense at that time, it means that the Qarakhanids sought to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the kingdom in the very beginning. Later the Qarakhanids became almost the only supplier of frankincense along the overland roads. Due to the Tangut conquest of most of the Uyghur polities located in the Hexi Corridor, Qarakhanid trade along these territories was probably limited. The Qarakhanids arrived in China mainly via the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom during this time and also likely supplied frankincense to the Tsongkha market, as can be assumed based on the list of gifts presented to the Song emperor by the Tsongkha ruler. Frankincense was recorded in this list.[86] The Qarakhanids periodically tried to regain access to the territories occupied by the Tanguts and even dispatched an army against them.[87] It was not the only attempt to return control over the main roads to China. These roads were the sources of wealth and power.

Frankincense was not the only highly valued commodity traded in China by Qarakhanid merchants. According to the edict on frankincense, the emperor ordered the caravans to bring horses and donkeys instead of frankincense. The price of a non-military horse in Kaifeng was around 10 *guan* in 1072 and the price of non-Chinese horses from the southwestern regions that were used mainly for military purposes was around 100 *guan* during the Southern Song period.[88] The Qarakhanid delegation received 1,200,000 *guan* for horses from

85 *Song shi*, 490: 14107.
86 Ibid, 492: 14164.
87 Ibid, 490: 14109.
88 Cheng, "Songren shenghuo shuiping," 109–110.

the emperor in 1085.[89] If the cost of one horse was equivalent to 100 *guan*, then it means that the Qarakhanids offered 12,000 horses. Qarakhanid merchants could also receive more rewards than the profits from their commodities. It is obvious that frankincense was much easier to transport and could bring almost the same profit in the Chinese market as horses. It seems that Qarakhanid merchants preferred to export frankincense rather than horses, and the emperor decided to change the situation and encourage Qarakhanid merchants to bring more horses by prohibiting the frankincense trade.

5 The Qinghai Road: Tea and Horse Trade

The Song Tea and Horse Agency was created in 1074 to monopolize a tax-free industry of Sichuanese tea to finance war horses, which were a crucial component of defense. It was the first time that the tea industry was subjected to centralized control and it served for the state involvement in the entire regional economy. The state-run tea and horse trade was established as a result of Song economic activism in the geopolitical context. Song policymakers were aware of their military weakness compared to the neighboring nomadic empires due to the limited access to the most productive pastoral lands of Asia and foreign horse suppliers. Therefore, the Song tea market was created to buy Sichuanese tea and trade it for cavalry horses.[90]

The main horse supplier of Song China was Tibet. For this reason, the commercial network of trade routes that ran between Song China and Tibet is known among historians as "the Tea and Horse Road." The Tibetans used the Qinghai Road that also linked Central Asia and China. They did not depend on the Hexi Corridor, which was controlled by the Tanguts during this time. Chinese history and art sources also describe the activity of Qarakhanid merchants along this road. This means that Qarakhanid merchants had an alternative route into China when it was not possible to negotiate with the Tanguts. This chapter deals with the role of the Qarakhanids in the Song tea and horse trade.

5.1 *The Tibetan Passage*

The Silk Roads that connected China with Central Asia is known as the Hexi Corridor Road, which was divided into two directions in Dunhuang to the

89 *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 361: 8638; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17; 7: 38.

90 For the study on the tea industry during the Song period and the tea and horse trade, see Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 1991.

Northern and Southern Roads. There was also a lesser-known passageway located on the Tibetan Plateau that began after the Qarakhanid city Cherchen probably in the ancient city known in today as Miran. Here the Southern Silk Road was divided into two parts: the first part continued to the east and the second part to the southeast through the Qinghai region (See Map 2). Travelers had to cross the Altun Mountains and the Qaidam Basin, passing the Qinghai Lake and present-day Xining, which was known as Qingtang during the Song period and controlled by the Tsongkha kingdom. From Qingtang the road led further to the east to the Song Xihe Circuit, to Kaifeng and to the Sichuan, the center of the tea markets. The Qinghai Road was not an invention of this time. It functioned between China and Tibet during the rule of Tuyuhan and Tubo peoples in the Qinghai region as confirmed by Chinese records and archaeological data.[91] According to Makiko and Asanobu, the Qinghai Road has been completely neglected in the research until recently. However, archaeological discoveries in Miran and the Qinghai region, particularly in present-day Dulan, confirm the active usage of the road, especially during the Tibetan Empire.[92] Almost nothing is known about this road after the Tang period. The eleventh-century Song map *Hua yi tu* that has been discussed above depicted the Qinghai region. I believe that archaeological excavations can provide more data about its role during the Tsongkha period and probably unveil some aspects of the Qarakhanid trade in Tibet and China. Indeed, the Qarakhanids used the Hexi Corridor but also passed through the Qinghai Road. The Tibetan passage was used as an alternative road to reach the Song capital and as the main link to the Tea and Horse trade in China.

5.2 *Qarakhanid Tea and Horse Trade*

Emperor Shenzong of Song issued an edict in 1078 that allowed Qarakhanid merchants to purchase tea without tax:

> 元豐元年六月九日，詔提舉茶場司：于闐進奉使人買茶與免稅，於歲額錢內除之。[93]
>
> On the ninth day of the sixth month of the initial year of the *Yuanfeng* era [July 20, 1078], Imperial Edict to *tiju* [Intendant] of the *chachang si* [Tea Market Agency]: "Envoys who came with offerings from Yutian [Khotan]

91 Makiko Onishi and Asanobu Kitamoto, "A Lesser Known Route."

92 Ibid.

93 *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16.

> are allowed to buy tea with tax exemption, and it is granted within the annual fixed amount of money."

This edict made the Qarakhanids active in the tea and horse trade. They were capable of supplying a good amount of cavalry horses. As will be remembered from the previous chapter, the Qarakhanid delegation brought 1,200,000 *guan* worth of horses in 1085.[94] When the tea and horse trade was integrated into a single state operation in 1074, it made horse procurement a decentralized and regionally-based process. This means that horse suppliers were allowed to come directly to the tea markets in the regions. Previously, they were required to assemble their herds in frontier markets and then lead them to Kaifeng. This change made the whole operation less expensive and relieved the central government to manage and subsidize the purchase of horses.[95]

The Qarakhanid image as horse suppliers was depicted by the Northern Song painter and statesman Li Gonglin in his *Wuma tu* (*Portrait of Five Horses*) created in 1090. Li Gonglin was proficient in painting figures, flowers, birds, and landscapes, and was especially good at horse painting. His *Portrait of Five Horses* is divided into five sections. Each section depicts a tributary horse from the Western Regions led by a horseman and contains inscriptions recording detailed information about horses that was written by the Northern Song poet and calligrapher Huang Tingjian (1045–1105).[96] Based on their physical features and clothing, the first three horsemen are most likely foreigners from the Western Regions, and the last two men can be identified as Han Chinese.[97] One of the foreign horsemen who lead the Khotan horse is indeed from the Qarakhanid realm. He wears a robe and a hat that resemble traditional Central Asian *chapan* and *qalpaq* (Figure 9). The image contains an inscription, which reads:

> 右一匹元祐元年十二月十六日左麒麟院收于阗国进到凤头骢八岁五尺四寸[98]

> The horse on the right: On the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the initial year of the *Yuanyou* era [January 22, 1087], the Left Qilin Yuan[99]

94 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, 361: 8638; *Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 17; 7: 38.
95 Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 249–251.
96 Zhang, Li Gonglin, 7–12. For the recent full-scale reproduction also, see Itakura, 2019.
97 Zhang, *Li Gonglin*, 49.
98 Ibid, 7.
99 The Left Qilin Yuan was one of the imperial stables of the Northern Song.

> received a piebald named "Phoenix-Head" presented by Yutian [Khotan]. It is eight years old and its height is 5 *chi* and 4 *cun*.

Why did the Qarakhanids seek access to the tea trade with Song China? One possible reason for that could be that Chinese tea began to be valuable in Central Asia. Records on Chinese tea in Central Asia from that period described its health benefits. The most detailed description was provided by al-Bīrūnī in his *Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica*:

> Tea [*chā'ī*] – It is said that *chāh* is a Chinese [*Ṣīnī*] word and is meant for a herb which grows at high altitudes there. It also grows in Khitay [Khaṭā] and Nepal. Several varieties of it are distinguished on the basis of its color: some are white, while the others are green, violet, grey, and black.
>
> White tea is the most excellent variety of the herb; its leaf is slender and fragrant, and exerts its effect on the body comparatively more swiftly than all the other varieties. It is rare and difficultly available, followed with regard to availability by the green, violet, grey, and black varieties.
>
> The people cook it, and preserve it in a cube-shaped vessel after desiccating it. It has the characteristics of water but is especially beneficial in overcoming the influence of bibulation. For this reason, it is taken to Tibet where people are habituated to quaffing considerable quantities of wine there is no better medicine for negating the effect of liquor than this herb. Those who transport it to Tibet accept nothing in barter but musk.
>
> In the book, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn* it has been stated that thirty bags of tea cost a dirham, and its taste is sweet coupled with sourness. On boiling, however, the sourness disappears.
>
> The people drink it. It is said that they drink it with hot water and believe it to be a cholagogue and blood purifier.
>
> A person who traveled to the place of its occurrence in al-Ṣīn [Song China] has stated that the king of that country resides in the city of Yanjū [this can be also read as Banjū]. A big river like the Tigris traverses through this city. Both sides of the river are studded with wine sellers' tenements, kilns and shops.[100] People flock there to drink tea, and do not take Indian cannabis clandestinely. The king of the place receives the capitation tax, and the public cannot transact the sale of tea, since both tea and wine are in the possession of the king. He who transacts business in salt and

100 This description refers to Bianjing, the capital of Song China, which located along the Yellow River's southern bank.

> tea without the king being aware of it is awarded the punishment due to a thief. And the people there slay the thief and eat his flesh.
>
> Profit from such places goes to the coffers of the king and such profits equal those accruing from gold and silver mines. Some physicians have mentioned in their pharmacopoeia that tea is the plant produced in al-Ṣīn. The people of that country make tablets from it and take them to foreign lands.[101]

The author clearly stated that he collected this information from a person who traveled to China as well as from other scholarly books that existed during his time. It seems that tea began to be transported to Central Asia before the Qarakhanids received direct access to the tea trade in Song China followed by the imperial edict in 1078. The Qarakhanids could obtain tea from the Khitans, the Tanguts, and the Tibetans, who did not produce tea but received it from trade and gifts with the Song dynasty. The al-Bīrūnī's note demonstrates that tea was imported from the Khitan realm to Central Asia. The same likely applied to Nepal. The tea plant (*Camellia sinensis*) is native to East Asia and the Indian subcontinent. But there is no historical documentation of tea production in Nepal during this period. It seems that Nepal obtained tea from Tibet via the Tea and Horse Road and transported it to Central Asia.

At the same time al-Bīrūnī also clearly described the tea monopoly in China. As tea consumption and the tea trade assumed visibility in the economy of the empire, the government sought to tax it. The taxation of tea in China began during the Tang and developed into a state monopoly over all the tea produced in the empire. Allowing Qarakhanid merchants to buy tax-free tea from the Tea Market Agency demonstrates the imperial interests in the Qarakhanids as a horse supplier.

When Chinese tea began to be introduced to Central Asia it was known by different terms. This explains why tea did not appear in the Qarakhanid sources. For instance, in the list of gifts presented by Yusuf Qadir Khan to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Gardizī mentioned a Chinese commodity called *dārkhāshāk Chīnī*.[102] Barthold, the first scholar who published a part of Gardizī's history found this word indecipherable.[103] Ḥabībī suggested that it can be connected with the term *khār Chīnī / khār Ṣīnī*, which means a hard substance used to make things like bells, cooking vessels, etc.[104] I argue that it

101 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 105, for the Arabic text, see 128.
102 *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 189; *Zayn al-akhbār,* trans. Bosworth, 95, 142, see n. 69.
103 Bartold, *Turkestan,* 346, n. 2.
104 *Zayn al-akhbār,* ed. Ḥabībī, 189, n. 5; *Zayn al-akhbār,* trans. Bosworth, 142, n. 69.

can be a combination of the words *dārū* (medicine, drug) and *khāshāk* (leaves, sprigs), meaning Chinese tea, which was one of the important commodities transported by the Qarakhanids from China along with silk and silver.

Furthermore al-Bīrūnī mentioned other scholarly works on the pharmacy that described Chinese tea. These works have not survived. However, he provided a legend on the origin of the Chinese tea that he obtained from one of these works:

> These pharmacopoeias also describe the origin of tea. A Chinese king became displeased with one of his courtiers whom he exiled from the city in the direction of the mountains. The courtier was seized by a fever, and one day he trudged, in a desperate state, towards the mountain valleys. He was being gnawed by hunger and he only saw tea plants, whose leaves he ate. After a few days, his fever began to abate. He continued eating tea leaves till he recovered from the fever completely. Another courtier happened to pass this way. He saw the courtier who had staged this remarkable recovery and informed the king about it. The king was surprised at this and he called the exiled courtier to his court. He was rather pleased to see that the courtier had become healthy as he was before the exile and enquired from him the reason for his recovery. The courtier thereat narrated the remarkable medicinal properties of tea. The king thereupon ordered that tea should be tested, and his physicians enumerated its advantages to him. They also began to incorporate tea in medicines.[105]

It is plausible that the legend was introduced by merchants who traveled to China and heard these stories there.

According to the description of al-Bīrūnī, Chinese tea was highly valued for its medicinal purposes and cost a dirham for thirty bags. Cheng Minsheng, in his research on living standards and monetary values of the Song dynasty, also provided tea prices. Thus, the price of a cup of tea in Hangzhou at *goulan*, a traditional Chinese theater performing singing and dancing, was 1 *wen* in 1072. The price of 1 *jin* of inferior tea was 100 *wen* in the Jingmen area at the end of the *Shaoxin* era (1131–1162).[106] The Song government, especially during the twelfth century, issued tea licenses in different types for merchants. Thus, there were "long licenses" (*changyin*) costing up to 50 *guan* for 1500 *jin* of tea, and "short licenses" (*duanyin*) starting from 10 *guan* for 300 *jin*.[107]

105 *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb*, ed. and trans. Said, 105–106, for the Arabic text, see 128–129.
106 Cheng, "Songren shenghuo shuiping," 107–108.
107 Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 69–70.

The main horse suppliers of Song China were unequivocally the Tibetans, who exchanged their horses for tea. At the same time, the Qarakhanids managed to obtain a tea tax exemption as a reward for their commodities. They were able to supply horses for exchange as well as utilize cash obtained from the emperor. The main idea of the Tea and Horse Agency was to strengthen the defenses of the state and stabilize the frontier through a regular supply of horses. Therefore, the Qarakhanids obtained access to this network mainly due to their horses. The Qarakhanids' interest in the tea trade was directed by the rise of demand for tea in the Qarakhanid realm and beyond.

6 Conclusion

The so-called Silk Road symbols as *huren* images disappeared after the Tang period. Despite the existence of some rare figurines of foreign merchants and artists unearthed from Liao and Song tombs, and paintings of foreign envoys created by the Song artists, it can be concluded that the representation of foreigners in the Song arts was not common. This applies not only to caravan travelers but also to maritime traders, who widely traded and settled in Song China. However, the examined Chinese texts confirm the large-scale Qarakhanid trade in China. Qarakhanid trade caravans were capable of transporting up to 100,000 *jin* of frankincense, which was equivalent to 64,000 kilograms during the Song period. The camel was the most efficient type of pack animal for long-distance caravans. Actual carrying capacity varied with the breed of camel, the temperature, and the road conditions, but they could typically carry between 115–295 kg and cover thirty-two to forty kilometers per day.[108] On longer trips camels usually carried substantially less than the average. This means that Qarakhanid caravans employed about 500 camels just for the transportation of frankincense. Besides the Qarakhanids offered horses equivalent to 1,200,000 *guan* that roughly corresponds to 12,000 heads. Moreover, the Qarakhanid amber trade in China depicted in the Song dynasty texts is also confirmed by a large number of amber items of Baltic origin found in Liao tombs. It should be noted that amber appeared in the list of gifts to the Song emperors presented by the Khotan kingdom as well as the Uyghur polities in Gansu and the Tarim Basin long before the Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan. This commodity from the west could arrive exclusively via the Qarakhanids. Therefore, the Qarakhanid commercial presence in the East can be confirmed starting from

108 John B. Friedman *et al.*, eds., *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 2017), 95.

the 960s at the latest. It explains the existence of the rich findings of Islamic glass vessels and Baltic amber items in the early eleventh-century Liao tombs.

During the Qarakhanid era, the Amber Road from the Baltic region and the Incense Road from Arabia did not stop in the Mediterranean region but continued to Central Asia and further on to East Asia. The Tea Road was not only used by Tibetans to transport Chinese tea to India; Qarakhanid merchants also used it in the direction of Central Asia and introduced new culture to the region. The long-distance trade of commodities played a significant role in forming political structures and transferring socio-cultural practices among the centers of ancient civilization in the pre-modern world. Highly prized plant components that moved along ancient routes such as amber, frankincense, and tea not only transformed aesthetics and cuisines, but they also often, and sometimes even more importantly, played significant roles in economic, cultural, and ritual contexts. The Qarakhanids sought to gain access to and control over these trade goods that served as the source of great wealth and political power, which lead them to mount major trade expeditions, new trade routes, and even war.

Conclusion

> Negü ter eşit emdi sartlar başı,
> Ajun tezginigli hıtay arkışı.
>
> Hear what the chief of the merchants says,
> One who roamed the world with the China caravan.
>
> YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀJIB BALĀSĀGHŪNĪ[1]

References to the Turks and the Sogdians disappeared from the Chinese sources starting in the Northern Song period. The last envoys from Tujue arrived in China during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. The question of whether these envoys were dispatched by the Qarakhanids or other Turkic groups remains open for discussion. The first documented evidence of the Qarakhanid mission in Song China was 1009, which allows us to connect this event with the Qarakhanid conquest of the Khotan kingdom. From this period the Qarakhanid Khaganate was known in Chinese sources as the "Khotan state" (Yutian *guo*) and frequently sent envoys to the Northern Song until the Jurchen capture of Kaifeng in 1127.

From 1009 to 1124, Chinese official sources depicted more than forty Qarakhanid delegations. Based on the number of missions sent to China we can divide the Qarakhanid-Song relations into two periods: 1) the period of formation from 1009 to 1063 and 2) the period of intensive trade from 1063 to 1124. It should be noted that the actual number of missions could be much higher than recorded in official histories due to the selective approach applied during the compilation by the following dynasty. The Qarakhanids were viewed as descendants of the Uyghurs in Song China, therefore, their missions sent to the imperial court before the Islamic period and the Khotan conquest could have been regarded as Uyghur missions. The presence of Qarakhanid commodities in Ganzhou (Zhangye), Dunhuang, Turfan, and Liao China can be observed

1 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans Dankoff, 226; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 571.

starting in the 960s. It allows us to speak to the Qarakanid diplomacy and trade in the East from the tenth to the twelfth centuries that particularly flourished in the eleventh century.

The main purpose of the Qarakhanid diplomacy in China was trade and generous rewards obtained from the Chinese emperors. Qarakhanid official envoys were recorded as *banci*/*banca* in Song sources. This term referred to foreign envoys that besides diplomatic obligations also had economic functions and offered military service to protect borders in Song China. The Qarakhanids had their trade stations in the Xihe Circuit and exchanged horses for Sichuan tea.

The most frequent contacts can be observed starting from the Emperor Shenzong period. They can be explained by economic reforms introduced by the statesman Wang Anshi in 1068–1077. For instance, the regulation prohibiting the use of copper coins for foreign trade was abolished under his new policies, which also included an increase in currency circulation and the breaking up of private monopolies. The foundation of the Tea and Horse Agency in 1074 that aimed to increase the number of horses used for defense offered additional benefits, such as a tea tax exemption for Qarakhanid merchants, and attracted more trade caravans to China.

The Qarakhanids traded with the Ganzhou Uyghurs and the Xizhou Uyghurs as well as with the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom. Their relations with the Xizhou Uyghurs opened the road to the Liao Empire. The first envoy from the Islamic world to arrive in Liao China did so in 924 and was recorded under the name Dashi, the term applied to the Qarakhanids in Liao sources. There are only three delegations from Dashi in the Liao official histories. However, archaeological data shows intensive trade and cultural contacts between the Liao and the Qarakhanids. Cultural relics depicting the image of Central Asian envoys and artists unearthed from the Liao tombs demonstrate frequent contacts and exchanges by the eleventh century. Later these relations were also strengthened by marriage alliances. This explains why the Khitans migrated in large numbers during this period to the Qarakhanid territories. This region later became a new home for the Khitan ruling elite, who had to abandon their lands after the Jurchen invasion and collapse of the Liao Empire. The first Qarakhanid delegations to Song China most likely arrived via the Liao realm. However, the Qarakhanid-Liao relations were not always peaceful, probably due to the Khitan tendency to control trade roads to Song China. It also refers to the relations with the Tanguts. Therefore, the Qarakhanids sought to find alternative networks to gain access to the markets of the Northern Song. They managed to bypass the Khitan and the Tangut territories on their roads to Song China with the help of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom. The Qarakhanids actively traded

with Tsongkha and supplied goods from the Islamic world. It can be observed from the list of gifts presented by Tsongkha to the Song emperors that included rarities from the Qarakhanid realm and the Islamic world. Tsongkha rulers in turn provided guides and translators for Qarakhanid delegations who accompanied them to China.

The Qarakhanids imported silk, silver, tea, and probably porcelain from China. These goods were offered as diplomatic gifts and trade commodities to their neighbors in the Islamic world and stimulated the Qarakhanids' economic activity between China and the Islamic world. Trade with China became one of the main sources of economic development of the Qarakhanids and caused the growth of their prestige in international relations.

The Qarakhanid trade in China was not specialized; they brought everything that was valued in China. This feature made them similar to Sogdian traders, who also transported to China different kinds of commodities obtained from their realm and beyond. Qarakhanid merchants exported horses, camels, donkeys, sheep and other nomadic commodities such as furs and hides that were produced in their realm. When Khotan was incorporated into the Qarakhanid Khaganate, they continued the jade trade with China that had been in existence since ancient times. These commodities were largely supplemented by precious goods obtained from their neighbors and allies. Chinese sources state that the Qarakhanids were the main amber supplier in China. This study shows that the Qarakhanids transported Baltic amber and other products from Northern and Eastern Europe, including walrus tusks, castoreum, and fur that arrived in their realm from Volga Bulgharia via Khwarazm. They also played an active role in the continental frankincense trade and became the only supplier of this precious incense from South Arabia in the East along the overland roads. Frankincense was shipped by the Arabs to the Mediterranean region, India, and Southeast Asia, as well as to China by maritime routes. It reached Central Asia along the Silk Roads from the Mediterranean region as well as through trade networks with India and then brought by the Qarakhanids to China. They certainly were aware of the high demand for frankincense in China and therefore searched for ways to obtain it. And as we can see, they were successful. The large-scale Qarakhanid frankincense trade in China was later blocked following the imperial edict on the embargo on their frankincense. Other Qarakhanid commodities were Central Asian fabrics and minerals, Indian precious stones and ivory, and Iranian glass and lions. Their economic activities were summed up by the Qarakhanid poet and statesman Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib. In the following verses, he obviously referred to the sable trade with Volga Bulgharia, the silk trade with China, and the pearl trade with Iran and India:

> If there were no merchants roaming the world,
> When could you ever wear a black sable lining?
> If the China [Khitay] caravan ceased to raise dust on the roads,
> How could these countless kinds of silks arrive?
> If the merchants did not travel the world around,
> Who could ever see a string of pearls?[2]

In its widest geographical extension, it can be concluded that Qarakhanid trade embraced a vast region, from Eastern Europe to the most remote parts of East Asia. They continued to use trade networks with Europe developed by the Samanids and restored Sogdian roads to China, creating alternative directions when necessary due to political conditions. The Song imperial policy supporting Buddhists and developing contacts between Chinese and Indian monks gave additional benefits to the Qarakhanids located between China and India. Unearthing a large number of glass and metal items produced in the Islamic world from the Liao realm proves written data on the role of the Qarakhanids in international relations from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

The Qarakhanids served as middlemen in trade, diplomacy and culture between the Sino-Tibetan and Turko-Islamic worlds. They helped to increase and improve diplomatic relations between these two worlds. They accompanied Saljuq delegations from Rum on their way to Song China as well as encouraged the Liao Emperor and the Uyghur Idiqut to sent their envoys to the Ghaznavids. The study shows that the Qarakhanid Khagans occupied a unique position in diplomatic relations with China. Chinese sources describe a case when a foreign delegation from the Islamic world was allowed to enter China and access the Chinese market thanks to an official letter provided by the Qarakhanid Khagan. Additionally, Indian monks traveled to China via the Qarakhanid realm and Manicheans moved between Transoxiana and Turfan.

Knowledge exchange was facilitated by Qarakhanid envoys and merchants who brought firsthand information from the two worlds. Official envoys met personally with the Liao and Song emperors and were interviewed about their own and neighboring territories. The research demonstrated that imperial scholars and cartographers depicted geographical information in their works obtained from the Qarakhanid envoys. The prominent scholars who were active during this time in Central Asia and served at the courts of the ruling elites also had primary access to official and non-official records of these people who worked and lived year-round in China. Ethnographic and

2 *Qutadghu bilig*, trans. Dankoff, 58; for the Turkic text, see *Qutadghu bilig,* ed. and trans. Arat, vol. 1, 445.

geographical knowledge about Tibet and China was supplemented by new data and information replacing outdated materials collected during the Tang period that continued to be used in Central Asia even after the fall of the Tang Empire. Chinese knowledge about remote territories and cultures was also updated thanks to the economic and diplomatic activity of the Qarakhanids that enabled their allies in the Turko-Islamic world to sent official missions to China. For instance, the Song court scholars updated their knowledge about Asia Minor, describing a new political power that was rising in the region after receiving the official delegations sent from their rulers, apparently the Saljuq Sultans of Rum. The term "Bosi" for Persia was mentioned in the description of Northern India in Song sources and referred to the Persanized Ghaznavid dynasty. Iran was under the Saljuq Empire, which changed its representation in Chinese sources. The Saljuq Empire and its territory appeared under an entirely new name, Cengtan, probably derived from the title Sultan. The Chinese officials relying on information provided by the envoys of these polities recorded details about their territories, government, economy, peoples, their language, religion, and culture. It means that the Chinese did not know anything about them and sought to collect data about new polities and cultures. In contrast, the description of the Qarakhanids in Song official histories contains data mainly related to official delegations and commodities. It means that the Qarakhanids and their culture were familiar to Song China. Therefore, Chinese officials did not need to record this data in the official documentation.

Chinese texts stated that not only men but also women were present in official delegations sent by the Qarakhanid Khagans to Song China. The presence of women in trade and pilgrimage caravans was not infrequent in the Qarakhanid world during this time. Taking into account that official envoys spent several years in China, it can be assumed that their families accompanied them. At the same time texts recorded that these women participated in official ceremonies at the Song imperial court, which opens the window into further discussions about their roles.

Participation of the Qarakhanids in trade networks beyond the Silk Roads linking different worlds placed them at the center of international economic relations in the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The traditional approach, applied to Qarakhanid studies in academia and based mainly on Muslim sources, does not provide many materials on the "eastern" side of the Qarakhanids. Having just two extant works compiled by the Qarakhanid scholars and data in historical writings of their neighbors in Turko-Islamic world obviously does not allow us to speak extensively about this issue. The Chinese histories consulted in this work not only introduced the Qarakhanid trade and policy in the East along the Silk Roads but also revealed their participation in trade along the

Amber Road, the Frankincense Road, the Tea and Horse Road. Chinese texts also allowed us to observe the Qarakhanid relations with the Uyghurs and the Tibetans, especially with the Xizhou Uyghurs and the Ganzhou Uyghurs and the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom, which were multi-ethnic confederations and home for many Turkic groups. It may explain why the Qarakhanids remained culturally Turkic in comparison to the Persanized Saljuqs or the Ghaznavids.

It is possible to conclude now that nothing allows us to speak with authority about "the overland Silk Road crisis" during the Qarakhanids in the tenth–twelfth centuries. The revival of the continental Silk Roads after the Tang period often attributed to the Mongols can be now started from the Qarakhanid period. The great commerce maintained by the Qarakhanids between China, Central Asia, Iran, and India and beyond from the tenth to the twelfth centuries is a historical reality verified by historical texts and archaeological data. However, the history of the Qarakhanid trade is far from complete. The lacunae in the documentation of the Qarakhanid trade in the East after the fall of the Liao dynasty and the Jurchen capture of the Northern Song capital leave many questions. It can be assumed that during the Qara Khitai rule in Central Asia Qarakhanid merchants could reach Turfan, which was also under the Qara Khitai, as well as the territories of the Tanguts, who were Qara Khitai allies. But the lack of sources does not allow us to clarify the scale of Qarakhanid activity in Jin and Southern Song China. At the same time, the discovery of Jin coins in the territory of historical Balasaghun and the findings of Chinese porcelain produced in Southern Song and Jin China in Qarakhanid Samarqand indicate that this issue remains to be studied.

APPENDIX 1

Records on the Qarakhanids in *Song shi*

Official Chinese records on the Qarakhanid missions appeared mainly in the Khotan entry of Chapter 490 in *Song shi*. The Khotan entry begins with a short description related to the ancient Khotan kingdom. The Qarakhanids are described starting from the mission sent from Khotan in 1009.

Khotan

于闐國，自漢至唐，皆入貢中國，安、史之亂，絕不復至。晉天福中，其王李聖天自稱唐之宗屬，道使來貢。高祖命供奉官張匡鄴持節冊聖天為大寶于闐國王。

建隆二年十二月，聖天遣使貢圭一，以玉為柙；玉枕一。本國摩尼師貢琉璃瓶二、胡錦一段。其使言：本國去京師九千九百里，西南抵葱嶺與婆羅門接，相去三千餘里，南接吐蕃，西北至疏勒二千餘里。國城東有白玉河，西有綠玉河，次西有烏玉河，源出崐岡山，去國城西千三百里。每歲秋，國人取玉於河，謂之撈玉。土宜蒲萄，人多醞以為酒，甚美。俗事妖神。

乾德三年五月，于闐僧善名、善法來朝，賜紫衣。其國宰相因善名等來，致書樞密使李崇矩，求通中國。太祖令崇矩以書及器幣報之。至是冬，沙門道圓自西域還，經于闐，與其朝貢使至。四年，又遣其子德從來貢方物。

開寶二年，遣使直末山來貢，且言本國有玉一塊，凡二百三十七斤，願以上進，乞遣使取之。善名復至，貢阿魏子，賜號昭化大師，因令還取玉。又國王男總嘗貢玉欄刀，亦厚賜報之。四年，其國僧吉祥以其國王書來上，自言破疏勒國得舞象一，欲以為貢，詔許之。

大中祥符二年，其國黑韓王遣回鶻羅廝溫等以方物來貢。廝溫跪奏曰：「臣萬里來朝，獲見天日，願聖人萬歲，與遠人作主。」上詢以在路幾時，去此幾里。對曰：「涉道一年，晝行暮息，不知里數。昔時道路嘗有剽掠，今自瓜、沙抵于闐，道路清謐，行旅如流。願遣使安撫遠俗。」上曰：「路遠命使，益以勞費爾國。今降詔書，汝即齎往，亦與命使無異也。」

初，太平興國中有澶州卒王貴者，晝忽見使者至營，急召貴偕行，南至河橋，驛馬已具，即命乘之，俄覺騰虛而去。頃之駐馬，但見屋室宏麗，使者引貴入，見其主者容衛制度悉如王者。謂貴曰：「俟汝年五十八，當往于闐國北通聖山取一異寶以奉皇帝，宜深志之。」遂復乘馬凌虛而旋。軍中失貴已數日矣，驗所乘，即營卒之馬也。知州宋煦劾貴以聞，太宗釋之。天禧初，貴自陳年已五十八，願遵前戒，西至于闐，尋許其行。貴至秦州，以道遠悔懼，俄於市中遇一道士引貴出城，登高原，問貴所欲，具以實對。即命貴閉目，少頃令開，視山川頓異，道士曰：「此于闐國北境通聖山也。」復引貴觀一池，池中有仙童，出一物授之，謂曰：「持此奉皇帝。」又令瞑目，俄頃復至秦州，向之道士已失所在，發其物乃玉印也，文曰「國王趙萬永寶」，州以獻。

天聖三年十二月，遣使羅面于多、副使金三、監使安多、都監趙多來朝，貢玉鞍轡、白玉帶、胡錦、獨峯橐駝、乳香、硇砂。詔給還其直，館于都亭西驛，別賜襲衣、金帶、銀器百兩、衣著二百，羅面于多金帶。

嘉祐八年八月，遣使羅撒溫獻方物。十一月，以其國王為特進、歸忠保順砥鱗黑韓王。羅撒溫言其王乞賜此號也，于闐謂金翅烏為「砥鱗」，「黑韓」蓋可汗之訛也。羅撒溫等以獻物賜直少不受，及請所獻獨峯橐駝。詔以遠人特別賜錢五千貫，以橐駝還之，而與其已賜之直。其後數以方物來獻。

熙寧以來，遠不踰一二歲，近則歲再至。所貢珠玉、珊瑚、翡翠、象牙、乳香、木香、琥珀、花蕊布、硇砂、龍鹽、西錦、玉鞦轡馬、腽肭臍、金星石、水銀、安息鷄舌香，有所持無表章，每賜以暈錦旋襴衣、金帶、器幣，宰相則盤毬雲錦夾襴。

地產乳香，來輒羣負，私與商賈牟利；不售，則歸諸外府得善價，故其來益多。元豐初，始詔惟齎表及方物馬驢乃聽以詣闕，乳香無用不許貢。

四年，遣部領阿辛上表稱「于闐國僂儸有福力暈知文法黑汗王，書與東方日出處大世界田地主漢家阿舅大官家」，大略云路遠傾心相向，前三遣使入貢未回，重複數百言。董氈使導至熙州，譯其辭以聞。詔前三輩使人皆已朝見，錫賚遣發，賜敕書諭之。神宗嘗問其使去國歲月，所經何國及有無鈔略。對曰：「去國四年，道塗居其半，歷黃頭回紇、青唐，惟懼契丹鈔略耳。」因使之圖上諸國距漢境遠近，為書以授李憲。八年九月，遣使入貢，使者為神宗飯僧追福。賜錢百萬，還其所貢師子。

元祐中，以其使至無時，令熙河間歲一聽至闕。八年，請討夏國，不許。

紹聖中，其王阿忽都董娥密竭篤又言，緬藥家作過，別無報效，已遣兵攻甘、沙、肅三州。詔厚答其意。知秦州游師雄言：「于闐、大食、拂菻等國貢奉，般次踵至，有司憚於供賚，抑留邊方，限二歲一進。外夷慕義，萬里而至，此非所以來遠人也。」從之。自是訖于宣和，朝享不絕。[1]

The Yutian [Khotan] state offered tribute to Zhongguo [China] from the Han to the Tang dynasties, during the An-Shi Disturbances[2] it was terminated and they did not arrive anymore. During the Jin *Tianfu* era [936–942], its king Li Shengtian claimed to be a member of the Tang family, sent an envoy to offer tribute. Emperor Gaozu ordered *gongfeng guan* [Palace Servitor] Zhang Kuangye to hold a credential tag and register Li Shengtian as the Great Gem King of Yutian.

In the twelfth month of the second year of the *Jianlong* era [961], Li Shengtian sent an envoy to offer one *gui*[3] in a cage made of jade, and a jade pillow. A Manichaean

1 *Song shi*, 490: 14106–14109.

2 The An Lushan Rebellion (755–763) is known in Chinese historiography as the An-Shi Disturbances, as after An Lushan it continued under his son An Qingxu and his successor Shi Siming.

3 *Gui* is an elongated pointed tablet of jade held by ancient rulers on ceremonial occasions as a symbol of power.

teacher from this state offered two glass jugs and a piece of *hujin* [foreign brocade]. Their envoy said: "Our state is located in a distance of 9900 *li* from the imperial capital, in the southwest it reaches Congling [Pamir] connected with Poluomen [Brahman], which is apart at a distance of more than 3,000 *li*, in the south it is connected with Tubo [Tibet], in the northwest it reaches Shule [Kashghar, i.e. the Qarakhanids], at a distance of more than 2,000 *li*. In the east of the state's capital there is the White Jade River, in the west the Green Jade River and further is the Black Jade River. The source is the Kungangshan [Kunlun Mountains], which is apart from the capital city to the west at a distance of 1300 *li*. Every year in autumn people of the state collect jade from the rivers and call it "jade fishing." The land is suitable for grapes and people mainly brew it to make wine that tastes very delicious. Their custom is to serve evil spirits."

In the fifth month of the third year of the *Qiande* era [965] the Yutian monks Shanming and Shanfa arrived to the court and were granted purple gowns. Their *zaixiang* [Grand Councilor], following the arrival of Shanming and others, sent a letter to *shumishi* [Palace Secretary] Li Chongju seeking contacts with Zhongguo. Emperor Taizu ordered Li Chongju to give him a letter and repay with vessels and silks. This year in winter sramana [Buddhist monk] Daoyuan returned from the Western Regions, he passed through Yutian and arrived with its envoy. In the fourth year [966] their prince Li Decong was also sent to offer local products.

In the second year of the *Kaibao* era [969] they sent the envoy Zhi Moshan to the court to offer tribute and he also said that there is a piece of jade in his state that weighs a total of 237 *jin* and that they are willing to present it to the Emperor and he requested to send an envoy to fetch it. Li Shanming arrived again to offer ferula asafoetida seeds and was granted the title Zhaohua *dashi* [Great Master] and then he was ordered to return to bring the jade. Also the son of the king Li Zongchang offered a knife with a jade handle and was generously rewarded in return. In the fourth year [971] the monk of this state Jixiang arrived at the court of the Emperor with a letter from his king and he said himself that the king defeated the Shule state and obtained a dancing elephant, which he wants to offer as tribute and it was allowed by the imperial order.

In the second year of the *Dazhong Xiangfu* era [1009] *heihan wang* [Qarakhan, i.e. Yusuf Qadir Khan] of this state sent the Huigu [Uyghur] envoy Luo Siwen [Boyla Saghun] and others to come and offer local products. Luo Siwen on his knees presented a memorial and said: "Your servant came to the court over ten thousand *li* to be able to see the light of day and to wish the wise man [Emperor] to live ten thousand years and to take charge of people from afar." The Emperor asked how long they had been on the road and how many *li* they had passed through. The envoy replied: "We went across this road in one year, we walked at daytime and rested at sunset and we are not aware of the number of *li*. In former times, there were looting and plundering on the roads, and now the road from Guazhou and Shazhou to Yutian is quiet and peaceful, and traveling is like a stream. We ask to send an envoy to appease and console

people of faraway places." The Emperor said: "Sending an envoy by the road of a great distance will increase efforts and expenditure of your state. Now I will issue a Letter of Imperial Edict, you will immediately take it and go to your state, and it will be the same as appointing an envoy."

At the beginning, during the *Taipingxingguo* era [976–984] in Chanzhou there was a soldier Wang Gui, one day suddenly he met an envoy who arrived at the camp, he quickly called Wang Gui to go with him and when in the south they reached a bridge of the river, a post horse had been already prepared, then the envoy ordered him to saddle the horse and suddenly he felt that he was rising to the sky and went away. Shortly after, the horse was halted and he saw only a magnificent building, the envoy led Wang Gui inside and he saw that the guard of the owner was all such as that of the king. He said to Wang Gui: "When you turn 58 years old, you should go to the Tongsheng Mountains in the north of the Yutian state to obtain an unusual jewel for offering to the Emperor and you should deeply remember it." Then he rode the horse again into the skies and came back. At the camp Wang Gui was lost for several days already, the horse that he was riding was checked and it was a regular horse of a soldier from the camp. The chief of the prefecture Song Xu filed a complaint against Wang Gui according to what he heard and Emperor Taizong released him. At the beginning of the *Tianxi* era [1017], when Wang Gui turned 58 years old, he wanted to follow the instructions in the past and go to the west to Yutian and he looked for permission for his journey. When Wang Gui reached Qinzhou, he was repentant and fearful due to the long distance, suddenly, in the market he met a Taoist monk, who led Wang Gui outside of the city and they climbed a highland and he asked Wang Gui about his wish and received a sincere answer. He ordered Wang Gui to close his eyes and after a while to open them, then he saw that the mountains and rivers suddenly became different and the Taoist monk said: "This is the Tongsheng Mountains in the northern frontier of the Yutian state." He also led Wang Gui to look at a pond and in the pond there was Xiantong,[4] he pulled out something and gave it to Wang Gui and said: "Keep it and offer to the Emperor." Wang Gui was again ordered to close his eyes and in a short moment he returned to Qinzhou and the former Taoist monk had already disappeared, he opened up that thing and there was a jade seal with the writing "The Eternal Gem of the King of Zhao" and he gave it to the chief of the prefecture in order to present it to the Emperor.[5]

In the twelfth month of the third year of the *Tiansheng* era [1025], they sent the envoy Luo Mianyuduo, the *fushi* [deputy envoy] Jinsan, the *jianshi* [Commissioner]

4 Xiantong is a messenger boy in the Taoist world of immortals.

5 This story gives an assumption that the Song emperor could send an envoy to the Qarakhanids which was depicted as a legend. However, there is no other evidence that may confirm this information.

Anduo, and the *dujian* [Military Commandant] Zhaoduo to come to the court and present jade saddles and bridles, white jade belts, *hujin*, dromedaries, frankincense, and ammonium chloride. The Emperor issued an edict to provide reimbursement and accommodation at the western station of the capital, besides they were granted garments, golden belts, 100 *liang* of silverware, and 200 pieces of clothes and Luo Mianyuduo was also given a golden belt.

In the eighth month of the eighth year of the *Jiayou* era [1063], they sent the envoy Luo Sawen to present local products. In the eleventh month, to the king of his state was given the title *tejin guizhong baoshun houlin wang* [Specially Advanced and Faithful Commandant for Maintaining Submission Tughril Qarakhan]. Luo Sawen said that his ruler hoped to be granted these titles, the Yutian people call the golden-winged bird *houlin,*[6] is an incorrect form of *kehan* [Khagan]. Luo Sawen and others as the value of the rewards for their gifts was low did not accept it and asked to return the dromedary that was presented by them. The Emperor issued an edict to grant all people, who especially came from afar 5,000 *guan*, return them the dromedary and give them the payment that had been already granted. After that, they frequently offered local products to the court.

Since the *Xining* era [1068–1077] when they were far away it did not take more than one or two years to come and when they were close then they arrived twice per year. Among what they offered were pearls and jade, coral, jadeite, ivory, frankincense, costus root, amber, floral fabric, ammonium chloride, *longyan* [dragon salt],[7] *xijin* [western brocade], horses with jade saddles and bridles, castoreum, lapis lazuli, mercury, and Anxi [Parthian] clove and some of what they had was not recorded in their memorial and each of them were granted *xuanyu*[8] robes from shiny brocade, golden belts and vessels and silks, and their *zaixiang* [Grand Councilor] was granted a lined brocade garment decorated with coiled globular clouds.

The land produces frankincense and when they arrived they always carried it in great numbers and privately benefited from it with merchants and businessmen; if it was not sold out, then they returned it to *waifu* [Outer Treasury] at a good price, therefore, they came more and more. In the beginning of the *Yuanfeng* era [1078] Imperial Edicts began to be issued that stated to bring only a memorial as well as local products, horses and donkeys to get permission to pay a visit to the court and if frankincense was not required it was not permitted to be offered.

6 I suppose that it is the title "Tughril," which is a large falcon in Turkic culture. For more details about these titles see Chapter 3 and Document 1 in Appendix 2.

7 A type of medicine.

8 A type of traditional Tangut costume that was mostly worn by military generals and later became popular at the Song court.

In the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* era [1081] they sent *buling* [Commander] Axin [Ashin] to present a memorial to the Emperor titled "The letter from *heihan wang* of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan], the clever, fortunate, powerful, civilized and rightful, to my uncle and Great Emperor of the Dynasty, the owner of fields and lands of the great world in the East, where the sun rises." Generally, the letter said that despite the long distances they wholeheartedly desired to meet face-to-face and that three envoys, who were sent earlier to offer tribute to the court had not returned yet. This was repeated several times. The envoy of Dongzhan[9] who guided them to Xizhou translated their words to be heard by the Emperor. The Emperor issued an edict to inform them that those former three envoys already had an audience at the court, were awarded, and sent back. Emperor Shenzong once asked the envoy about when they left their state, which states they passed through and whether there were looting on the road. He replied: "We left our state four years ago, half of this time we stopped on the road, we traveled through the territories of Huangtou Huihe [Yellow-Head Uyghurs] and Qingtang [Tsongkha],[10] We were only afraid of the Qidan [Khitans] looting." As the envoy's map indicated how far and near all states were from the Han borders, he wrote a letter and handed over it to Li Xian. In the ninth month of the eighth year of the *Yuanfeng* era [1085] they sent an envoy to offer tribute, and the envoy fed monks and performed rites to help the deceased Emperor Shenzong attain bliss. He was granted one million [*guan*] and he was returned a lion that he had offered.

During the *Youanyou* era [1086–1093] since the envoys arrived without a fixed time, the Emperor ordered the Xihe Circuit to allow the Yutian envoys to arrive to the gates of the palace once a year. In the eighth year [1093], they requested to suppress the Xia state [Tanguts] but it was not allowed. During the *Shaosheng* era [1094–1098], their king Ahududongemijiedu again said that the Mian-yao family [the Tanguts] made things worse and they had no other way to render service to repay kindness of the Emperor and he had already dispatched an army to attack Ganzhou, Shazhou and Suzhou. The Emperor issued an edict to express his deep appreciation for his intention. The chief of the Qinzhou prefecture You Shixiong said: "Yutian, Dashi, Fulin and other states offer tribute to the court, their *banci* arrive upon the heels of one another, and officials dread terrify about having to provide rewards, so they stop them and keep them on the border and limit them to come to the court once every two years. Foreigners admire our righteousness and arrive through ten thousand *li*, this is not the way of treating people from afar," and the Emperor accepted it. Since then, until the *Xuanhe* era [1119–1125] their tribute was not interrupted.

9 Dongzhan was the ruler of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom at this time.

10 Qingtang is a name of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom in Chinese sources.

APPENDIX 2

Documents on the Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade

Official documents related to the Qarakhanid activities in China can be divided into two groups: "outer" correspondence of ruler-to-ruler and "inner" communication of ruler-to-official. Additionally, these documents also divided into several categories. Imperial documents issued in form of edicts (*zhao*), decrees (*chi*), or letters (*shu*). Qarakhanid letters referred to as memorials (*biao*) could be in form of reports (*zou*), requests (*qing*), and congratulations (*he*). The collection of imperial edicts of the Northern Song emperors *Song da zhaoling ji* preserved texts of three imperial letters of decrees (*chi shu*) issued in response to the Qarakhanid memorials and presents.[1] Short versions and extracts of documents related to the Qarakhanid diplomacy and trade in China, including Qarakhanid letters can also be found in other Song official sources, particularly, in *Song huiyao jigao*. This Appendix includes four letters exchanged between rulers that preserved almost in their original form, and selected extracts of "inner" edicts and memorials on Qarakhanid diplomacy and trade. Texts and translations of other related documents have been also given in the main part of the book.

The translation of documentary sources is a difficult task that requires hours of intensive, sometimes agonizing work. Here I followed Michael Drompp's approach and concentrated mainly "on utility rather than elegance of the translations."[2]

1 Examples of Letters Exchanged between Song Emperors and Qarakhanid Khagans

Document 1. A Letter of Imperial Decree Granted to Tughril Qarakhan of Khotan for His Presents
[*Song da zhaoling ji*, 240: 945]

勅于闐國砺鱗黑汗王。省所差人進奉馬一疋、金五十斤、玉鞦轡一副、胡錦一十八段。事具悉。卿介居藩服。馳望闕庭。露函奏以致誠。出方奇而底貢。眷惟來享。良紉嚮風。仍傳象譯之言。願覩使華之盛。須期通道。始議遣行。載念恭勤。殊深嘉歎。所進到物色。今回賜卿錢二百貫文。其馬一疋十貫文。以浙絹充。兼別賜卿

1 *Song da zhaoling ji*, 240: 945.
2 Drompp, *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire*, 211.

國信物。對衣金腰帶銀器衣著等。具如別錄。並交付差來首領尹納祝等。至可領也。所將到蕃書文字。譯得。乞差人般赴本圖。候通路行日。相度遣使。故茲示諭。想宜知悉。夏熱。卿比平安好。遣書不多及。

The Imperial Decree to *houlin heihan wang* of the Yutian state[3] [Tughril Qarakhan of Khotan]: We are aware of the people you sent, who brought one horse, 50 *jin* of gold, one pair of saddles and bridles of jade, and 18 pieces of *hujin* [foreign brocade]. We know all about this matter. Although you live in *fanfu,*[4] you earnestly long for the imperial court. By revealing your letter you express your utmost sincerity, and sent your precious local products as tribute. You think only of arriving to the court with tribute, and you are always full of admiration for us. You transmitted words, which were translated, expressing the wish to see envoys from the magnificent Hua [Chinese] court. But the roads should be traversable, only then we will begin to discuss sending persons as envoys. Thinking about your obeisance and officiousness, we admire you very much. For your various presented objects, now in response we bestow to you 200 *guan* of cash. Your one horse, which is worth 10 *guan* of cash, was substituted with silks from Zhejiang. Besides we bestow to you also official gifts: a set of clothes, golden belts, silverware, garments and other things. All things are the same as recorded in a separate list and they were given to your messenger *shouling* [chief] Yinnazhu [LMC. jyn´-nap-tṣiwk, Inalchuq] and the others. He [Yinnanzhu] is certainly able to lead. The letters and documents that will reach foreign places were translated. You asked messengers to move and go following the original map, we wait for the day when the pathway is open for traveling, and then we can consider sending envoys. Therefore, we notify you about this instruction and we think that you should be informed of it. This year the summer is hot. Peace, tranquility and goodness be with you! We send this letter without adding anymore.

3 According to *Song shi, houlin* is the golden-winged bird in the Khotanese language. *Song shi,* 490: 14108. It is identified with Garuda, a legendary bird in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religions. However, the Qarakhanid Khagan hardly could use the name of this bird as part of his title. More likely, the Qarakhanids explained the meaning of the title Tughril, which is the name of the legendary hawk or falcon in Turkic mythology and the Chinese identified Tughril with Garuda. *Heihan* was explained as a corrupt version of the title *kehan* (Khagan). See, *Song shi*, 490: 14108. But the title *kehan* was never applied referring to the Qarakhanid rulers in Chinese sources. The form *heihan* appeared in the official letters sent by the Qarakhanids to the Chinese court. The Qarakhanids employed Tsongkha interpreters, who might translate Qarakhan as *heihan* (Black Khan) that was understood at the Song court as a corrupt version of *kehan*. Also see Chapter 3.

4 *Fanfu* is one of the places of *jiufu*, a designation of subject regions located outside of the imperial capital in ancient China. *Jiufu* was divided into nine zones, each 500 *li* wide. *Fanfu* was the most remote zone. *Zhou li*, 62.

Document 2. A Letter of Imperial Decree Granted to Qarakhan of Khotan for His Congratulation on Our Enthroning in the *Yuanyou* era, 1086
[*Song da zhaoling ji*, 240: 945]

勅于闐國黑汗王。省所差人進奉賀登位事。具悉。卿守藩西極。慕義中華。遠聞踐祚之新。來致梯山之貢。眷言忠恪。良用歎咨。回賜卿銀下闕　具如別錄。想宜知悉。

The Imperial Decree to *heihan wang* of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan]: We are aware of your letter brought by your messengers to congratulate on our enthroning. We know all about this matter. You are in charge of the remote regions in the west and you admire the righteousness of Zhonghua [China]. You heard the news in the remote place about that we acceded the throne and your messengers arrived and offered tribute climbing the mountains for that. Your loyalty and respectfulness are worthy of our admiration. We reward you in response with silver, some characters are missing; all things are the same as recorded in a separate list. We think that you should be informed of it.

Document 3. A Letter of Imperial Decree Granted to Qarakhan of Khotan
[*Song da zhaoling ji*, 240: 945]

勅于闐國黑汗王。省所差來進奉使阿保星進到真珠等事。卿遠馳專使。來效貢琛。載詳象譯之言。深亮勤王之意。益隆褒賜。以答忠誠。今因阿保星回。賜卿銀絹。其所差來人。亦各賜衣帶等。想宜知悉。

The Imperial Decree to *heihan wang* of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan]: We are aware that you sent your envoy Abaoxing to present pearls and other things. You dispatched special envoys from afar to offer precious things. Your words that were recorded in detail from translators deeply illuminated your thoughts of serving the throne. We reward and bestow you abundantly and generously in return for your loyalty and sincerity. As Abaoxing is returning now, we bestow silver and silk. All the other messengers were also rewarded with clothes, belts and other gifts. We think that you should be informed of it.

Document 4. A Letter from Arslan Qarakhan
[*Youhuan jiwen*, 5:46]

日出東方，赫赫大光，照見西方五百國，五百國條貫主，師子黑汗王，表上日出東方，赫赫大光，照見四天下，四天下條貫主，阿舅大官家：你前時要者玉，自家甚

是用心力，只為難得似你尺寸底。自家已令人兩河尋訪，纔得似你尺寸底，便奉上也。

The sun rises in the East, the splendid radiance illuminates the state of 500 *li* in the west,[5] the letter from Tiaoguanzhu Lion *heihan wang* [Tabghach Arslan Qarakhan king] of the state of 500 *li* to my uncle, Great Emperor of the Dynasty, Tiaoguanzhu and the whole world in the East, where the sun rises and the splendid radiance illuminates the whole world: "Regarding the jade you wanted last time, we put a lot of thoughts and efforts into finding it. But it is very difficult to find it in the size you wish. We have already ordered men to search it in the two rivers, as soon as we get it in the size you wish we will offer it to you."

2 Examples of Documents Exchanged between Song Emperors and Officials

Document 5. A Memorial from the attendant in charge of presents from the Yutian state and an Imperial Edict on March 21, 1064
[*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 7:31]

押伴于闐國進奉所言：「羅撒溫等朝辭，特賜錢五千貫文。今如賜見錢，慮以買物為名，未肯進發。欲望以絹、綾、錦充。」從之，仍詔將所賜疋帛內二分與有進奉人，一分與無進奉人。

The attendant in charge of presents from the Yutian state said: "Luo Sawen [Boyla Saghun][6] and others arrived at the court to take leave and he was exceptionally granted money of 5,000 *guan*. Now if he is granted money, he will consider buying products and will not want to leave. He needs to be supplied by silk, damask and brocade." The Emperor accepted it and as a result issued an edict to give two-thirds from the granted silk to those who came with tribute, and one-third to those who came without tribute.

Document 6. A Memorial from the Imperial Secretariat and an Imperial Edict on January 30, 1083
[*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 16]

5 The Qarakhanids never used this epithet. It was probably added by the translator. The character *li* is missing here and it refers to the region *fanfu* that covers 500 *li*. For more details about *fanfu*, see Document 1, n14.

6 Luo can be a corrupt version of the title *peiluo* (Boyla). Osman 2002, 48–52. Also see, Chapter 3.

中書省奏:「鴻臚寺狀:于闐國進奉人安泊驛舍踏逐禮賓院，今來禮賓院有西南蕃進奉人所指占。乞指占都亭西驛中位及東位安泊。」詔:「 于闐 國般次卒未有期到京。及至闕下，西南蕃蠻人當已辭去，可只令於禮賓院安下。」

From *zhong shu sheng* [Imperial Secretariat]: "The *honglusi* [Court of State Ceremonial] stated: people that came with offerings from the Yutian state stopped for rest at the posthouse and inquire to get into the residence for distinguished guests. Now the residence is occupied by the people who arrived from the southwest with presents. We ask to instruct them to occupy the central and eastern parts of the capital's western posthouse for rest." The Imperial Edict: "The army of the Yutian *banci* has not yet arrived in the capital. When they reach the palace, the southwestern barbarians will have already bowed out and gone and then we can just order them to rest at the residence for distinguished guests."

Document 7. A Memorial from the Military Commission of the Xihe and Lanhui Circuits and an Imperial Edict on June 7, 1083
[*Xu zizhi tongjian cnangbian*, 335: 8071]

熙河蘭會路制置使司言西賊犯蘭州，破西關，殺管勾、左侍禁韋定，并擄略和雇運糧于闐人并橐駝。詔贈定文思使，依永樂例推恩，所擄略于闐人畜，令制置司優恤之。

The *zhizhishi* [Military Commission] of the Xihe and Lanhui Circuits reported that western bandits invaded Lanzhou and destroyed the western pass, killed Wei Ding, the *guangou* [Controller] and *zuo shijin* [Palace Attendant of the Left], and captured men hired to transport provisions of the Yutian people including their camels." The Imperial Edict: "I order to bestow Wei Ding the title *wensishi* [Commissioner for Merits and Moral] according to the rules of "eternal joy" to extend kindness to his descendants and order the Military Commission to give compensation to the Yutian envoys for their people and animals [that were captured by bandits in Lanzhou]."

Document 8. An Imperial Edict on February 17, 1087
[*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4:17]

詔于闐 國黑汗王貢方物回賜外，餘不以有無進奉，悉加賜錢三十萬。

The Imperial Edict: "Besides the reward for local products offered by *heihan wang* of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan], regardless whether they have any gifts to offer, I increase the reward for additional 300,000 [*guan*]."

Document 9. An Imperial Edict on February 18, 1087
[*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4:17]

詔 于闐國使以表章至，則間歲聽一入貢，餘令於熙、秦州貿易。

The Imperial Edict: "When envoys of the Yutian state arrive with a memorial then during the year they are allowed to enter once with tribute and I order them to trade in Xizhou and Qinzhou."

Document 10. A Memorial from the Military Commission of the Xihe and Lanmin Circuits on August 15, 1091
[*Song huiyao jigao, Fanyi* 4: 18]

熙河蘭岷路經略安撫司言:「于闐國進奉人三蕃見在界首，內打廝蠻冷移四唱廝巴一蕃已准朝旨特許解發外，今來兩蕃進奉人緣已有間歲許解發指揮，欲只令熙、秦州買賣訖，約回本蕃。

The *anfusi* [Pacification Military Commission] of the Xihe and Lanmin Circuits stated: "Three foreigners that arrived with presents from the Yutian state are now at the forefront of the border. One foreigner Neidasimanlingyisichangsiba was allowed to be escorted and sent outside according to the will of the court; now there are two foreigners who arrived with presents since there is the instruction that allows envoys to come once per year, and we only want to order Xizhou and Qinzhou to complete the trade and ask those two to return to their state."

APPENDIX 3

List of the Qarakhanid Missions to Song China

The missions listed in Table 8 were mostly dispatched from Khotan. Starting in 1009, the ruler of Khotan was known in Song sources as Qarakhan king of Khotan (Yutian *guo heihan wang*). The missions sent from Kucha during the Qarakhanid rule are indicated in the remarks.

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
1.	April 11, 1009 (*XZTC* 17: 1598 *SS* 7: 142, 490: 14107 *WT* 337: 2644–1 *SHY: FY* 7: 17–18)	Huigu Luo Siwen (Uyghur Boyla Saghun)	jade and jade saddle and bridle	unspecified	
2.	December 26, 1025 (*XZTC* 103: 2394 *SS* 9: 181, 490: 14108 *WT* 337: 2644–1 *SHY: FY* 7: 23)	*Da shouling* (main chieftain) Luo Mianyuduo, Jinsan, Anduo and Zhaoduo	jade saddle and bridle, white jade belt, barbarian brocade, dromedary, frankincense, ammonium chloride	payment and ceremonial gifts as garments, belt, silk and silverware	
3.	September 21, 1063 (*SS* 13: 255, 490: 14108 *WT* 337: 2644–1 *SHY: FY* 7: 30–31)	Luo Sawen (Boyla Saghun)	local products	unspecified	

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
4.	February 1, 1064 (*SS* 490: 14108 *SHY: FY* 7: 31)	Luo Sawen (Boyla Saghun)	unspecified	An additional 5000 *guan* and a dromedary was returned upon request	The same envoy who arrived on September 21, 1063
5.	March 18, 1071 (*XZTC* 220: 5349 *SS* 15: 279, 490: 14108 *SHY: FY* 7: 32)	*da shouling* (main chieftain) Di	pearl, coral, green nephrite, ivory, frankincense, costus root, amber, floral fabric, ammonium chloride, "dragon salt," medicine, armor, horses	ceremonial gifts	
6.	1071 (*SS* 490: 14123)	Li Yanqin, Cao Fu[a]			The mission was dispatched from Kucha
7.	1072 (*SS* 490: 14123)	Lu Daming, Dudou			The mission was dispatched from Kucha
8.	February 6, 1073 (*SHY: FY* 7: 33)	unspecified	jade, barbarian brocade, horses with jade saddles and bridles, frankincense, costus root, castoreum, lapis lazuli, floral fabric	unspecified	
9.	November 30, 1073 (*XZTC* 247: 6032)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	

a According to the family name Cao, the envoy could be a descendant of Sogdian origin.

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
10.	March 3, 1074 (*XZTC* 250: 6082 *SS* 15: 285 *SHY: FY* 7: 33)	Adan Yinan (Ata Inal?)	jade, frankincense, mercury, Parthian cloves, "dragon salt," ammonium chloride, amber, lapis lazuli	unspecified	According to *SHY: FY* March 5, 1074.
11.	May 2 1077 (*XZTC* 281: 6891 *SHY: FY* 7: 33)	Luo Asinan Siwen (Boyla Arslan Saghun)	jade, barbarian brocade, horses with saddles and bridles, frankincense, costus root, green nephrite, amber, Parthian cloves, "dragon salt," cloves, barbarian coptis	unspecified	
12.	October 22, 1077 (*XZTC* 285: 6972 *SHY: FY* 4: 16)	Luo Asinan Siwen (Boyla Arslan Saghun)	frankincense (30,000 *jin*)	44,000 *guan* (discount 3,000 *guan*)	The date refers to the official report.
13.	November 29, 1078 (*XZTC* 293: 7156 *SS* 15: 296 *SHY: FY* 4: 16a, 7: 35)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	According to *SHY: FY* December 5, 1078.
14.	November 30, 1079 (*XZTC* 300: 7310 *SHY: FY* 4: 16)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	The date refers to the official report.
15.	February 20, 1080 (*XZTC* 302: 7350 *SS* 16: 301 *SHY: FY* 4: 16)	Da shouling Alingdian Sangwen (main chieftain Altun Saghun)	local products	unspecified	

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
16.	November 22, 1080 (*XZTC* 309: 7506 *SHY: FY* 4: 16, 7: 36)	unspecified	frankincense and other products (100,000 *jin*)	unspecified	Frankincense was returned per the imperial interdict. The date refers to the official report.
17.	March 6, 1081 (*XZTC* 311: 7540, 314: 7612 *SS* 16: 303, 490: 14109)	Buling Axin (Commander Ashin)	local products	unspecified	
18.	May 20, 1083 (*XZTC* 335: 8061 *SS* 16: 310 *SHY: FY* 4: 17, 7: 37)	Axin (Ashin)	local products	unspecified	The envoy was interviewed by the emperor. According to *Song shi* the envoy was Commander Ashin, who arrived at the court in 1081 *SS* 490: 14109
19.	October 9, 1085 (*XZTC* 359: 8597 *SHY: FY* 4: 17, 7: 38)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
20.	December 1, 1085 (XZTC 361: 8638, *SHY: FY* 4: 17; 7: 38)	unspecified	horses	1,200,000 *guan*	According to *SHY: FY* December 12, 1084. The date refers to the official report.

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
21.	December 21, 1085 (*XZTC* 362: 8655, 8658 *SS* 17: 320–321, 490: 14109 *SHY: FY* 7: 38)	unspecified	unspecified products and a lion	1,000,000 *guan*, silver and silk	According to *SHY: FY* December 31, 1084. The lion was returned.
22.	December 29, 1086 (*XZTC* 391: 9518 *SS* 17: 323–324 *SHY: FY* 7: 38–39)	unspecified	local products	ceremonial gifts	
23.	February 17, 1087 (*SHY: FY* 4: 17)	unspecified	unspecified	300,000 *guan*	
24.	March 21, 1087 (*SHY: FY* 4: 17)	unspecified	unspecified	golden belt, brocade robe, garment, vessels and silk	
25.	June 24, 1087 (*XZTC* 401: 9769 *SS* 17: 324, *SHY: FY* 7: 39)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
26.	April 19, 1088 (*XZTC* 409: 9958 *SS* 17: 328 *SHY: FY* 4: 17)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
27.	May 17, 1089 (*XZTC* 425: 10267 *SHY: FY* 7: 40)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
28.	July 8, 1089 (*XZTC* 428: 10338, 431: 10415 *SS* 17: 329 *SHY: FY* 4: 18, 7: 40)	Li Yangxing and Aodanweige/ Adianweige	pearl, jade, ivory, coral, incense	unspecified	
29.	March 24, 1090 (*XZTC* 438: 10565 *SS* 17: 331 *SHY: FY* 7:40)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	
30.	March 3, 1091 (*XZTC* 455: 10906)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	The envoy came together with a Saljuq mission from Rum (Fulin)
31.	July 10, 1091 (*XZTC* 460: 11001)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	
32.	December 8, 1092 (*XZTC* 478: 11394 *SS* 17: 335 *SHY: FY* 7: 41)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
33.	June 19, 1094 (*SHY: FY* 7: 41)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
34.	May 31, 1096 (*SHY: FY* 7: 42)	Luo Hudu Lumai	local products	unspecified	The date refers to the official report.

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
35.	August 4, 1096 (*SS* 18: 345 *SHY: FY* 7: 42)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	The envoy came together with a Muslim mission (Dashi), probably from the Western Qarakhanids or the Great Saljuqs
36.	1096 (*SS* 490: 14123)	*da shouling* Aliansaluo	a jade Buddha statue	unspecified	The mission was dispatched from Kucha
37.	November 28, 1096 (*SHY: FY* 7: 42)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	
38.	February 22, 1097 (*SS* 18: 346, 490: 14109)	A son of the Qarakhanid ruler	unspecified	unspecified	
39.	May 16, 1097 (*XZTC* 485: 11520)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	
40.	June 9, 1097 (*XZTC* 486: 11559)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	The same mission that arrived on May 16, 1097
41.	January 19, 1098 (*XZTC* 493: 11712 *SS* 18: 349 *SHY: FY* 7: 42)	unspecified	local products	unspecified	According to *SHY: FY* January 13, 1098.
42.	May 14, 1103 (*SS* 19: 367)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	

TABLE 9 Qarakhanid missions to the Northern Song (*cont.*)

	Date	Envoy	Gifts	Loans	Remarks
43.	1107 (*SS* 20: 379)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
44.	1108 (*SS* 20: 381)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	
45.	February 11, 1117 (*SS* 21: 397 *SHY: FY* 7: 44)	Majiumoumia-diansaluo, Daseng (main monk) Asihulun	local products	unspecified	
46.	August 26, 1118 (*SS* 21: 401 *SHY: FY* 7: 44–45)	Yinian Sawen (Inal Saghun?) and Daseng (main monk) Hudutuwang	local products	unspecified	
47.	1124 (*SS* 22: 415)	unspecified	unspecified	unspecified	

APPENDIX 4

Glossary of Chinese Characters

Adan Yinan	阿丹一难
Adianweige	阿點魏哥
Ahududongemijiedu	阿忽都董娥密竭篤
Ailao	哀牢
ajiu heihan wang	阿舅黑汗王
Aliansaluo	阿連撒羅
Aligu	阿里骨
Alingdian Sangwen	阿令顛顙溫
Aliyan	阿里烟
An Jia	安伽
Anduo	安多
An Lushan	安禄山
An Qingxu	安慶緒
Anxi	安西
Aodanweige	鄂丹威格
Asihulun	阿俟忽倫
Axin	阿辛
banca	般擦
banci	般次
Bei Yindu	北印度
Bianjing	汴京
biannianti	編年體
biao	表
biaozhang	表章
bili	篳篥
Boni	浡泥
Bosi *si*	波斯寺
Bosi	波斯
Bosilan	波斯蘭
buling	部領
Cao Fu	曹福
Cao	曹
Cege	冊割

Cengba	層拔
Cengjiani	層伽尼
Cengtan	層檀
cha	茶
Chang Chun	長春
changyin	長引
Chanyuan	澶淵
Chaoxian	朝鮮
chi (imperial decree)	勅
chi (a unit of length)	尺
chicaishimo	喫菜事魔
Congling	葱嶺
cun	寸
Da Han	大漢
Da Liao *guo*	大遼國
da shouling	大首領
Dadan	達旦
Dahai	大海
dan	石
Dangxiang	党項
Daqin	大秦
Daseng	大僧
Dashi	大食/大石
Dili	迪里
Ding	定
Di	翟
Dongjing	東京
Dongzhan	董氈
dou	斗
Du Huan	杜環
duanyin	短引
Dudou	篤都
dujian	都監
duting xiyi	都亭西驛
fan	番
fanbu	蕃部
fanfu	藩服
Faxian	法显

feicui	翡翠
fen	分
Fo Maxiawu	佛麻霞勿
fosi	佛寺
Fulin zhengzhuan	拂菻正傳
Fulin	拂菻
fushi	副使
Gansu	甘肅
Ganzhou	甘州
Gaochang	高昌
gong (tribute)	貢
gong (craftsmen)	工
goulan	勾栏
guan	貫
Guiyijun	歸義軍
guizhong baoshun houlin heihan wang	歸忠保順砆鱗黑韓王
guizhong baoshun kehan	歸忠保順可汗
Gujin Huayi quyu zongyao tu	古今華夷區域總要圖
Gulin	古林
Gusiluo	唃厮啰
hai shang	海上
han	汗
Han	漢
Handong	罕東
Hangzhou	杭州
hanren	漢人
he	賀
hei	黑
heihan	黑汗/ 黑韓
Heiyi	黑衣
Heli Kehan	喝里可汗
Hexi	河西
Heyi Dashi	黑衣大食
Hezhou	和州
houlin heihan	砆鱗黑韓
hu	胡
Huershan	忽兒珊
huama	花馬

Hua	華
Huang Tingjian	黃庭堅
Huanwang	環王
Hudutuwang	忽都兔王
Hui Masumi	回抹粟迷
Huigu Luo Siwen	回鶻羅廝溫
Huigu	回鶻
Huihui Dashi *bu*	回回大食部
Huihui	回回
huiyao	會要
Hui	回
hujin	胡錦
Hulumo	胡盧沒
Huolasan	活剌散
hupo	虎魄 / 琥珀
huqin	胡琴
huren	胡人
jianshi	監使
Jibin	罽賓
Jicini	吉慈尼
jin (a unit of weight)	斤
jin (to offer, to present)	進
Jin	金
Jingduhei Huihui	脛篤黑回回
Jinsan	金三
jinxingshi	金星石
jiufu	九服
jiu xing	九姓
Juandu	身毒
Juanyou lu	倦遊錄
Kang	康
kehan	可汗
Lantian	藍田
Li Yangxing	李養星
Li Yanqin	李延慶
Li	李
li	里

liang	兩
Liangzhou	涼州
Liao	遼
Lide	利得
lifo	禮佛
Liji	利吉
Lijiman	利吉蠻
Lilimei	哩里沒
Limei	哩沒
Lin'an	臨安
Ling	令
Lingyi	冷移
Linhuang	臨潢
Liu Qi	劉祁
Longquan	龍泉
longxian	龍涎
longyan	龍鹽
Lu Daming	盧大明
Lüjing Huihui	緑睛回回
Lumei	蘆眉
Lumo	盧沒
Luo Asinan Siwen	羅阿廝難撕溫
Luo Hudulumai	羅忽都盧麥
Luo Mianyuduo	羅面于多
Luo Sawen	羅撒溫
Luo Siwen	羅廝溫 / 羅撒溫
Luo	羅
Luoli Huihui	蘿里回回
Luoshimei	囉施美
Majiatuo	摩伽陀
Majiumoumiadiansaluo	馬糺牟米阿點撒羅
Mangmi	忙迷
Mani	摩尼
man	蠻
Meilugudun	眉路骨惇
mengguren	蒙古人
mi	密
Miaoli	邈黎
Mielisha	滅力沙

Mieliyilinggaiche	滅力伊靈改撤
Mieliyilinggaisa	滅力伊靈改撒
Milefo	彌勒佛
Mosuluman Huihe	沒速魯蠻回紇
Najieluohe	那揭羅曷
Nan Yindu	南印度
Nanhai	南海
nanman	南蠻
nanfan Jiaozhou	南蕃交州
nanman wu xing fan	南蠻五姓蕃
nanren	南人
Nanyang	南阳
ni	尼
Nisidu	儞廝都
Nisidulingsimengpan	儞廝都令廝孟判
nong	農
Nüren *guo*	女人國
Nüzhi	女直
peiluo	裴羅
pi	匹
pin	聘
Poluomen	婆羅門
Pu Mamo	蒲麻勿
Pu Tuopolici	蒲陁婆離慈
Puhualuo	蒲花羅
Qiemo	且末
qing	請
Qingbai	青百
Qinghai	青海
Qingtang	青唐
Qingyuan	清源
Qinzhou	秦州
Qiuci	龜茲
ren	人
Rinan	日南
rong	戎
ruxiang	乳香

Saba	撒八
Sanfoqi	三佛齊
Sangwen	顙溫
Sawen	撒溫
semuren	色目人
sha	沙
Shache	莎车
Shang tang kao suo	山堂考索
Shangjing	上京
shang	商
Shazhou	沙州
sheng	升
Shengzong	聖宗
Shenzong	神宗
shi	使
shiboshi	市舶使
shilu yuan	實錄院
shizi heihan wang	獅子黑汗王
shi (scholar)	士
shi (lion)	獅
Shi Siming	史思明
shouling	首領
shoupo	獸魄
shu	書
Shule *guo*	疏勒國
Si Masumi	四抹粟迷
Sichuan	四川
Simengpan	廝孟判
Song	宋
Suanduan han	算端汗
Sui	隋
Suiye	碎葉
Taizong	太宗
Taizu	太祖
Tang	唐
Tangjia	唐家
tejin	特進
Tianzhu	天竺
Tianzi	天子
Tiaoguanzhu	條貫主

Tiaozhi	條支
Tubo	吐蕃
Tudie	突迭
Tuhuoluo	吐火羅
Tujue zhi Kesa	突厥之可薩
Tuoba	拓拔
Tuopoli	陁婆離
Tuopolici	陁婆離慈
waiguo	外國
wan	萬
wanguan	萬貫
Wang Anshi	王安石
Wang Yande	王延德
Weiwu	畏兀
Weiwu'er	畏吾尔
Weiyu	隈欲
wen	文
Wu Tienzhu	五天竺
Wuchang	烏萇
Wudai shiguo	五代十國
Wugusun Zhongduan	吾古孙仲端
Wuma tu	五马图
wupo	武魄
Wuxun	勿巡
Xi nü *guo*	西女國
Xi Xia	西夏
Xiaoshi	小食
Xiawutan	霞勿檀
Xiazhou	夏州
Xihelu	熙河路
Xijie	西界
xijin	西錦
Xijing	西京
Xin Fuzhou	新福州
Xindu Huihui	忻都回回
Xining	西宁
Xirong	西戎

Xitian	西天
Xiyu	西域
Xizhou Huigu	西洲回鶻
Xuanzang	玄奘
Xuanzong	宣宗
xunluxiang	薰陸香
Xunsigan	尋思干
Yang Liangyao	楊良瑤
Yanhe dian	延和殿
Yelage	夜落隔
Yelü Dashi	耶律大石
Yili zhu Huihe	遺里諸回紇
Yindu Huihe	印都回紇
Yinian Sawen	一年撒温
Yinshuwulonggu	寅术烏籠骨
Yongzhou	雍州
Yongshi	永世
You Shixiong	游師雄
yuan fan	遠蕃
yuan ren	遠人
Yuan	元
Yuechang	约昌
Yutian guo gong shizi tu	于闐國貢獅子圖
Yutian *guo*	于闐國
Yutian *shi*	于闐石
Yutian	于闐
zashi	雜史
Zeng Yu	曾紆
Zhancheng	占城
Zhang Qian	張騫
zhang	丈
Zhang	張
zhao	詔
Zhao	趙
Zhaoduo	趙多
Zhenghe	政和
zhengshi	正史

Zhezong	哲宗
zhigong tu	職貢圖
Zhong Yindu	中印度
Zhuhu Huihui	术忽回回 / 主鶻回回
zhuke langzhong	主客郎中
Zhuochang	灼昌
zou	奏

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya (*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*), by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, (12th century). Translated by Clifford E. Bosworth as *The History of the Saljuq State: A Translation with Commentary of the Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūquiyya*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Bei shi 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties], by Li Dashi 李大師 (570–628). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Bretschneider, Emil. *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1888.

Bretschneider, Emil. *Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travelers to the West*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press; London: Trübner & Co., 1875.

Da Tang Xi yu ji 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Records on the Western Regions], by Xuanzang 陳禕 (602–664). Translated by Samuel Beal as *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Hiuen Tsiang*. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co., 1884, rpt, Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969.

Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashq, by Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza ibn Asad Ibn al-Qalānisi (c. 1071–1160). Edited by Henry F. Amedroz as *History of Damascus, 363–555 A. H., from the Bodleian MS. Hunt 125. Being a Continuation of the History of Hilal al- Sabi*. Leiden: Brill, 1908.

Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (1005–1102). Translated by Zifa-Alua M. Auezova as *Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī: Dīvān Lugāt at-Turk*. Almaty: Daik-Press, 2005.

Dongjing meng Hua lu 東京夢華錄 [Dreams of Splendor of the Eastern Capital], by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (c.1090–1150). Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1961.

Fa guo ji 佛國記 [A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms], by Faxian 法顯 (337–c. 422). Translated by James Legge as *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon* (*A.D. 399–414*) *in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1886.

Frenkel, Yehoshua. *The Turkic Peoples in Medieval Arabic Writings*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Göckenjan, Hansgerd, and István Zimonyi. *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter: Die Gayhani-Tradition* (*Ibn Rusta, Gardizi, Hudud Al-ʾAlam, Al-Bakri und Al-Marwazi*). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.

Gui Qian zhi 归潜志, by Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203–1250). *Yuan Ming shiliao biji congkan* edition. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

Guihai yuheng zhi 桂海虞衡志 [Well-balanced records of Guihai], by Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193). Translated by James Hargett as *Treatises of the Supervisor*

and Guardian of the Cinnamon Sea: The Natural World and Material Culture of 12th Century South China, Fan Chengda (1126–1193). Seattle-London: Washington University Press 2010.

Han shu 漢書 [Book of Han], by Ban Gu 班固 (AD 32–92). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1986.

Hou Han shu 後漢書 [Book of the Later Han], by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, by Anonymous author (10th century). Translated by Vladimir Minorsky as *A Persian Geography 372 A. H.–982 A. D*. London: Gibb Memorial Series XI, 1937.

Jacob, Georg. *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927.

Jahānnāma, by Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bākran (12th–13th centuries). Edited by Iurii E. Borshchevskii as *Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bākran. Dzhakhan-name* (*Kniga o mire*). Moscow: Nauka, 1960.

Jin shi 金史 [History of the Jin dynasty], by Tuotuo 脱脱 (1314–1356). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang], by Liu Xu 劉昫 (888–947) and Zhang Zhaoyuan 張昭遠. Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh, by ʿAlī ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233). Edited by Johannes C. Tornberg as *Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitum*. 14 vols. Leiden and Uppsala: Brill, 1851–1876.

Al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh, by ʿAlī ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233). Translated by Pavel G. Bulgakov, and Shamsiddin Kamoliddin as *Al-Kamil fi-t-taʾrikh: polnyj svod istorii*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2006.

Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm, by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī (c. 945/46–991). Edited by Michael Jan de Goeje as *Descriptio Imperii Moslemic, Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*. Leiden: Brill, 1906.

Kitāb aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm, by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī (c. 945/46–991). Translated by Basil A. Collins as *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions: A Translation of Ahsan al-taqasim fi maʿrifat al-aqalim*. Reading: Garnet, 1994.

Kitāb al-aʿlāk al-nafīsa, by Aḥmad ibn Rusta Iṣfahānī (10th century). Edited by Michael Jan de Goeje as *Kitāb al- al-aʿlāk an-nafīsa VII auctore Abū Alī Ahmed ibn Omar Ibn Rosteh et Kitāb al-boldān auctore Ahmed ibn abī Jakūb ibn Wādhih al-Kātib al-Jakūbī, Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*. 2nd edn. Leiden: Brill, 1892.

Kitāb al-buldān, by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī (fl. 902). Edited by Michael Jan de Goeje as *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Leiden: Brill, 1885.

Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik, by Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbaidullāh ibn Khurdādhbih (c. 820–912). Translated by Naila Velikhanova as *Ibn Khordadbekh: Kniga putei i stran*. Baku: Elm, 1986.

Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb, by Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973 – after 1050). Edited and translated by Hakim Mohammed Said as *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica*. Karachi: Hamdard National Foundation, 1973.

Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī al-ṭībb, by Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973 – after 1050). Translated by Ubaidulla Karimov as *Farmakognozia v meditsine* (*Kitab as-saydana fi-t-tibb*). Abu Reikhan Beruni: Izbrannye proizvedeniia, vol. 4. Tashkent: Fan, 1973.

Kitāb al-Yamīnī, by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī (d. 1023). Translated by James Reynolds as *The Kitabi-i-Yamini, Historical Memoirs of the Amir Sabaktagin and the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Early Conquerors of Hindustan, and Founders of the Ghaznavide Dynasty*. London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1858.

Kitāb taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin, by Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973 – after 1050). Translated by Pavel G. Bulgakov as *Opredelenie granits mest dlia utochneniia rasstoianii mezhdu naselennymi punktami* (*Geodeziia*). Abu Reikhan Beruni: Izbrannye proizvedeniia, vol. 3. Tashkent: Fan, 1966.

Kua Ao ji 跨鰲集 [Records of Kua Ao] by Li Xin 李新 (1062-?). *Siku quanshu* edition. Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1934–1935.

Latā'if al-maʿārif, by Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Thaʿālibī, (961–1038). Translated by Clifford E. Bosworth as *The Latā'if al-maʿārif of Thaʿālibi: The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1968.

Lequan ji 樂全集 [Lequan Collection], by Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007–1091), *Siku quanshu* edition. Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1934–1935.

Leslie, Donald D., and Kenneth H.J. Gardiner. *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*. Roma: Bardi, 1996.

Liao shi 遼史 [History of the Liao dynasty], by Tuotuo 脱脱(1314–1356). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Lidai dili zhizhang tu 歷代地理指掌圖 [Handy Geographical Maps through the ages], by Shui Anli 稅安禮 (d. 1099), facsimile edtition of the Song printed edition dated to 1130s and compiled by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) was published as *Songben Lidai dili zhizhang tu* 宋本歷代地理指掌圖 [The Song Dynasty Book of Handy Geographical Maps through the ages]. Shanghai: Shanghai chubanshe, 1989. Ming dynasty printed edition is held in the National Central Library in Taiwan (No. 04161).

Lingwai daida 嶺外代答 [Notes from the Land beyond the Passes], by Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1135–1189). Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe, 1996.

Lingwai daida 嶺外代答 [Notes from the Land beyond the Passes], by Zhou Qufei 周去非 (1135–1189). Translated by Almut Netolitzky as *Das Ling-wai Tai-ta Von Chou Ch'ü-fei: Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977.

Liu, Mau-Tsai. *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken* (*T'u-küe*). 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1958.

Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談 [Dream Pool Essays], by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1095). Shanghai (Beijing): Zhonghua shuju, 1959.

Ming shi 明史 [History of the Ming], by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672–1755). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Mir'āt al-zamān fī tā'rīkh al-a'yān, by Yūsuf ibn Qizughlī Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (1186/87–1257). Edited by Ali Sevim as *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tā'rīkh al-a'yān: al-ḥawādith al-khāṣṣa bi-tā'rīkh al-Salājiqa bayna al-sanāwāt 1056–1086*, vol. 1. Ankara: Maṭba'a al-jam'iyya al-tā'rīkhiyya al-turkiyya, 1968.

Mulḥaqāt al-ṣurāh, by Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Jamāl al-Qarshī (b. 1230/31). Translated by Shodmon Kh. Vohidov, and Bobur B. Aminov as *Jamāl al-Qarshī, Mulḥaqāt bi-ṣ-ṣurāh*. Istoriia Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh, vol. 1. Almaty: Daik Press, 2005.

Al-Mu'rib 'an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-Maghrib, by Abū Hāmid al-Gharnātī (c. 1080–1170). Translated by Oleg G. Bol'shakov, and Aleksandr L. Mongait as *Puteshestvie Abu Khamida al-Garnati v vostochnuiu i tsentral'nuiu Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)*. Moscow: Nauka, 1971.

Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar, by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (896–956). Edited and translated by Charles Barbier de Meynard as *Maçoudi: Les prairies d'or*. 8 vols. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–1874.

Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar, by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (896–956). Translated by Aloys Sprenger as *El-Mas'ūdī's Historical Encyclopaedia entitled Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*. Vol. 1. London : Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1841.

Nan shi 南史 [History of the South], by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 659). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq, by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (1100–1165). Translated by Amédée P. Jaubert as *Géographie d'Édrisi*, vols. 11. Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1836–1840.

Pis'mo Razybakeeva Stalinu o rabote sredi uigur [The Letter by Razybakeev to Stalin about the work among Uyghurs], 11 November 1922, f.62, op.2, d.64, l.27–39, Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), *Russian Perspectives on Islam*. https://islamperspectives.org/rpi/items/show/11036.

Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi, by Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973–after 1050). Translated by Pavel G. Bulgakov and Boris A. Rosenfeld as *Kanon Mas'uda* (*Knigi I–V*). Abu Reikhan Beruni: Izbrannye proizvedeniia, vol. 5. Tashkent: Fan, 1973.

Qidan guo zhi 契丹國志 [Records of the Khitan State], by Ye Longli 葉隆禮 (13th century). Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1985.

Qing shi gao 清史稿 [Draft History of the Qing], by Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844–1927). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Qingbo zazhi: fu biezhi 清波杂志: 附别志 [Miscellaneous Notes from the gate of Qingbo: Attached Other Notes], by Zhou Hui 周辉 (b. 1126). *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji 長春真人西遊記 [Travels to the West of Qiu Chang Chun], by Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji 長春真人西遊記 [Travels to the West of Qiu Chang Chun], by Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256). Translated by Palladius [Kafarov, Pyotr I.] as "Si yu tsi ili opisanie puteshestviia na zapad daosskogo monakha Chan Chunia, perevod 1866 goda." In *Pustynia Tartari*, edited by Aider Kurkchi, 280–378. Moscow: DI-DIK, 1993.

Qiu Chang Chun Xi you ji 長春真人西遊記 [Travels to the West of Qiu Chang Chun], by Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256). Translated by Arthur Waley as *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hundukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*. London: Routledge Curzon, 1931.

Qutadghu bilig, by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib Balāsāghūnī (c. 1019–1077). Edited and translated by Reşid Rahmeti Arat as *Yusuf Has Hâcib, Kutadgu Bilig: Metin, Tercüme, Indeks*. 3 vols. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947–1979.

Qutadghu bilig, by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib Balāsāghūnī (c. 1019–1077). Translated by Robert Dankoff as *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Risāla, by Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī (fl. 943–952). Translated by Alfred von Rohr-Sauer as *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonner orientalistische Studien, 26. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1939.

Risāla, by Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān (fl. 921–922). Translated by Paul Lunde, and Caroline Stone as *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*. London: Penguin Classics, 2012.

Saljūqnāma, by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī (d. 1184/85). Edited by Clifford E. Bosworth, and translated by Kenneth A. Luther as *The History of the Seljuq Turks from the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh: An Ilkhanid Adaptation of the Saljūq-nāma of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001.

Siyāsatnāma, by Niẓām al-Mulk (1018–1092). Translated by Hubert Danke as *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyāsat-nāma or Siyar al-Mulūk of Niẓām al-Mulk*. London: Routledge, 1960.

Song da zhaoling ji 宋大詔令集 [Collection of Grand Imperial Edicts and Decrees of the Song], by Song Shou 宋綬 (991–1041) and his descandants. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.

Song huiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿 [Song Government Manuscript Compendium], by Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848). Available via Scripta Sinica database in an electronic edition, prepared by the Institute of History and Language, Academia Sinica, Institute of Ancient Books Collection, Sichuan University, Department of East Asian Civilization, Harvard University, 2008.

Song shi 宋史 [History of the Song], by Tuotuo 脱脱 (1314–1356). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Songchao shishi leiyuan 宋朝事實類苑 [Categorized Garden of Historical Facts of the Song Dynasty], by Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞 (12th century). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981.

Sui shu 隋書 [Book of Sui], by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, Minhāj ad-Dīn Jūzjānī (b. 1193). Translated by Henry G. Raverty as *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan, from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.), to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.), and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*. London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1881.

Ṭabā'iʿ al-ḥayawān, by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī (fl. 1056/57–1124/25). Edited and translated by Vladimir Minorsky as *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942.

Ṭabīblik kitābī, by Subḥān Qulī Muḥammad Bahādur Khān (1624–1702). Edited and translated by László Károly as *A Turkic Medical Treatise from Islamic Central Asia: A Critical Edition of a Seventeenth-Century Chagatay Work by Subḥān Qulï Khan*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-tasḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin, by Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973- after 1050). Edited by Muhammad ibn Tawid al-Tanji. Ankara: Doğus Ltd, 1962.

Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb fi muʿjam al-alqāb, by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzaq ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244–1323). Edited by Mustafa Jawar. Damascus: Wizārat al-Taqāfa wa al-Irshād al-Qaumī, 1962–1967.

Taʾrīkh-i Jahān-gushā, by ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ-Malik Juwaynī (1226–1283). Translated by John A. Boyle as *The History of the World Conqueror*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.

Tiancheng gaijiu xinding lüling 天盛改旧新定律令 [Revised and Newly Endorsed Code for the Tiancheng Era, 1149–1169]. Translated by Shi Jinbo 史金波, Nie Hongyin 聂鸿音, Bai Bin 白滨. Beijing: Falü chubanshe, 2000.

Tieweishan congtan 鐵圍山叢談 [Collection of Talks from the Tiewei Mountain], by Cai Tiao 蔡條 (d. 1126). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

Tong dian 通典 [Encyclopedic History of Institutions], by Du You 杜佑 (735–812). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.

Tongzhi 通志 [Comprehensive Records], by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1987.

Wei shu 魏書 [Book of the Wei], by Wei Shou 魏收 (507–572). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Wenchang zalu 文昌雜錄 [Miscellaneous records of Wenchang], by Pang Yuanying 龐元英 (fl. 1080s). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958.

Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考 [Comprehensive Examination of Literature], by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245–1322). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1987.

Xi you lu 西游錄 [Records on the Journey to the West], by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244). Tranlsated by Igor de Rachewiltz as "The Hsi-yu-lu 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材." *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 1–128.

Xi you lu 西游錄 [Records on the Journey to the West], by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244), *Liujingkan congshu* edition. Kyoto: Shangyu Luoshi, 1927.

Xin Tangshu 新唐書 [New history of the Tang], by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Xin wudai shi 新五代史 [New History of the Five Dynasties], by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980.

Xu zizhi tongjian changbian 續資治通鑑長編 [Extended Continuation to Zizhi Tongjian], by Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 2004.

Youhuan jiwen 游宦紀聞 [Records of Official Travel], by Zhang Shinan 張世南 (12th–13th centuries). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.

Yuan shi 元史 [History of the Yuan dynasty], by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381). Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981.

Yueshu 樂書 [*Book of Music*], by Chen Yang 陳暘 (1064–1128). *Siku quanshu* edition, vol. 211. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 2008.

Yunlin shipu 雲林石譜 [Stone Catalog of Cloudy Forest], by Du Wan 杜綰 (12th century). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Yunyan guoyan lu 云烟过眼录, by Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Zayn al-akhbār, by Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī (11th century). Edited by Abd al-Hayy Habibi. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1968.

Zayn al-akhbār, by Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī (11th century). Translated by Clifford E. Bosworth as *The Ornament of Histories: A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands, AD 650–1041. The Original Text of Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Gardīzī*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2011.

Zhang Xinglang 张星烺. *Zhong Xi jiaotong shiliao huibian* 中西交通史料汇编 [Compilation of Historical Sources on Relations between China and the West]. 6 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.

Zhou li 周禮 [Rites of Zhou], by Liu Xin 劉歆 (c. 50 BCE–23 CE). Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000.

Zhu fan zhi 諸蕃志 [Records of foreign people], by Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 (1170–1231). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Zhu fan zhi 諸蕃志 [Records of foreign people], by Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 (1170–1231). Translated by Friedrich Hirth, and William W. Rockhill as *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chï*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911.

Studies

Abe, Massashi. "Results of the Archaeological Project at Ak Beshim (Suyab), Kyrgyz Republic from 2011 to 2013 and a Note on the Site's Abandonment." *Intercultural Understanding* 4 (2014): 11–16.

Akasoy, Anna, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim. "Along the Musk Routes: Exchanges between Tibet and the Islamic World." *Asian Medicine* 3 (2007): 217–240.

Akasoy, Anna, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, eds. *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Akasoy, Anna. "Tibet in Islamic Geography and Cartography: A Survey of Arabic and Persian Sources." In *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 17–41. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Agostini, Domenico and Sören Stark. "Zāwulistān, Kāwulistān and the Land Bosi 波斯 – On the Question of a Sassanian Court-In-Exile in the Southern Hindukush." *Studia Iranica* 45 (2016): 17–38.

Akin, Alexander. "The Jing Xing ji of Du Huan: Notes on the West by a Chinese Prisoner of War." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999–2000): 77–102.

Allsen, Thomas T. *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997.

Allsen, Thomas T. *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001.

Asimov, Muhammad S., and Clifford E. Bosworth, eds. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Age of Achievement A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 4, part 1. Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

Atwood, Christopher P. "The First Mongol Contacts with the Tibetans." In *Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling*, edited by Roberto Vitali, 21–45. Paris: UMR 8155 (CRCAO) of the French National Center for Scientific Research, 2015.

Bagherpour, Kashani N., and Thomas Stöllner. "Iron Age Amber Beads from Vešnave/Iran." Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan 43 (2011): 71–78.

Barfield, Thomas J. *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China 221 B.C. to AD 1757*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1989.

Bartold, Vasily V. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk, 1900, rpt. in *Sochineniia* I. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1963.

Bartold, Vasily V. "Dvenadtsat' lektsii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii." In *Sochineniia* 5. Moscow: Nauka, 1968.

Baumer, Christoph, and Mirko Novák, eds. *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.

Bazin, Marcel, Christian Bromberger, Daniel Balland and Ṣoḡrā Bāzargān. "Berenj "Rice"." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1989, IV/2, 147–163. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/berenj-rice.

Beckwith, Christopher. "The Location and Population of Tibet According to Early Islamic Sources." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43, no. 2/3 (1989): 163–70.

Beckwith, Christopher. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1987.

Bemman, Jan and Michael Schmauder, eds. *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the first millennium CE*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universiät Bonn, 2015.

Bentley, Jerry H. "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History." *American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 749–70.

Bielenstein, Hans. *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Biran, Michal. "Qarakhanid Studies: A View from the Qara Khitai Edge." *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 9 (2001): 77–89.

Biran, Michal. *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005.

Biran, Michal. "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 221–51.

Biran, Michal. "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange: Preliminary Notes on the Silk Roads in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries." In *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the first millennium CE*, edited by Jan Bemman, and Michael Schmauder, 575–95. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universiät Bonn, 2015.

Biran, Michal. "The Non-Han Dynasties." In *The Blackwell Companion of Chinese History*, edited by Michael Szonyi, 129–143. Oxford: Willey Blackwell, 2017.

Bosworth, Clifford E. *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217)." In The Cambridge *History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Period*, edited by John A. Boyle, vol. 5, 1–202. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "An Alleged Embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr ibn Aḥmad: A Contribution to Sâmânid Military History." In *Yādnāma-yi Iraāni-yi Minorsky*, edited by Mujtaba Minuvi, and Iraj Afshar, 17–29. Tehran: Tehran University, 1969, rpr. in Clifford E. Bosworth. The Medieval *History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*. XXII, 1–13. London: Variourum Reprints, 1977.

Bosworth, Clifford E. *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay: The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India, 1040–1186*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "'Alītigin." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1985, I/8, 887–888. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alitigin-the-usual-name-in-the-sources-for-ali-b.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "Bardha'a." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1988, III/7, 779–780. https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bardaa-or-bardaa-arm.

Bosworth, Clifford E. *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1996.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "Ghaznavids." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 2001, X/6, 578–583. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids.

Bosworth, Clifford E. "Khwarazmshahs i. Descendants of the line of Anuštigin." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 2009, online edition. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/khwarazmshahs-i.

Boyle, John A., ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Period*, vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Braund, David. "Nero's Amber-Expedition in Context: Connectivity between the Baltic, Black Sea, Adriatic and India from Herodotus to the Roman Empire." In *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World*, edited by Victor Cojocaru, Altay Coşkun, and Mădălina Dana, 435–56. Cluj-Napoca: Mega Publishing House, 2014.

Brophy, David. "Taranchis, Kashgharis, and the 'Uyghur Question' in Soviet Central Asia." *Inner Asia* 7, no. 2 (2005): 163–84.

Buayixiamu 布阿衣夏木, and Aji 阿吉. "Kalahan wangchao yu Gaochang Huigu hanguo zhengzhi guanxi 喀喇汗王朝与高昌回鹘汗国的 政治关系探析 [Political relations between the Qarakhanid Dynasty and the Gaochang Uyghur Khaganate]." *Ha'erbin xueyuan xuebao* 哈尔滨学院学报 36, 12 (2015): 102–5.

Bubnova, Mira A., and Inna A. Polovnikova. "Iantar' v Srednei Azii." In *Drevnie tsivilizatsii Evrazii: Istoriia i kul'tura*, edited by Aleksandr V. Sedov, 124–35. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2001.

Bulliet, Richard W. "Abu Dolaf Al-Yanbui." *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation, 1983, 1/3, 271–72. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/abu-dolaf-al-yanbui-mesar-b.

Chaffee, John W., and Denis Twitchett, eds. *The Cambridge History of China: Sung China, 960–1279*, vol. 5, part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Chaffee, John W. *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Charles, Melville B. "The Rise of the Sassanian Elephant Corps: Elephants and the Later Roman Empire." *Iranica Antiqua* 42, (2007): 301–46.

Chavannes, Edouard. "Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise." *Bulletin de l'École française de Extrême-Orient* 3, no.2 (1903): 214–247.

Chen Guanhan, Zhou Xinying, Wang Jianxin, Ma Jian, Mutalibjon Khasannov, Nasibillo Khasanov, Robert N. Spengler, Amridin Berdimurodov, Li Xiaoqiang. "Kushan Period Rice in the Amu Darya Basin: Evidence for Prehistoric Exchange along the Southern Himalaya." *Science China Earth Sciences* 63 (2020): 841–851.

Chen Jiarong 陈佳荣, Xie Fang 谢方 and Lu Junling 陆峻岭, eds. *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名汇释 [Assembled explanations of ancient place-names of the Southern Sea]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.

Cheng Minsheng 程民生. "Songren shenghuo shuiping ji bizhi kaocha 宋人生活水平及币值考察 [Living Standarts and Monetary Value of the Song Dynasty]." *Shixue yuekan* 史学月刊 3 (2008): 100–11.

Cheng Minsheng 程民生. "Qingming shanghe tu zhong de tuodui shi hu shang ma – jian tan Songchao jingnei de fenbu 《清明上河图》中的驼队是胡商吗—兼谈宋朝境内骆驼的分布 [Are the Figures of the Camel Caravan on Qingming shanghe tu Foreign Merchants? Distribution of Camels in Song Territory]." *Lishi yangjiu* 历史研究 05 (2012): 176–82.

Chou Yi-liang. "Notes on Marvazi's Account on China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 9, no. 1 (1945): 13–23.

Chugunov, Konstantin V. "Iantar' sredi zolota kochevnicheskikh vladyk. Tsar'skii kurgan ranneskifskogo vremeni Arzhan-2 v Tuve." In *Iantar' v drevnikh kul'turakh: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia iz sobraniia Ermitazha*, edited by Olga Fedoseenko, 47–54. Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2010.

Cojocaru, Victor, Altay Coşkun, and Mădălina Dana (eds.). *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega Publishing House, 2014.

Compareti, Matteo. "The Last Sassanians in China." *Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003): 197–213.

Curtis, Vesta S., and Sarah Stewart. *The Age of the Parthians. The Idea of Iran*, vol. 2. London: Tauris, 2007.

Dankoff, Robert. "A Note on khutū and chatuq." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 4 (1973): 542–43.

Davidovich, Elena A. "The Karakhanids." In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Age of Achievement A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Muhammad S. Asimov, and Clifford E. Bosworth, vol. 1, part 1, 125–49. Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

Dawkes, Giles, and Gaygysyz Jorayev. "A Case of an Early Islamic city in Transoxiana: Excavations at the Medieval citadel in Taraz, Kazakhstan." *Archaeological Research in Asia* 4 (2015): 17–24.

Dotson, Brandon. "The 'nephew – uncle' relationship in the international diplomacy of the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th Centuries)." In *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the First International Seminar of Young Tibetologists*, edited by Brandon Dotson, Tim Myatt, Kalsang Norbu Gurung, and Georgios Halkias, 223–38. Chicago: Serindia, 2009.

Dunnell, Ruth W. "Who are the Tanguts? Remarks on Tangut Ethnogenesis and the Ethnonym Tangut." *Journal of Asian History* 18, no. 1 (1984): 78–89.

Dunnell, Ruth W. *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Durand-Guédy, David, ed. *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "Between the Silk and Fur Roads: the Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade." *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 28 (2016): 173–212.

Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "Cengtan and Fulin: The Saljuqs in Chinese Sources." *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 15 (2017): 29–48.

Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "Qarakhanid Envoys to Song China." *Journal of Asian History* 52, no. 2 (2018): 179–208.

Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "The Amber Road to China: Trade and Migration of Culture in Pre-Modern Eurasia." In *Migration and Identity in Eurasia from the Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, 251–267. Edited by Victor Cojocaru and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2021.

Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "From Turkistan to Tibet: The Qarakhanid Khaganate and the Tsongkha Kingdom." In *The History and Culture of Iran and Central Asia: From the Pre-Islamic to the Islamic Period*, 305–327. Edited by Deborah Tor and Minoru Inaba. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2022.

Eden, Jeff. *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Fairbank, John K, ed. *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Fedoseenko, Olga A., ed. *Iantar' v drevnikh kul'turakh: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia iz sobraniia Ermitazha*. Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2010.

Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 and Lu Junling 陸峻嶺. *Xiyu diming* 西域地名 [Toponyms of the Western Regions]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.

Feng Yongqian 冯永谦. *Zhongguo taoci quanji 9 Liao Xi Xia Jin* 中国陶瓷全集 9 辽西夏金 [The Complete Works of the Chinese Ceramics 9 Liao, Xi Xia, and Jin Dynasties]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000.

Fiaschetti, Francesca, and Julia Schneider, eds. *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014.

Findley, Carter V. *The Turks in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Fletcher, Joseph F. "China and Central Asia, 1368–1884." In *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations,* edited by John K. Fairbank. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Forbes, Andrew, and David Henley. *China's Ancient Tea Horse Road*. Chiang Mai: Cognoscenti Book, 2011.

Frachetti, Michael, and Farhod Maksudov. "The Landscape of Ancient Mobile Pastoralism in the Highlands of Uzbekistan, 2000 B.C.–A.D. 1400." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 39, no. 3 (2014): 195–212.

Franke, Herbert, and Denis Crispin Twitchett, eds. *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, vol. 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Friedman, John B., Kristen Mossler Figg, Scott D. Westrem, and Gregory G. Guzman, eds. *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Fujita Toyohachi 藤田丰八. *Zhongguo Nanhai gudai jiaotong congkao* 中国南海古代交通丛考 [Collection on relations between China and Lands of the Southern Sea]. Translated by He Jianmin 何健民. Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1936.

von Gabain, Annemarie. *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo* (*850–1250*). 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973.

Galambos, Imre. "She Association Circulars from Dunhuang." In *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, edited by Antje Richter, 853–77. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015.

Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光. "Xiangxiang tianxia diguo – yi chuan Li Gonglin "Wanfang zhigong tu" wei zhongxin 想象天下帝国—以(传)李公麟《万方职贡图》为中心 [An Imaginative Great Empire: Focused on Li Gonglin's Wanfang zhigongtu in the Song Dynasty]." *Dan xue bao* (*Shehui kuxue ban*) 旦学报(社会科学版) 60, no. 3 (2018): 36–48.

Genç, Reşat. *Karahanlı devlet teşkilât: XI. yüzıl Türk hâkimiyet anlayışı ve Karahanlılar*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981, rpt. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002.

Gernet, Jacques. *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1276*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

Glassé, Cyril, ed. *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

Golden, Peter B. "The Karakhanids and Early Islam." In *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor, 343–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Golden, Peter B. "Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone: The Shaping of the Türks." In *Peter B. Golden: Studies on the Peoples and Cultures of the Eurasian Steppes*, edited by Cătălin Hriban, 17–63. Bucharest-Brăila: Romanian Academy and Brăila Museum, 2011.

Golden, Peter B. *Central Asia in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University, 2011.

Groom, Nigel. *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade*. London-Beirut: Longman and Librairie du Liban, 1981.

Grossman, Heather E., and Alicia Walker, eds. *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca 1000–1500*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Hansen, Valerie. *The Silk Road: A New History*. New York: Oxford University, 2012.

Hansen, Valerie. "International Gifting and the Khitan World, 907–1125." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 273–302.

Hansen, Valerie. *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World and Globalization Began*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020.

Herrmann, Albert. "Die älteste türkische Weltkarte (1076 n. Chr.)." *Imago Mundi* 1, no. 1 (1935): 21–8.

Hillenbrand, Carole. "Women in the Saljuq Period." In *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Guity Nashat, and Lois Beck, 103–20. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Hirth, Friedrich. *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Medieval Relations in Old Chinese Records*. Shanghai & Hong Kong: 1885, rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1975.

Hirth, Friedrich. "The Mystery of Fu-lin." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, no. 1 (1909): 1–31.

Horlemann, Bianca. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Tsong-kha-Stammeskonföderation im 11./12. Jahrhundert an der Schnittstelle von Tibet, China und Zentralasien*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2004.

Horlemann, Bianca. "On the Origin of Jiaosiluo, the Founder of the Tsong kha Tribal Confederation in 11th Century Amdo." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005): 127–54.

Horlemann, Bianca. "The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong Kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew Kapstein, and Brandon Dotson, 83–106. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Hourani, George F. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Medieval Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Hriban, Cătălin, ed. *Peter B. Golden: Studies on the Peoples and Cultures of the Eurasian Steppes*. Bucharest-Brăila: Romanian Academy and Brăila Museum, 2011.

Hsieh Ding-hwa. "Buddhist Nuns in Sung China (960–1279)." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 30 (2000): 63–96.

Hua Tao. "Central and Western Tianshan on the Eve of Islamization." *Journal of Asian History* 27, no. 2 (1993): 95–108.

Hua Tao. "The Muslim Qarakhanids and Their Invented Ethnic Identity." In *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^e^ au XI^e^ siècle* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39), edited by Étienne de la Vaissière, 339–350. Paris Louvain: Peeters, 2008.

Hua Tao. "Satuq Bughra Khan and the Beginning of Islamization in the Tian Shan Region." In *Islam*, edited by Jin Yijiu. Translated by Chan Ching-shing Alex, 116–134. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Huang Shijian 黄时鉴. *Dong Xi wenliu shilun gao* 東西文流史論稿 [History of Cultural Interactions between East and West]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1998.

Huang Shijian. "Liao yu "Dashi" 辽与 " 大食" [Liao and Dashi]." In *Huang Shijian Wenji* 黄时鉴文集 [Selected Works of Huang Shijian], 3 volums, vol. 2, 16–30, edited by Huang Shijian. Beijing: Zhongxi shuju, 2011.

Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford University Press, 1985.

Hunkan, Ömer Soner. *Türk Hakanliği* (*Karahanlilar*)*: Kuruluş-Gelişme-Çöküş, 766–1212*. İstanbul : IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2011.

Ilyasova, Saida R., Jangar Ilyasov, Ravshan Imamberdiev, and E.A. Ishakova. *"Net blaga v bogatstve": Glazurovannaia keramika Tashkentskogo oazisa IX-XII vekov*. Moscow: Fond Marjani, 2016.

Ingstad, Helge, and Anne Stine Ingstad. *The Viking Discovery of America: The Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001.

Itakura Masaaki. *Li Gonglin's Scroll Painting Five Horses*. Tokyo: Hatori Shoten, 2019

Jiang Qixiang 將其祥. "Heihan chao ming cheng kao 黑汗朝名称考 [Study on the name of the Heihan dynasty]." *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 1 (2001): 51–6.

Kamalov, Ablet. "Birth of Uyghur National History in Semirech'ye: Näzärγoja Abdusemätov and His Historical Works." *Oriente Moderno* 96 (2016): 181–96.

Kamyshev, Aleksandr. "Monety Kitaia iz Kyrgyzstana." In *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, edited by Edward Rtweladze, vol 4, 57–65. Tashkent, 1999.

Kamyshev, Aleksandr. "Novye arkheologicheskie nakhodki s gorodischa Sadyr-Kurgan." *Izvestia Natsional'noi Akademii nauk Respubliki Kazakhstan* 1 (2009): 284–292.

Kamyshev, Aleksandr. *Numizmatika Kyrgyzstana*. Bishkek, 2014.

Kamyshev, Aleksandr. "Monety na velikom shelkovom puti (Kyrgyzstan)." *Arkheologiia Evraziiskikh stepei* 6 (2017): 7–13.

Kapstein, Matthew T., and Brandon Dotson, eds. *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Karaev, Omurkul. *Istoriia karakhanidskogo kaganata*. Frunze: Ilim, 1983.

Karev, Yury. "Qarakhanid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarqand: First Report and Preliminary Observations." *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 45–84.

Karev, Yury. "Western Qarakhanids between Bukhara and Samarqand." In *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, edited by David Durand-Guédy, 99–147. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Kauz, Ralph, ed. *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Kemaloğlu, Muhammet. "Karahanlıların Menşe ve Kuruluş Faraziyeleri." *Hikmet Yurdu* 6, no. 11 (2013): 415–424.

Kessler, Adam T. *Song Blue and White Porcelain on the Silk Road*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Kidirali, Darhan, and Gaybullah Babayar. "Taraz'da bulunan son Karahanli hükümdarlarindan birine ait mezar aniti." *Gazi Türkiyat* 18 (2016): 19–41.

King, Anya. "The Importance of Imported Aromatics in Arabian Culture: Illustrations from Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 175–189.

King, Anya. "Eastern Islamic Rulers and the Trade with Eastern and Inner Asia in the 10th–11th Centuries." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 25 (2011): 175–85.

King, Anya. "Tibetan Musk and Medieval Arab Perfumery." In *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 145–162. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

King, Anya. "Early Islamic Sources on the Kitan Liao: The Role of Trade." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 253–271.

Kochnev, Boris D. *Numizmaticheskaia istoriia Karakhanidskogo kaganata, 991–1209 gg*. Moscow: Sofiia, 2006.

Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The King of the East and the West: The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources." In *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock, and Sara Nur Yildiz, 68–90. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.

Korobeinikov, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford University Press, 2014.

Kovalev, Roman K. "The Infrastructure of the Northern Part of the 'Fur Road' Between the Middle Volga and the East During the Middle Ages." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 25–64.

Kozhin, Pavel. *Kitai i Tsentral'naia Aziia do epokhi Chingizkhana: problemy paleokul'turologii*. Moscow: Forum, 2011.

Kuhn, Dieter. *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.

Kychanov, Evgenii I. *Ocherk istorii tangutskogo gosudarstva*. Moscow: Nauka, 1968.

Laufer, Berthold. *Sino-Iranica. Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran: With Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919.

Leslie, Donald D. "Integration, Assimilation, and Survival of Minorities in China: The Case of the Kaifeng Jews." In *From Kaifeng to Shanghai: Jews in China*, edited by Roman Malek, 45–76. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute and the China-Zentrum, 2000.

Li Jinxu 李锦 and Yu Taishan 余太山. *"Tong dian" xiyu wenxian yaozhu*《通典》西域文獻要注 [Notes on the Chapter of the Western Regions in"Tong dian"]. Beijing: Shanghai renmin, 2009.

Li Yiyou 李逸友. "Zhaowudameng Ningchengxian Xiaoliuzhangzi Liao mu fajue jianbao 昭乌达盟宁城县小刘仗子辽幕发掘简报 [Brief Report on the Excavation of the Liao Tomb from Xiaoliuzhangzi in Ningcheng County, Zhaowu Dameng]." *Wenwu* 文物 9 (1961): 44–51.

Lieu, Samuel N.C. "Epigrahica Nestoriana Serica." In *Exegisti Monumenta. Festsschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, edited by Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze, and Francois de Blois, 227–246. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Lin Meicun 林梅村. "Yutian huama kao: jian lun Bei Song yu Yutian zhijian de juan ma maoyi 于阗花马考:兼论北宋与于阗之间的绢马贸易 [On Images of the Khotan Horse: Silk and Horse Trade between the Northern Song and Khotan]." *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2 (2008): 44–54.

Lin Ying, and Yu Yusen. "The Arab Empire in Chinese Sources from the 8th Century to the 10th Century." In *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium: Cultural Contacts in Ancient and Medieval Times*, edited by Abdulaziz Al-Helabi, Dimitrios G. Letsios, Moshalleh Al-Moraekhi and Abdullah Al-Abduljabbar, 311–320. Riyadh: King Saud University, 2012.

Liu, William Guanglin. *Chinese Market Economy, 1000–1500*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2015.

Lin Yingchun Linda 林盈君 and Adriana Rizzo. "Conservation of amber at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA: Regalrez® 1126 as a consolidant and adhesive for amber and copal." *Studies in Conservation* 59.1 (2014): 100–3.

Liu Yingsheng. "A Century of Chinese Research on Islamic Central Asian History in Retrospect." *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 9 (2001): 115–29.

Liu Yingsheng. "A Lingua Franca along the Silk Road: Persian language in China between the 14th and the 16th centuries." In *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, 87–95. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Liu Yingsheng. *Huayan yu fanyin: Zhonggu shidai houqi dongxi jiaoliu de yuyan qiaoliang*华言与蕃音:中古时代后期东西交流的语言桥梁 [Chinese and Foreign

languages: Linguistic Connections of the East-West Relations during the late Middle Ages]. Shanghai: Shaghai guji, 2013.

Liu Yuquan 刘玉权. "Guanyu Shazhou Huigu dongku huafen (zhaiyao) 关于沙州回鹘洞窟的划分(摘要) [About the Division of the Shazhou Huigu Cave (Abstract)]." *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2 (1988): 9–11.

Lu Fuhua 吕富华. "Cong chutu de huren xunshihupo peishi kan xifan wenhua yinsu dui Liao wenhua de yingxiang 从出土的胡人驯狮琥珀佩饰看西方文化因素对辽文化的影响 [The Influence of Western Cultural Factors on Liao Culture from Unearthed Amber Ornaments of Hu People Tame Lions]." *Chifeng xueyuanxuebao* (*hanwen zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 赤峰学院学报(汉文哲学社会科学版) 35, no. 2 (2014): 15–7.

Lu Yun 陆芸. "Songdai Cengtan guo xin kao 宋代层檀国新考 [A New study on Cengtan during the Song dynasty]." *Haijiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 2 (2015): 26–32.

Lurje, Pavel B. "Description of the Overland Route to China in Hudud al-ʿAlam: Dates of the Underlying Itinerary." *Ouya xuekan* 欧亚学刊 6 (2007): 179–197.

Makiko Onishi and Asanobu Kitamoto. "A Lesser Known Route: the Qinghai Route." In *Silk Road in Rare Books: Narratives on Cultural Heritage along Silk Road with Figures and Photographs from Rare Books*. Digital Silk Road Project, National Institute of Informatics. http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/rarebook/07/, Japanese edition 2005, English revised edition 2010.

Mako, Gerald. "The Islamization of the Volga Bulghars: A Question Reconsidered." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (2011): 199–223.

Maksudov, Farhod, Elissa Bullion, Edward R. Henry, Taylor Hermes, Ann Merkle, and Michael D. Frachetti. "Nomadic Urbanism at Tashbulak: A New Highland Town of the Karakhanids." In *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*, edited by Christoph Baumer, and Mirko Novák, 283–305. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.

Marquart, Joseph. *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge: Ethnologische und Historisch-topographische Studien zur Geschichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (*ca. 840–940*). Leipzig: Dieterich, 1903, rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961.

McClary, Richard P. *Medieval Monuments of Central Asia: Qarakhanid Architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries*. Edinburgh University Press, 2020.

Mernissi, Fatima. *The Forgotten Queens of Islam*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

Michailidis, Melanie. "Samanid Silver and Trade along the Fur Route." In *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca 1000–1500*, edited by Heather E. Grossman, and Alicia Walker, 17–40. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Millward, James A. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. New York: Columbia University, 2007.

Mitchiner, Michael. "Evidence for Viking-Islamic Trade Provided by Samanid Silver Coinage." *East and West* 37, no. 1/4 (1987): 139–50.

Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫. "The West Uighur and Tun-huang around the 10th–11th centuries." *Berichte und Abhandlungen der Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Band 8, 337–368. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000.

Moriyasu, Takao. "Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uyghur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)." *Osaka University Knowledge Archive* 52 (2012): 1–98.

Mote, Frederick. *Imperial China 900–1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Mustafaev, Shahin, and Henri-Paul Francfort, eds. *Arkheologiia i istoriia Tsentral'noi Azii v trudakh frantsuzskikh uchenykh.* 2 vols. Samarkand: IICAS, 2014.

Nashat, Guity, and Lois Beck, eds. *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Nastich, Vladimir N. "Monetnye nakhodki iz Kazakhstana i Kirgizii." In *Vtoraia Vsesoiuznaia Numizmaticheskaia Konferentsiia*, 52–63. Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1987. http://www.charm.ru/info/library/New_finds.htm, 08.08.2016.

Nazim, Muhammad. "The "Pand-Nāmah" of Subuktigīn." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (1933): 605–28.

Niyazova, Makhsuma. *Drevnie i srednevekovye iuvelirnye izdeliia kak istochnik ob istorii kul'tury Bukhary* (*po arkheologicheskim materialam*). Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Samarkand: Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, 2007.

Osman, Ghäyrätjan. *Uyghurlar shäriqtä va ghäriptä*, vol. 3. Urumchi: Shinjang xälq näshriyati, 2002.

Park, Hyunhee. *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Paul, Jürgen. "Islamizing Sufis in Pre-Mongol Central Asia." In *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^{e} au XI^{e} siècle* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39), edited by Étienne de la Vaissière, 297–317. Paris Louvain: Peeters, 2008.

Paul, Jürgen. *Zentralasien*. Neue Fischer Weltgeschichte Band 10. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2012.

Peacock, Andrew C.S. *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Peacock, Andrew C.S., and Sara Nur Yildiz, eds. *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.

Peacock, Andrew C.S. *The Great Seljuk Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

Peacock, David and David Williams. *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade*. Oxford: Oxbow books, 2006.

Peng Shifan 彭适凡 and Peng Tao 彭涛. "Cong Huren qian ma ci song tan Songdai Xiaode zhen ciqi de waixiao 从胡人牵马瓷俑谈宋代景德镇瓷器的外销 [Discussion

on the Porcelain Export in Xiaode during the Song Dynasty following a Porcelain Hu man pulling a Horse]." *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛 1 (1995): 68–71.

Petech, Luciano. "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols." In *China among Equals: the Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th centuries*, edited by Morris Rossabi, 173–203. Berkeley: California University Press, 1983.

Peters, Rudolph. *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Picken, Laurence. "Music for a Lion-Dance of the Song Dynasty." *Musica Asiatica* 4 (1984): 200–12.

Pinks, Elisabeth. *Die Uiguren von Kan-chou in der frühen Sung-Zeit* (*960–1028*). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968.

Pigarev Evgenii M., and Xiaolin Ma. "Nakhodki kitaiskikh monet na zolotoordynskikh gorodischakh Nizhnego Povolzh'ia." *Arkheologiia evraziiskikh stepei* 6 (2017): 65–8.

Pritsak, Omeljan. "Die Karachaniden." *Der Islam* 31, no. 1 (1953): 2–68.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese." *Asia Major* 9 (1962): 58–144, 206–265.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G.. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: British Columbia University Press, 1991.

Qian Boquan 钱伯泉. "Dashi, Heiyi Dashi, Kalahan wangchao kaoshi 大石、黑衣大石、喀喇汗王朝考实 [Study on Dashi, Heiyi Dashi and the Qarakhanids]." *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 1 (1995): 75–82.

Qian Boquan. "Yichang Kalahan wangchao he Song chao lian bing jingong Xi Xia de zhanzheng: Cangjingdong fengbi de zhenzheng yuanyin 一场喀喇汗王朝和宋朝联兵进攻西夏的战争—藏经洞封闭的真正原因和确切时间 [An Allied Force of the Qarakhanids and the Song Dynasty against the Western Xia: A Real Reason of Sealing of the "Library Cave"]. " *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2 (2000): 1–9.

de Rachewiltz, Igor. "The Hsi-yu-lu 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材." *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 1–128.

Rante, Rocco and Djamal Mirzaakhmedov. *The Oasis of Bukhara: Population, Depopulation and Settlement Evolution*, vol. 1. Brill: Leiden, 2019.

Raza, Syed Jabir. "Coinage and Metallurgy under the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 224–31.

Richter, Antje, ed. *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015.

Roberts, Sean R. "Imagining Uyghurstan: Re-Evaluating the Birth of the Modern Uyghur Nation." *Central Asian Survey* 28, 4 (2009): 361–81.

Robinson, Jancis, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Wine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Rookmaaker, Leendert C. "Records of the Rhinoceros in Pakistan and Afghanistan." *Pakistan Journal of Zoology* 32, no. 1 (2000): 65–74.

Rong Xinjiang 荣新江. "Qingming shang he tu huren xingxiang jiexi《清明上河图》胡人形象解析 [Analysyis of the Image of a huren on Qingming shang he tu]." *Xinjiang daily* 11, June 23, 2009.

Rong Xinjiang. *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*. Translated by Imre Galambos. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Rong Xinjiang, and Zhu Lishuang 朱丽双. "Cong jingong dao siyi: 10–11 shiji Yutian yu de dongjian Dunhuang yu Zhongyuan 从进贡到私易：10–11 世纪于阗玉的东渐敦煌与中原 [From Tribute to Trade: Eastward Dissemination of the Jades of Khotan into Dunhuang and the Central Plains in the 10th and 11th Centuries]." *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 3 (2014): 190–200.

Rossabi, Morris, ed. *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th centuries.* Berkeley: California University Press, 1983.

Rossabi, Morris. "The Silk Trade in China and Central Asia." In *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles,* edited by James C.Y. Watt, and Anne E. Wardwell, 7–19. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Rtveladze, Edward, ed. *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, vol 4. Tashkent, 1999.

Russel-Smith, Lilla. *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centers on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005.

Sakamoto, Kazuko. "Two Fragments of Luxury Cloths Discovered in Turfan: Evidence of Textile Circulation from West to East." In *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al., 72–83, 297–302. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2014.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R., Matthew T. Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, eds. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Schafer, Edward H. *Tu Wan's Stone Catalog of Cloudy Forest*. Berkeley: University of California, 1961.

Schottenhammer, Angela. "The Role of Metals and the Impact of the Introduction of Huizi Paper Notes in Quanzhou on the Development of Maritime Trade in the Song Period." In *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, 95–176. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Schottenhammer, Angela. "China's Emergence as a Maritime Power," In *The Cambridge History of China: The Five Dynasties and Sung China, 960–1279*, edited by John W. Chaffee, and Denis Twitchett, vol. 5, part 2, 437–525. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Schottenhammer, Angela. "Transfer of Xiangyao 香藥 from Iran and Arabia to China – A Reinvestigation of Entries in the Youyang zazu 酉陽雜俎 (863)." In *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, 117–49. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Schottenhammer, Angela. "Yang Liangyao's Mission of 785 to the Calip of Baghdād: Evidence of an Early Sino-Arabic Power Alliance?" *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 101 (2015): 177–241.

Sedov, Aleksandr V., ed. *Drevnie tsivilizatsii Evrazii: Istoriia i kul'tura*. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2001.

Sen Tansen. *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400*. Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Shao Guotian 邵国田. "Neimenggu Aohanqi faxian huren qi shi Liao ci xiang 内蒙古敖汉旗发现胡人骑狮辽瓷像 [The Discovery of the Liao Porcelain Statue of the Hu Man Riding a Lion in Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia]." *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 2 (1988): 38.

Shen Hsueh-man, ed. *Schätze der Liao: Chinas vergessene Nomadendynastie, 907–1125*. Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 2006 [German translation of *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire, 907–1125*. New York: Asia Society, 2006].

Shiba Yoshinobu. *Commerce and Society in Sung China*. Translated by Mark Elvin. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1970.

Shiba Yoshinobu. "Sung Foreign Trade: Its Scope and Organization." In *China among Equals: the Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th centuries*, edited by Morris Rossabi, 89–115. Berkeley: California University Press, 1983.

Shiratori, Kurakichi 白鸟库吉. *Saiwai shidi lunwen yicong* 塞外史地论文译丛 [Translations of Research on History and Geography of the Regions Beyond the Great Wall]. Changsha: Shangpang yinshuguan, 1938–1939.

Sinor, Denis, ed. *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Skaff, Jonathan K. *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580–800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Smith, Paul J. *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1991.

So, Jenny F. "Scented Trails: Amber as Aromatic in Medieval China." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23, no. 1 (2013): 85–101.

Sokolovskaia, Ludmila and Axelle Rougeulle. "Stratified Finds of Chinese Porcelains from Pre-Mongol Samarkand (Afrasiyab)." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 6 (1992): 87–98.

Stepanov, Aleksandr D. "Ritual'nyi klad sunskikh monet." *Izvestiia laboratorii drevnikh tekhnologii* 1, no. 9 (2012): 147–54.

Sundermann, Werner, Almut Hintze, and Francois de Blois, eds. *Exegisti Monumenta. Festsschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Szonyi, Michael, ed. *The Blackwell Companion of Chinese History*. Oxford: Willey Blackwell, 2017.

Ta La 塔拉 and Chen Yongzhi 陈永志, ed. *Zhongguo chutu ciqi quanji 4 Neimenggu*中国出土瓷器全集4内蒙古 [Complete Collection of Chinese Art Unearthed in China 4 Inner Mongolia]. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008.

Tanichi, Takashi. "Islamic Glass Vessels Excavated from Tombs dated 1018 and 1020 of the Liao Dynasty." *Orient* 39 (2004): 39–51.

Tanner, Harold M. *China: A History*. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009.

Tenishev, Edgem R., ed. *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaia grammatika tiurkskikh iazykov: Leksika.* Moscow: Nauka, 2001.

Tishin, Vladimir V. "K probleme sootnosheniia plemennykh nazvaniy uigur i tokuz oguz i ikh otnosheniia k "deviati familiiam" kitaiskikh istochnikov." *Obschestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae* (2014): 131–40.

Tor, Deborah G. "The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid Era and Reshaping of the Muslim World." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, no. 2 (2009): 279–99.

Twitchett, Denis C. and Paul Jakov Smith, eds. *The Cambridge History of China: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279,* vol. 5, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

de la Vaissière, Étienne. *Sogdian Traders: A History*. Translated by James Ward. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Central Asia and the Silk Road." In *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, edited by Scott F. Johnson, 142–169. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Diadi i brat'ia: kagany Ashina i tiurskii slovar' rodstva." In *Arkheologiia i istoriia Tsentral'noi Azii v trudakh frantsuzskikh uchenykh*, edited by Shahin Mustafaev, and Henri-Paul Francfort, vol. 2, 134–40. Samarkand: IICAS, 2014.

Valikhanov, Chokan Ch. *Sobranie sochineniy v piati tomakh*, vol. 3. Alma-Ata: Glavnaia redaktsiia kazakhskoi sovetskoi entsiklopedii, 1985.

Vasileva, Elena E. "Iantar' v skifskoe vremia na Kavkaze." In *Iantar' v drevnikh kul'turakh: Khudozhestvennye proizvedeniia iz sobraniia Ermitazha*, edited by Olga Fedoseenko, 25–34. Saint Petersburg: Slaviia, 2010.

Vedeler, Marianne. *Silk for the Vikings*. Havertown: Oxbow, 2014.

Wang Tao. "Parthia in China: Re-examination of the Historical Records." In *The Age of the Parthians. The Idea of Iran*, edited by Vesta S. Curtis, and Sarah Stewart, vol. 2, 87–104. London: Tauris, 2007.

Wang Zhen 王震. "Banca Banci kaozheng "般擦" "般次" 考证 [Textual Research on Banca and Banci]." *Guangxi keji lishi shifan xueyuan xuebao* 广西科技师范学院学报 31, no. 4 (2016): 46–48.

Watt, James C.Y., and Anne E. Wardwell, eds. *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Weerdt, Hilde de. "Maps and Memory: Readings of Cartography in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Song China." *Imago Mundi* 61, no. 2 (2009): 145–167.

Weerdt, Hilde de. *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Wei Liangtao 魏良弢. *Kalahan wangchao shi gao* 喀喇汗王朝史稿 [A Draft history of the Qarakhanid Dynasty]. Ürümqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986.

Wei Liangtao. *Kalahan wangchao shi, Xi Liao shi* 喀喇汗王朝史, 西辽史 [History of the Qarakhanid Dynasty, History of the Western Liao]. Zhongguo lishi 中国历史 [History of China], vol. 11. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2010.

Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A New Manual*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2015.

Wink, Andre. *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World: The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th–13th Centuries*, vol 2. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Wittfogel, Karl A., and Feng Chia-Sheng. *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907–1125*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949.

Whitby, Michael and Mary. *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Xu Jialing 徐家玲. "Baizhanting haishi Saierzhuren guojia? Xi *Song shi*, 'Fulin guo chuan' de yi duan jizai 拜占庭还是塞尔柱人国家? 析《宋史 • 拂菻国传》的一段记载 [Byzantium or Saljuq Sultanate? On a piece of Narrative on "Fulin" in History of Song Dynasty]." *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 3, no. 4 (2009): 63–67.

Yang Rui 杨蕤. "Lun Songdai de huren 论宋代的胡人 [Huren during the Song Dynasty]." *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 1 (2011): 87–94.

Yang Rui. *Huigu shidai: 10–13 shiji lushang sichou zhi lu maoyi yanjiu* 回鹘时代：10 – 13 世纪陆上丝绸之路贸易研究 [The Uyghur Era: A Study on the Overland Silk Road in the 10th–13th Centuries]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015.

Yang Xianyi 杨宪益. *Yiyu oushi* 译余偶拾 [Occasional Collection made during the time remained after translation]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1983.

Yang Shao-yun. "Fan and Han: The Origins and Uses of a Conceptual Dichotomy in Mid-Imperial China, ca. 500–1200." In *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China*, edited by Francesca Fiaschetti, and Julia Schneider, 9–35. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014.

Yang Shao-yun. *The Way of the Barbarians: Redrawing Ethnic Boundaries in Tang and Song China*. Washington: Washington University Press, 2019.

Ying Lin. "Some Chinese Sources on the Khazars and Khwarazm." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 339–64.

Yoshida, Yutaka. "Relation Between Sogdiana and Turfan During the 10th–11th Centuries as Reflected in Manichaean Sogdian Texts." *Journal of the International Silk Road Studies* 1 (2017): 113–25.

Zhang Anzhi 张安治. *Li Gonglin* 李公麟. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979.

Zhang Guangda 张广达, and Rong Xinjiang 荣新江. "Guanyu Tangmo Songchu Yutian guo de guohao nianhao ji qi wangjia shixi wenti 关于唐末宋初于阗国国号年号及其王家世系问题 [On the Issue of the reign title of the Khotan kingdom and its dynasty in the late Tang and early Song periods]." In *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐鲁番文献研究论集 [Collected Essays on Dunhuang and Turfan Texts], 179–209. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.

Zhang Guangda 張廣達. "Tangmo Wudai Songchu xibei diqi de banci he shici 唐末五代宋初西北地區的般次和使次 [*Banci* and *shici* in Northwest China during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song]." In *Xiyu shidi congkao chubian*西域史地叢稿初編 [Primary Collection of Studies in History and Geography of the Western Regions], 335–346. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995.

Zhang Lianzi 张连喜 and Ma Wenkuan 马文宽. "Ningxia Lingwu Ciyaobao chutu qianbi ji moshu «diao» zi cipian 宁夏灵武磁窑堡出土钱币及墨书"吊"字瓷片 [Coins and a Ceramic Chip with Inscription "diao" Unearthed from the Ciyao Fort in Lingwu, Ningxia]." *Kaogu* 考古 12 (1991): 1104–8.

Zhang Wen 张文. "Ye tan "Qingmimg shanghe tu" zhong de huren ji xiangguan wenti 也谈《清明上河图》中的胡人及相关问题 [Huren and Related Issues in "Qingmimg shanghe tu"]." *Suzhou Daxue xuebao* (*zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 苏州大学学报（哲学社会科学版）37, no. 3 (2016): 169–74.

Zhang Xushan. "On the origin of "Taugast" in Theophylact Simocatta and the Later Sources." *Byzantion* 80 (2010): 485–501.

Zhou Yunzhong 周运中. "Songdai jiaotong Zhongguo de Cengtan guo kao 宋代交通中国的层檀国考 [On Cengtan during the Song dynasty]." *Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 2 (2014): 27–35.

Zieme, Peter. "Notes on the Religions in the Mongol Empire." In *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 177–88. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Visual Materials

Bowl Depicting a Lady Riding an Elephant, Iran, Saljuq period. Retrieved from Minneapolis Institute of Art, bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, no. 50.46.434. https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1096/bowl-depicting-a-lady-riding-an-elephant-iran.

Elephant with howdah and figure, stonepaste, Iran, Saljuq period. Retrieved from Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F1967.26, https://asia.si.edu/object/F1967.26/.

Elephant Carrying Two Figures Seated on Hawda and Mahout Seated on Neck, stonepaste, Iran, Saljuq period. Retrieved from Metropolitan Museum of Art, no.

65.109.1, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451803?exhibitionId=%7Bfff5063f–8917–4243–83f0–0694of436c91%7D&oid=451803.

*Hua yi tu*華夷圖 [Map of Chinese and non-Chinese Countries, 1136]. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005081/.

Qingming shang he tu 清明上河圖 [Along the River during the Qingming Festival], painted by Zhang Zeduan 張擇端 (1085–1145). Retrieved from the Palace Museum Beijing, https://minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/author/detail?id=7.

Wanfang zhigong tu 萬方職貢圖 [Portrait of Tributaries of the Myriad Regions], painted by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106). Retrieved from the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1911.180. https://asia.si.edu/object/F1911.180/.

Index