

THE PLACE NAMES OF EURO-AFRICA IN THE *KANGNIDO*

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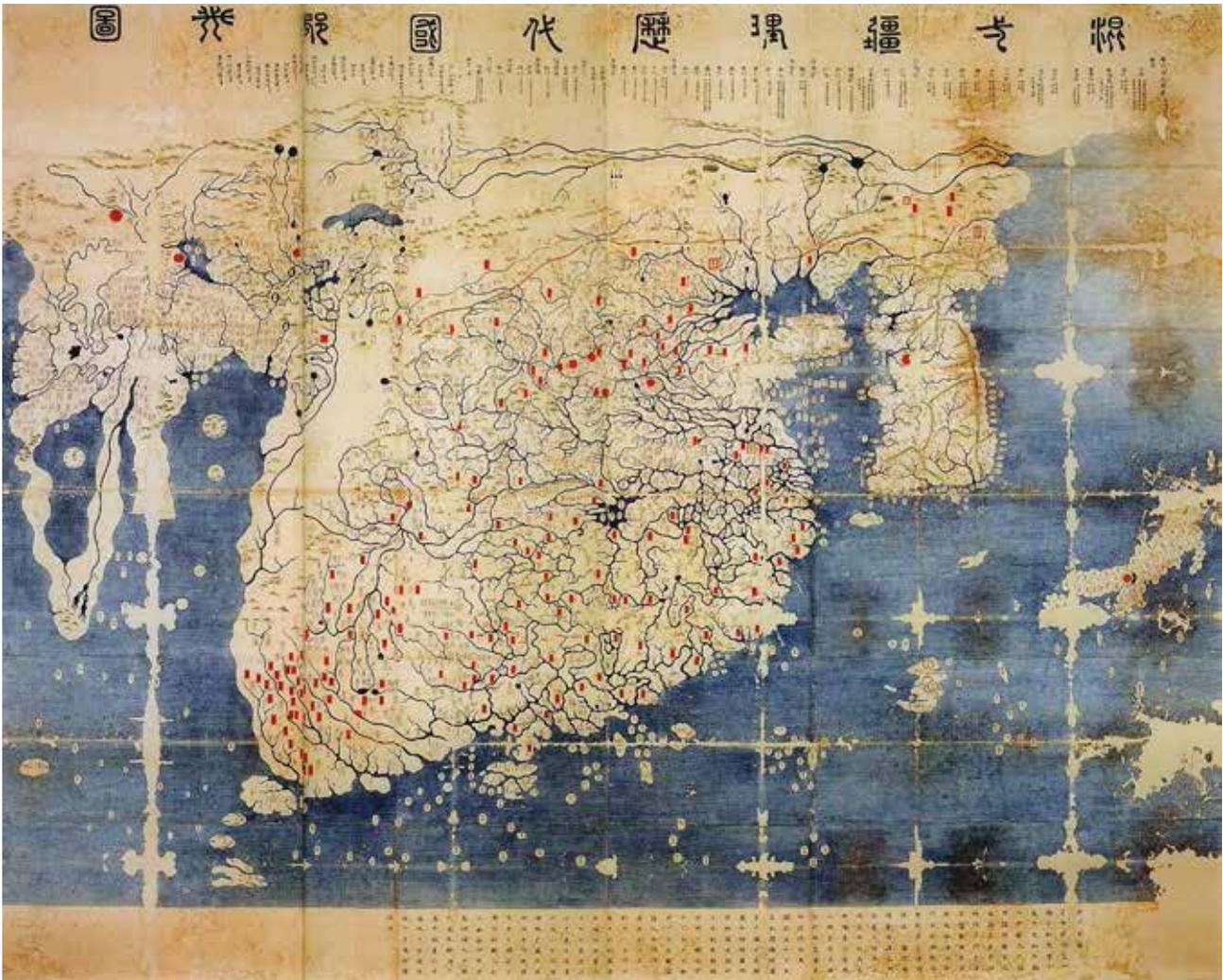
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The *Honil kangni yöktae kukto chito* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖 (Comprehensive Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals, hereafter the *Kangnido*), the oldest Korean world map, was compiled in 1402 (Fujii et al. 2007, pp. 56, 448-54).¹ The map [Fig. 1; Color Plate VII] is dominated by a huge China in the center and an overly large Korea in the east, but arguably, much of its interest lies in the Central Asian and western territories it depicts. As one of the most important cartographic

representations of the world, it has received much attention, especially since there are controversial challenges in interpreting its data. This article is one of several by the author identifying the place names on the Central Asian and western parts of the map and where possible determining the sources used

Fig. 1. The *Honkōji Kangnido*, kept in the *Honkōji Temple* 本光寺 in the city of *Shimabara*, *Nagasaki prefecture*. Picture source: <<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/GeneralMapOfDistancesAndHistoricCapitals.jpg>>.



by the cartographers (Kenzheakhmet 2011, 2015, 2016). Many of the large issues about the conceptual world of the cartographers – whether or not they really understood the geography they were placing on the map – must be left for future discussion. The discussion below will treat selectively a good many of the names which illustrate the complexities of identification. The appended tabulation includes many others as well.

The original map no longer exists; however, two important copies, drawn in the 15th to 16th centuries, survive in Japan. Scholars consider that these two copies – one preserved Ryūkoku University's Ōmiya Library (hereafter referred to as the *Ryūkoku Kangnido*) and the other at the Honkōji Temple 本光寺 in the city of Shimabara, Nagasaki prefecture (hereafter the *Honkōji Kangnido*) – are cartogenealogical descendents of the original map. The Honkōji Kangnido measures nearly 220 by 280 cm and is painted on paper. In addition to thousands of place-names, the map includes an afterword by the map's authors, located at the bottom of the map, and a description of Yuan-dynasty administrative divisions at the top. The map was revised in Japan around 1560 (Miya 2006, p. 599; 2007, p. 14). According to Kenneth Robinson (2008, p. 62), changes in the civil provincial administration profile in Chosŏn-dynasty Korea dates the completion of the Honkōji Kangnido to sometime between 1512 and 1549, or even as late as 1567.

The Ryūkoku and Honkōji versions of the Kangnido present different images of *Xiyu*, the “Western Region,” the historical name that Chinese used to refer to lands to their west during premodern times. The more detailed mapping of *Xiyu* in the Ryūkoku copy has attracted scholarly attention since the early twentieth century.² Joseph Needham regarded it as vastly superior to two of its more famous contemporaries, the Catalan Atlas of 1375 and Fra Mauro map of 1459.³ The data about East Asia that the Ryūkoku map's creators obtained clearly offered a richer repository of information about Asia than anything Marco Polo and other Western travelers had brought home at that time (Needham 1971, pp. 499-551). The western section of the map, based in the first instance on information obtained presumably from Arab or Persian sources, includes more than 430 place names.

According to Sugiyama Masa'aki, two other copies of maps are related to the Kangnido. The Honmyōji copy, housed in the Honmyōji temple of Kumamoto, is known as the *Da Ming guo ditu* 大明國地圖 (Map of the Great Ming) (hereafter the Honmyōji *Da Ming guo ditu*); the Tenri copy, located at Tenri University, is known as the *Da Ming guo tu* 大明國圖 (hereafter the Tenri *Da Ming guo tu*). Sugiyama (2007, p. 56, Pls. 8-9)

identifies only 224 place names for Western Region on them.

Sources of the Kangnido

For scholars, the paucity of authentic contemporary sources poses the main obstacle to studying the toponyms of the western region depicted on the Kangnido. Among the sources are important ones which have not previously been used for the reconstruction of the toponyms in the Kangnido, even though they were brought to light a long time ago. In particular, it is important to examine Chinese sources which may have served as the intermediaries between those in Persian, Arabic and Turkic on the one hand, and what was inscribed on the Kangnido on the other. The western section of the Kangnido describes the general form of the *Xiyu*, which stretches from Africa and Europe in the west to Qumul in the east; from the Russian Steppes in the north to India, Sri Lanka and the Persian Gulf in the south; and includes Qirqiz (in modern Khakasia) and Dasht-i-Qipchaq (in modern Kazakhstan and Western Siberia). Chinese knew this vast region from three sources:

1) The brisk trade relations that existed between the Arab World and other parts of the Old World beginning well before the time of the map's creation left their mark on traditional Arabo-Persian geography, such as the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, and the works of Ibn Khurrdādhbih, Ibn Qudāmah, al-Balādhurī (Aḥmad bin Yaḥyā), al-Ya'qūbī, al-Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Mustawfi, al-Muqaddasī, and others. In China, the works of Jia Dan (730–805), Zhao Rugua (1170–1228), and others testify to the extent of the interaction between the Arab World and China at the time of Tang and Song dynasties. Thus it is possible that the cartographers who made the Kangnido obtained some of their information from traders who spoke other languages. Evidence for this is in the linguistic constructions of the region's toponyms, where, for example, most of the place names used for Central Asia derive from a mix of Turkic, Persian and Arabic languages.

The possibilities for oral transmission of such information aside, cartographers in East Asia undoubtedly based much of their geography of the Western Region on earlier Islamic cartographic works. They adapted place names for Africa, Europe, and Western Asia from Arabo-Persian maps, which required the transliteration of the names into Chinese ideographs. The *Yuan jingshi dadian dili tu* 元經世大典地理圖 (The geographical map from the Encyclopedia of Yuan dynasty Institutions, ca. 1330) shows Zhungar Basin cities such as Zhangbali 彰八里, Gutaba 古塔巴, Yangjibali 仰吉八里, and Yemishi 也迷失. However, the Chinese transliterations of the basin's toponyms in the text differ from those inscribed on the map itself, such

as Changbaliha 長八里哈, Hudaba 忽達八, Yangyilihe 養伊里合, and Aimili 愛密里. Evidence in Chinese sources reveals the presence of scholars in the Yuan court like Jamāl al-Dīn, who used Islamic materials in his mapmaking and geographical works in China. For example, it seems likely that Jamāl al-Dīn adopted the grid system, which was being used to create longitude and latitude coordinates in Islamic cartography, for world maps made in Yuan China (Kenzheakhmet 2015).

2) Unlike for other lands, the place names for Inner Asia (modern-day Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Khakasia) and eastern India drew heavily on the *Tangshu*, or “Book of the Tang (dynasty)” (Kenzheakhmet 2016). The Inner Asia section of the Kangnido includes more than a hundred toponyms and ethnonyms relating to the period of the Second Turkic Khaganate (680–744) and the Uighur Khaganate (745–844). The toponyms of the *Kangnido* were written on cartouches with Chinese characters but are not merely a transliteration of tribal names and place names, many of which were omitted, possibly because a copyist was unsure about their location. Among the ethnonyms and place names plotted on the *Kangnido* are Hanhai, Nushibi, Bayegu, and Gaochang, for the most part only the most important names out of hundreds of toponyms listed by Jia Dan 賈耽 and the compilers of the geography sections in both editions of the *Tangshu*. A few of the names that appear on the map also feature in the geography section of the *Hanshu* (Book of the Han [dynasty]). Jia Dan’s work, entitled *Huanghua sida ji* 皇華四達記 (The routes leading from China in the Four Directions), is in

Fig. 2. Africa in the Honkōji Kangnido. The image shows part of the Iberian peninsula in the upper left corner. The long line on the right side of the continent represents the Nile, the upper reaches of which flow into the Red Sea, while its lower reaches flow from the large central lake into the Mediterranean at Cairo, marked by the “pagoda” placed offshore in the far upper right.



Fig. 3. North Africa in the Honkōji Kangnido, with a number of place names captioned with their modern or ancient equivalents to provide some orientation.

part a pastiche of excerpts from other books, drawing heavily on the work of foreign envoys to the western regions. Fragments of his geographic accounts survive thanks to their inclusion in the geography section (*dili* 地理) of the *Xin Tangshu* (New book of the Tang [dynasty]). Besides, Jia Dan completed a map called *Hainei Hua yi tu* 海內華夷圖 (Map of Chinese and foreign lands within the seas). In the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old book of the Tang [dynasty]) appears the following statement: “He ordered an artisan to paint the *Hainei Hua yi tu* on a scroll. It was three *zhang* wide, and three *zhang* and three *chi* high. Its scale was one *cun* to one hundred *li*.”⁴ In fact, Jia Dan’s map and the geography section in the *Tangshu* became a prototype for the Inner Asia section of the Kangnido.

3) Unlike the Ryūkyō Kangnido, the Honkōji Kangnido reflects influence from sea charts in the *Guang yutu* (Broad terrestrial map), a compilation of maps and geographic texts by Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 made in 1541. This influence can be seen in the image of southern Africa and the Indian Ocean and place names along the East African coast. While the sea charts seem to have incorporated records from actual voyages, to a considerable degree the littoral all the way from southeast Asia to southern Africa is only vaguely recognizable.⁵ It is no surprise then that on the Honkōji Kangnido cities and other coastal locations including Maqadashu (Mogadishu) in Africa, the Malabar coast of India, Modena (Medina), Baigeda (Baghdad), and Tianfangguo (Mecca) appear as islands. The maps also contain information about legendary regions, such as the country of Wowo (Wāq-wāq), the country of the hairy little people, in addition to other hard-to-identify places. In particular, the creators of the Honkōji Kangnido were influenced in their world view of the world by two sea charts in the *Guang yutu*: The “Map of Foreign Lands in the Southeast Sea” (*Dongnan haiyi tu* 東南海夷圖) and the “Map of Foreign Lands in Southwest Sea” (*Xinan haiyi tu* 西南海夷圖). In addition, the depictions of Hemaoli, Deli, Guli, and other places in the Honkōji Kangnido almost certainly came from an appendix in the *Guang*



yutu entitled *Huayi jianzhi* 華夷建置 (Chinese and Non-Chinese administrative division). Luo Hongxian (1969, p. 1) specifically indicates that in creating his atlas he consulted a Yuan-period map (now lost) by Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273–1333/?40), a fact which then raises complex issues concerning the relationship between the navigation charts and the tradition of the Islamic “academic” geography which was also available to the Yuan cartographers.

Africa

The Kangnido depicts the general form of Africa, from the Maghreb in the west to the east coast; from Egypt in the north to the Equator in the south [Figs. 2, 3]. Contrary to what some modern authors have asserted, there is little reason to believe that the Kangnido reflects any real knowledge of the southern tip of Africa, despite its roughly triangular shape. Chinese mapmakers knew about North Africa – Egypt and the Maghreb – from Arabo-Persian maps and other foreign sources. Because of this, the Kangnido can help scholars reconstruct the Arabic worldview of Africa as they saw it around the 9th–10th centuries, a time during which the norms of classical Arab geography were being developed.

1. Mişr (Egypt)

The capital of Mişr during the tenth century was the city of al-Fostāt (Fustat)—which the Kangnido simply calls *Misi* (Mişr) (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 80; al-Muqaddasī 1976/1877, p. 317). Curiously, the Arabic name *Iskandiriya* (Alexandri, Alexandria) does not appear anywhere on the Ryūkyō Kangnido. A number of unidentified, pagoda-shaped buildings represent the city, including one that clearly stands for the famous Minār (Tower or Pharos). Ḥamd

Allāh Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī author of the celebrated geographical work entitled *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, says that, beside the city, but four leagues distant from it, is a strong castle, set on a hillock, which overlooks the sea: and by reason of its height it is known as the Minār (Minaret or Tower) of Alexandria. This is one of the most famous buildings of the world (al-Qazwīnī 1915-19, 2, p. 239; Ibn Ḥauqal 1800, p. 33).⁶ On the Honkōji Kangnido near the pagoda-shaped buildings are two places: Xunta 尋他 and Bu 布. The name Xunta is said to reflect Arabic Shaṭā, on an island in Lake Manzalah, east of Tinnis (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 451; Mižk 1916, p. 20).⁷

South and east of Miṣr, the map gives the names of many places on both banks of the Nile River, such as Manyong, Bunasi, Abusaiyi, Liangyi, and Ahaming, which are among the many identified by Ibn Khurradādhbih and other Arabic geographers – Manf, al-Faiyūm, Ikhmīm wa al-Dayr, al-Bahnasā, and Fuwwah (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 82; al-Fidā, 1840, 2/1, p. 152; al-Qazwīnī 1916-19, 2, p. 265; al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 332).

- The city of *Abusaiyi* 阿卜賽伊⁸ – Abusir, also known as Busir, in Arabic – appears in the world of earlier Arabic geographers (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 1, p. 306). Busir was an ancient city of Lower Egypt, located at the modern Abu Sir Bana (Djedu). Busiris was also the name of a town in Middle Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Memphis and the Great Pyramid. Its site is marked by the modern village of Abousir in that district (*Dictionary* 1854, pp. 458-59).

- Near Miṣr is a city that the Kangnido calls *Manyong* 蛮涌. Perhaps this refers to Memphis, which the Arabs call *Manf* or *Manūf*, considering that the second character, *yong* 涌, may actually be a copyist error for a more likely character *pu* 浦. The renowned 12th-century geographer al-Idrīsī in his *Nuzhatul Mushṭāq fī Ikhtirāqul Āfāq* names the town Menf (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 1, p. 306; also, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1958-2000, 1, p. 51). Sugiyama (2007, p. 58) points out that this name is written as *Manfu* 蛮甫 in the Honmyōji *Da Ming guo ditu* and the Tenri *Da Ming guo tu*.

- The town of *Ahaming* 阿哈明, south of Fustat and on the east bank of Nile, apparently stands for the modern-day city of Akhmim, which Ibn Khurradādhbih and other Arab geographers called Akhmim, Ikhmyn, Ikhmīm, Ikhmīm wa al-Dayr (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 81; al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 332; Ibn Ḥauqal 1800, p. 35; al-Muqaddasī 1976/1877, p. 319).

- *Bunasi* 卜那思 is al-Bahnasā (Behnasa, ancient Oxyrhynchus) (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 1, p. 327; al-Muqaddasī 1976/1877, p. 319; al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 331).

- Bu 布 stands for Fūa or Fuwwah, a town in Northern Egypt (Miller 1926-31, 1, p. 85; Miller 1986, p. 58).

- Further south along the Nile are several cities. South of Gaosi 高思 (Qus) (al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 334) is Luodelini 羅的里尼, this Chinese name possibly a transcription of Radyny (= Meshed al-Radyny), the name of the city that lies near Aswan (al-Fidā 1840, 2/1, pp. 141-42). Idrīsī (1836-40, 1, p. 27) called it Anfōr al-Radini. More likely Luodelini transcribes Rūd-i Nīl, Rud Nīl or Rūdh-i Nīl, the Persian name for the Nile (*Hudūd* 1982, p. 68; Miller 1986, p. 53). The *Yongle dadian* (The Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle [Emperor]) identifies this city, transcribed into Chinese as Lude Nile 盧的泥勒, in the country of Misi'er 密斯兒 (Yao 1959, juan 3526, book 49). Liu Yingsheng argues that this name must be a Chinese translation of the Persian name Rūd-i Nīl, still used for the Nile today (Liu 2010, p. 93).

- South of Luodelini, the map marks a place called Mahadalai 麻哈苔來 (an error for Mahadashu 麻哈苔束), which Sugiyama (2007, p. 58, Table 1, № 151) identified as Maqdashaw (or Mogadisho). If so, then the name appears twice on the map, once adjacent to the Red Sea and once far to the southeast at a place labeled Mahehashu 麻合哈叔, connected by the Nufa 奴發 (Zufar).

- Lastly, Kunzheba 困者八 may be a corruption of Qena or Qinā, a city north of Luxor (Mižk 1916, p.14).

2. The Maghreb

West of Tripoli routes led to the settled lands of what is now Tunisia, the region known to the Arabs as Ifrīqīya. Geographically, the Maghreb encompasses present-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. Ibn Khurradādhbih gives an account of the high road of the Maghreb, which extended east from Spain to Libya (Barqah, nowadays called al-Marj) (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, pp. 85-87). The likely Arab sources for the information on the Kangnido connect the region with areas to its south, where the medieval Islamic maps show a huge lake (possibly representing Lake Chad) and other features which will be discussed further below. After flowing out of this large lake, the Nile splits into two branches, and then flows northward to lower Egypt.

Near the north shore of this lake lies a city called *Xizhilitumasi* 細只里土麻思, which is also shown surrounded by water. The name appears to be a transliteration of *Sijilmāsiyah* or *Sijilmāsa*, whose ruins lie on the Wadi Ziz in the Tafilat oasis in southeastern Morocco, adjacent to the modern town of Rissani (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1958-2000, 4, p. 946; Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, pp. 7, 47-9; Lightfoot and Miller 1996, pp. 78, 80; *Hudūd* 1982, p. 417; Leo Africanus 1896, 2, p. 780; Juvaini 1958, p. 649). *Sijilmāsiyah*, the capital of Tafilat

oasis was the second capital city that Arabs founded in North Africa, after Qayruwan, and played a very important role in the Middle Ages in the trade relations between the African countries south of Morocco – especially Aoudagost – and the Mediterranean region, particularly the great Moroccan metropolis of Fez. In his description of Sijilmāsa, Ibn-Ḥauqal offered praise for the town and its people:

I saw a bill in Awdaghost certifying a debt owed to one of them [of the people Sijilmāsa] by one of the traders of Awdaghost, who was himself of the people of Sijilmāsa, in the sum of 42,000 dinars. I have never seen or heard anything comparable to this story in the east. I told it in al-ʿIrāq, in Fārs, and in Khurāsān, and everywhere it was regarded as a novelty. [Levtzion 1968, p. 225]

Fra Mauro, a fifteenth century Camaldolese monk and mapmaker in Venice, referred to the city of Sijilmāsiyah as *Siçilmensa* in his well-known *Mappa mundi* (Brooks 2009, pp. 294-95; Mauro 1966, p. 23, B13). The Kangnido marks a place called *Weitamao* 為它卯, probably to be identified with a mountain east of Sijilmāsiyah, Aydemur (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 1, 328).

In the west of the Maghreb, several of the names on the map may be identified with locations in what is today Morocco.

- Ani 阿尼 and Aixue 愛薛 are possibly Adna and Aqsa, which Arab geographers always write as Sūs al-Adnā and al-Sūs al-Aqṣa (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 89; Al-Balādhuri 1916, p. 359).
- Ashiye 阿失耶, refers to Aṣilā/Azilā, Acila – corrupted into Arzila, a charming little seaside resort south of Tangier (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 447; Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, p. 444).
- The Kangnido identifies Casablanca, which the Arabs (and Berber) called Anfa, as Anifa 阿尼法 (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 1, p. 219; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 177; Leo Africanus 1896, 2, pp. 396, 552, 652).
- Malidasa 麻里荅撒 refers to Mostāsa or Misiṭāsa (al-Idrīsī, 1836-40, 2, p. 9; also see Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 177).
- Balawayang refers to Barghwāṭah, a Berber confederation established in the Tāmasnā province, extending along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, between Salé and Safi, from the 8th to the 12th century (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 422.).
- Shanghema 上合麻 is probably a mistake for Ahema 阿合麻, Āghmāt. There were two towns called Āghmāt Ūāriqa and Āghmāt Ūāilan or Āghmāt Aylā in western Morocco. Āghmāt Ūāriqa or Āghmāt Wurika is near the modern village of Ouriki, 37 km southeast of Marrakesh (Levtzion and Hopkins 1981 p. 443). In the Kangnido the name seems to follow the form of Āghmāt Aylā (al-Muqaddasi 1976/1877, p.

97; al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 207; Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 423).

- The city of Ahalimadena 阿哈里馬的那, on the Ryūkoku Kangnido is written as Ahaheima madena 阿哈黑麻馬的那, where madina or medina means ‘town’ or ‘city’ in Arabic and occurs in composition of many place names. The reference here could be to Agadir Medina in Morocco.

- Tumatenā 秃麻忒那 possibly stands for Tāmdalt/Tamadult (written by Idrīsī as Tāmdalat; Miller 1926-31, 1, p. 81). The ruins called Tamdout Ou Akka, are visible about 13 km southwest of Akka on the south side of the Anti-Atlas (Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, p. 457).

On the Mediterranean coast, the Kangnido features a place called *Hasatanina*, that is, Constantine, the city in Algeria that the Arabs conquered in the seventh century and renamed Qusantina (al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 242; Qosantīna in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1829, p. 3; Quṣṭantīniyya, according to Sugiyama 2007, p. 58). Moving east along the coast, the map marks the capital of Ifriqiya (Africa), Ibn Khurradādhbih’s *Qayruwān* which the Kangnido calls *Kanpuban* 看普般, the site of modern-day Kairouan in Tunisia (al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 260). *Zaobian* 藻邊, perhaps a corruption of Zaosa 藻颯, refers to Sūsa (present-day Sousse), a town near Tunis (al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 252; Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 451). *Moni* sounds like *Būnah* or *Bōne*. Bone is modern Annaba, one of the most important commercial centers of the Algerian coast (al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 246; Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 424).

The Arab geographers generally give meager accounts of other towns in the Maghreb. Groups of villages, so common elsewhere in Africa, did not exist. In addition, Portugal began conquering city after city in Northern Africa during the 15th century, which meant that some places ceased to exist or, when rebuilt, were renamed, which affected the makeup of all subsequent maps.

3. South and Southeast Africa

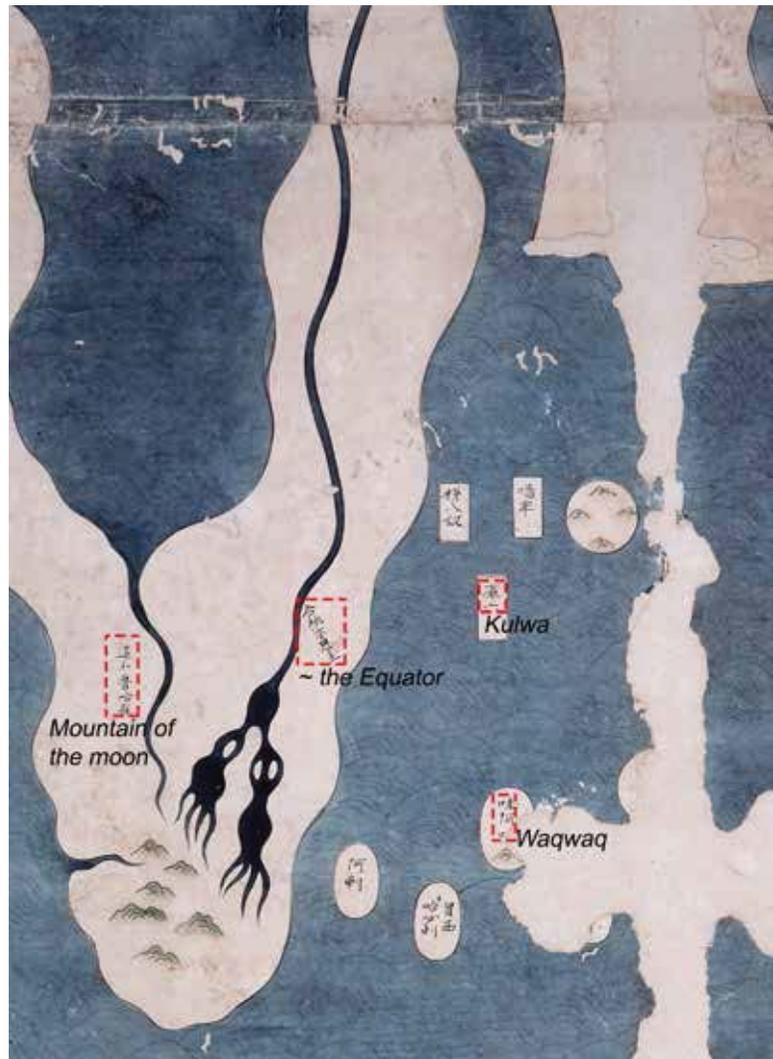
The Honkōji Kangnido seems to have made use of a number of “modern” maps – that is, maps reflecting contemporaneous knowledge of the world drawn from the accounts of explorers or navigators, even if the map also relied heavily on a classical understanding of the world. In particular, the map’s geography of the East African coast draws directly from the *Guang yutu* (The broad terrestrial map) of Luo Hongxuan (1504-1564). The overall sense of the African landmass is deceptively suggestive of our modern understanding. A close examination of detail though reveals a rather mixed picture of recognizable locations and hugely distorted understandings of the actual geography.

Fig. 4. Detail of South and East Africa in the Honkōji Kangnido, with some inserted captioning.

Classical Arab geography, and through it the influence of the 2nd-century geography of Ptolemy, is abundantly evident here. Like Islamic maps, the Kangnido devotes a great deal of attention to the course of the Nile. Yet it is an odd Nile indeed, its lower reaches flowing out of the huge central African lake, whereas its long upper course [Fig. 4], while deriving from the river's source in what the map designates (more or less correctly) as the *Zhebulu hama* 這不魯哈麻 (Jabāl al-Qamar), literally the *mountain of the moon*, located not about midway down the continent but near its southern tip, debouches into the Red Sea, not the Mediterranean.⁹ Chinese maps of the Ming period, such as the *Liangyi xuanlan tu* 兩儀玄覽圖 (the World Observing Map, 1603) by Matteo Ricci and *Tianxia jiubianfen yeren ji lucheng quantu* 天下九邊分野人迹路程全圖 (A Complete Map of the World, 1644) called it Yueshan 月山 (mountain of the moon), the Chinese name for the Jabāl al-Qamar (Wang et al. 1994, Pl. 59, p. 146).

The body of water that is shown to occupy much of the interior of the continent surrounds an island called Huangsha 黃沙, which literally means "Yellow desert." It perhaps refers to Ṣaḥārī rimāl in inner Africa, Jazīrat al-Tibr (Island of Gold), Bilad al-Tibr or Jazīrat Wankarā al-Tibr, one of the countries of Sudan situated south of the Maghreb (see Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, p. 169). We observe here the pictorial description of the Arab legend that claims the existence of a large lake in the central portion of the African continent. Al-Idrīsī, however, writing in 1145, makes of 'Wangara' a piece of land, an island surrounded by the 'Nile' to the east of Ghana. In his text he tells us that it is inundated by the 'Nile' waters annually and that after the flood people swarm over it to search for gold. In describing the lake, Al-Idrīsī recognized that the information was transmitted through al-Khwarizmi from Ptolemy and wrote:

This lake is just beyond the equator, and touching it. In the lowest part of this lake in which the rivers collect, a mountain protrudes, splitting the main part of the lake into two, and extending from the lake to the northeast. One of the branches of the Nil flows along this mountain on the western side. This is the Nil of Bilad al-Sudan, on which most of the towns are situated. The second branch of the Nil comes out of the lake on the eastern rift of the mountain, and flows to the north, through the country of the Nuba and the country of Egypt. [Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, p. 115; Levtzion 2000, pp. 73-74]



The inscription designating the "Mountain of the Moon", *Zhebulu hama* 這不魯哈麻 [=Jabāl al-Qamar] is located on the Kangnido south of the large lake and between it and the symbols for the actual mountains. Almost directly east of that inscription, and east of the river is a place called *Henayisigui* 合納亦思圭, which the *Da Ming hunyi tu* calls *Fanayisiwa* 法那伊斯哇, and the *Guang yutu* calls *Hanayisijin* 哈納亦思津 (Wang et al. 1994, p. 54; Luo 1969, pp. 388-89). The fifth character is evidently incorrectly drawn, given they way in which the *Da Ming hunyi tu* inscribes the name above. The name *Henayisiwa* (also *Fanayisiwa*) transcribes the Arabic name for the Equator, *Haṭ al-istiūā* (Miller 1926-31, 1, p. 80; Takakashi 1963-75 (1963), pp. 87-90).

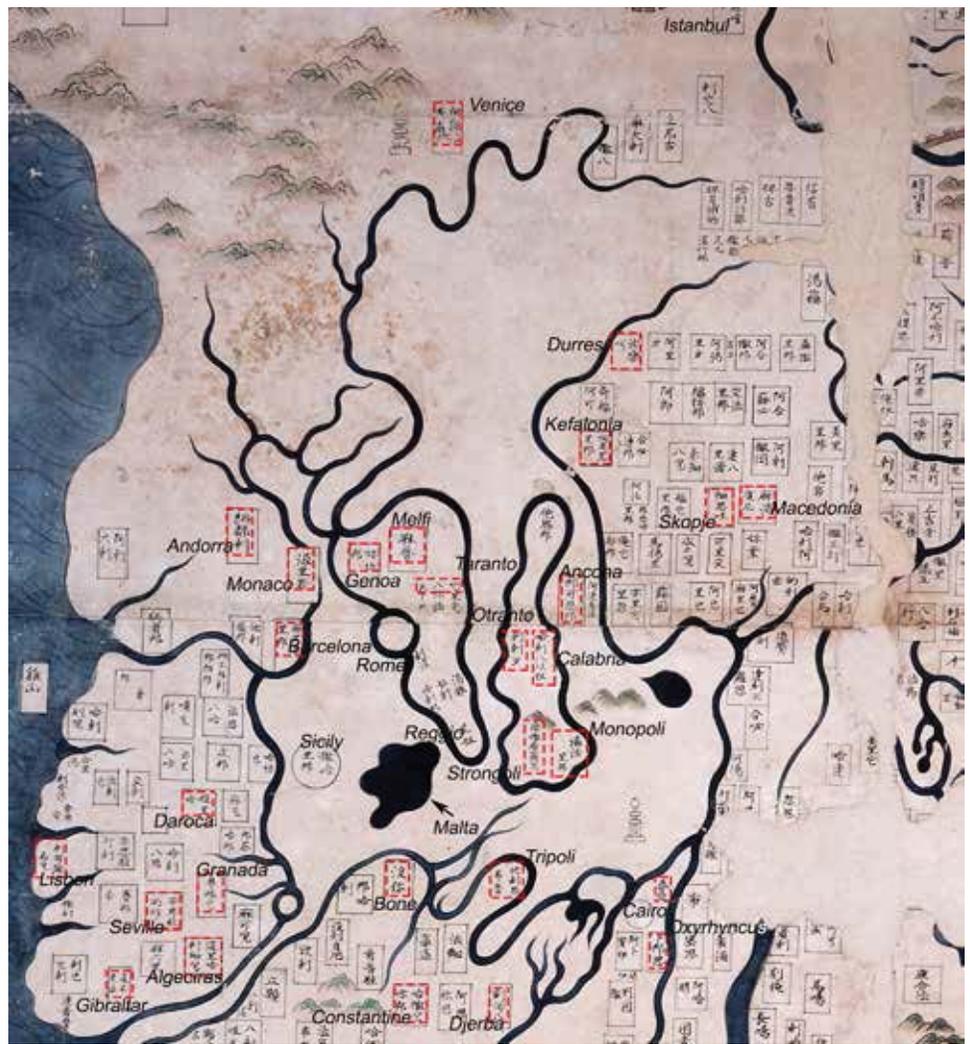
Locations along the southeastern African coast are all indicated in cartouches placed out in the ocean, thus making their relationship to the land somewhat unclear. From south to north, starting at approximately the latitude of the source of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon, they include *Maoxi habila* 冒西哈必刺 / *Changxi habila* 昌西哈必刺, *Ala* 阿刺, *Wa'a'wa* 哇阿

Fig. 5. Detail of the Mediterranean basin and portions of Europe in the Honkōji Kangnido, with selective inserted captioning.

哇, and *Kexidabin* 顆細打賔, all located south of the designation for the Equator. While the equivalent for Ala is uncertain (it might represent Sofala), *Maoxihabila* or *Changxihabila* occurs in the *Da Ming hunyi tu* and *Guang yutu*,¹⁰ perhaps a transliteration for *Jazirat al-Qamar* (Comoro Islands) (Miller 1986, pp. 108-9; *Hudūd* 1982, p. 205); or perhaps *Jazirat al-Qanbalū* (Pemba Island) or *Marsa Qanbala* (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 434). On account of the position assigned this island, the name Changxi for the inhabitants of the Somali coast was given to the Mozambique channel. The similarity of sound between this name and that used by the Arabs of the time to designate the big island of Pemba, Qanbalu, leaves little doubt that the Chinese name means the Zanj-i Qanbāla (or Qanbalū) “Zanj of Qanbalū.” *Kexidabin* perhaps refers to Ra’s Jardafūn (Cape Guardafui, ancient Cape Aromata). Al-Jardafūn, or Ra’s Jardafūn, the name used by Arab navigators for the cape at the tip of the Horn of Africa, known today as Ra’s ‘Asir and in European literature as Gardafui (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 445).

Wa’a’wa 哇阿哇 (*Wāqwāq*) is a place visited by the Arabs and located somewhere on the eastern coast of Africa. However, the Arab sources also refer to an Asian *Wowo* 窩窩 (*Wāqwāq*).¹¹ Al-Idrīsī believed that Sofala was called the Sofala of the *Wāqwāq* on the basis that the indigenous speech resembled a whistling sound of a bird (al-Idrīsī 1836-40, 1, p. 79).

Just to the north of the Equator on the map are cartouches for *Kuliu* 庫六 (*Kulwā*), *Tibanu* 梯八奴 (*Dibanu* 梯八奴 in the *Guangyu tu*), and *Hezu* 喝卒, the last two placed in the ocean between the coast and a mountainous island. *Tibanu* refers to *Ṭabarnā*, the Arabic name for the Taprobanē of Ptolemy (*Hudūd* 1982, p. 57). The southernmost point of human



habitation was Taprobanē (*Ṭabarnā*), which Ptolemy located at 41/4° north of the equator; the exact place to which the name referred remains uncertain. Just to the east of the mountainous island is a damaged section of the map, where, presumably, there might have been other names relating to the African coast. The map does include *Mahehashu* 麻合哈叔 (*Maqdashaw* or *Mogadishu*), far to the southeast, connected by the *Nufa* 奴發 (*Zufar*) in the *Honkōji Kangnido* and *Guang yutu*, leaving questions as to whether the cartographer had any real idea of its location. In general, traditional Arab geography preserved more and better information than is reflected on the *Kangnido* regarding the East African coast.¹²

Europe

One of the striking features of the *Kangnido* is its inclusion of Europe, even if its rendering of the Mediterranean world substantially distorts the way it is depicted in the maps of classical Arab geographers [Fig. 5]. While the map outlines what we can reasonably interpret as coastlines (even if hugely deformed), the

Black Sea is entirely absent, and the Mediterranean not marked by any shading to distinguish water from land in the way that the map does for the oceans. Compounding the confusion in the eastern end of the Mediterranean world is the conflation of the Balkans and Anatolia. The Kangnido's Europe divides into five parts: northwestern and central Europe, the Iberian peninsula (*Al-Andalus*), the Italian peninsula, the Balkans, and the Crimean Peninsula.

1. Northwestern and central Europe

In the northwest, the mapmaker of the Kangnido labels two countries as *Aluni'a* 阿魯尼阿 and *Falixi* 法里昔. *Aluni'a* refers to *Qalūniā*, the Arabic name for Cologne (Köln) in Germany. *Falixi* transliterates *Barīz*, the Arabic name for Paris. In the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming [dynasty]), the characters *Balaxi* 巴喇西 designate Paris, perhaps derived from the Arabic name for the city.¹³ The *Ming shi* records:

Balaxi is very far away from China. In the sixth year (1511) of the Zhengde reign, (Balaxi) sent the envoy Shadibai, to offer tribute. He advised that their country was located in the Southern Ocean. Initially, carrying his king's orders, he had travelled four and a half years in an ocean-going ship.¹⁴

According to the Ryūkoku Kangnido, south of *Falixi* (Paris) lies a place named *Ainu* 愛奴, probably the historical province of Aunis in southwestern France. To the southwest of *Ainu* is a place named *Alazhila* 阿刺只刺, probably *Raḡāla*, the Arabic name for La Rochelle, the capital of Aunis. To the northeast of *Ainu* stood a place named *Aminaxinan*, represented by a pagoda-like building with a cross, so perhaps a church. Sugiyama (2007 p. 58, table 1: № 186) thinks this may actually signify the papal city of Avignon, although it more likely is Venice (see below).

The Kangnido shows the Mediterranean coastline from *Dénia* (*Dāniya*) to Barcelona (*Baršluna*) in Catalonia, along the south of France, and extending as far as Genoa (*Ġanua*) in Italy. The name *Malixilina* 麻里昔里那 is either Marseille (according to Sugiyama) or, more likely, Barcelona (see below). To its north is *Jiliruo* 汲里若, which Sugiyama (2007 p. 58, table 1: № 189) identifies as Girona. However, the first and last characters in the name, *ji* 汲 and *ruo* 若, could easily have been mistakenly exchanged for the similar-looking characters *mo* 沒 and *ku* 苦. If that is the case, then the actual characters, *Moliku* 沒里苦, may be a variant of the name *Moniku* 沒尼苦 that appears in the same location in both the Honmyōji *Da Ming guo ditu* and the Tenri *Da Ming guo tu*.¹⁵ Thus, the characters may refer to Monaco, the city-state between France and Italy.

2. Iberian peninsula (*Al-Andalus*)

Spain, on the Iberian peninsula, was partly controlled

by Muslims and known to Arab geographers by the name *al-Andalus*, from which evolved the name for the modern Spanish province of Andalucía. While some of the place names within *al-Andalus* in the Kangnido are of Arabic origin, others originally were Roman or Gothic names that were later modified by Arabic speakers. The Kangnido marks a place it calls *Zhebulifa* 這不里法 at the southern end of the Iberian peninsula. Professor Sugiyama identifies the compound name *Zhebulifa* + *Dapulu* as *Jabal al-Ṭāriq*, otherwise known as Gibraltar (2007 p. 58: table 1, № 204). However, the name *Dapulu* 達普魯 appears in the Honkōji Kangnido separately from *Zhebulifa* and probably refers to Tabira, an important town in the Algarve (*al-Gharb*) or *Ṭarf al-Gharb* (Cabo de São Vicente), the southern coastal region of modern-day Portugal (Mónica Herrera-Casais 2008, p. 250). There is in fact a better interpretation of the toponym *Zhebulifa*. Indeed, the name *Gibraltar* derives from the Arabic name *Jabal al-Ṭāriq*, which means "the mount of Ṭāriq." 'Alī al-Sharafī (fl. 1551–79), the 16th-century Tunisian chartmaker and scholar, rendered the name *Gibraltar* into Arabic as *Jabal al-Faṭḥ* (Herrera-Casais 2008, p. 250). About *Jabal al-Faṭḥ*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writes:

I therefore set sail from Subta to Spain; and the first place I saw was the *Jabal al-Faṭḥ* (Hill of victory). This is one of the greatest refuges of Islamism, and one which forced sorrow down the necks of the idolaters. From this place commenced Islamism, in the great victory; for here landed Ṭārik (Ṭāriq) Ibn Zīād, the slave of Mūsa Ibn Nasīr, at the time of his passing over to Spain. From this circumstance it was named after him, and called 'Jabal Ṭārik (Ṭāriq). It is also called the 'Jabal Faṭḥ (Hill of Victory), because his beginnings had their commencement here. [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1829, pp. 226-27; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1958-2000, 4, p. 935]

Thus, the name *Zhebulifa* most likely transliterates *Jabal al-Faṭḥ*.

Professor Sugiyama identifies a nearby city, named *Maliuli* 麻六里 (recorded on the Honkōji but not on the Ryūkoku Kangnido), as the city of Marbella (2007, p. 58, table 1: № 203). Alternatively, the name may refer to *al-Marīri* or *Mawrūr* (Morón de la Frontera) in the Seville province. In any event, we must be dealing here with a town that was important in Arab Spain. The name *Maliuli* surely derives from a rendering in Arabic, and, like many of the cities on the Iberian Peninsula in the Kangnido, it probably was a city on the border between Christian and Muslim territories.

Further north, the Kangnido plots a city it calls *Falata* 法刺它 presumably the one the Arabs called *Baladu-Walid*, Valladolid (al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 354). North of it lies a city called *Tangela* 嘆戈刺, perhaps originally written as *Tanfala* 嘆伐刺, which suggests the Arabic name *al-Tafaylla*, in other words, the name for modern

Tafalla in Navarre. To the east, the name *Nadula* probably indicates Andorra, now the microstate between Spain and France.

Continuing east to the Mediterranean coast, *Talaruona* 他刺若那, an error for *Talakuna* 他刺苦那, refers to the Arabic name *Ṭarakuna*, modern Tarragona. The position of *Maxilina*, which Sugiyama identified with Marseille, permits an alternative identification with *Baršluna*, the Arabic name for Barcelona. In the Kangnido, there are several place names with an initial *b* or *m*, but their sound varies between the two consonants. This variation between *b* and *m* typically appears in the initial position and entails the replacement of *m* by *b* or *b* by *m* in the several place names, such as *Maxilina*, *Baršluna* in Arabic.

3. The Italian peninsula

A large Italian peninsula cuts off the Iberian peninsula on the northeast and turns to run into the Mediterranean from the north. In the far north of the Italian peninsula is a pagoda-like object named *Aminaxinan* 阿彌那昔南, which probably is a corruption of names like *al-Finīziya* or *al-Beneçia*, the Arabic name for Venice. 'Alī al-Sharafi (fl. 1551–79), the sixteenth century Tunisian chartmaker and scholar, renders the Italian Venice into Arabic as *Finīziya wa-hiya l-Bunduqīya* (Venice, that is, al-Bunduqīya) (Herrera-Casais 2008, p. 252).

Despite the map's deformation of the shape of the land masses and the relative placement of cities, we can identify with some certainty many of the geographical names in this region and at least suggest reasonable possibilities for the identity of others even if the phonetic shifts may not always be readily explained by formal linguistic analysis. The name *Lamo* 刺沒, which appears in the center of the peninsula, clearly stands for *Rūma* or *Rumiya*, the Arabic name for Rome. The *Zhufanzhi* calls Rome *Lumei* 盧眉. To the north of Rome, the map lists five more place-names: *Nainina* 妳你那, *Malu* 麻魯, *Tianxiahu* 天下戶, *Talitu* 它里禿, and *Banifa* 八你法. The name *Nainina* 妳你那 seems to be an error, instead of *Jinnina* 妳你那, which suggests the Latin name for Genoa. *Malu* probably refers to *Malf*, modern-day Melfi, in the Southern Italian region of Basilicata. On the Ryūkyō Kangnido *Tianxiahu* is written as *Tiandinghu* 天丁戶, perhaps *Tarquīna* (Tarchuna), an ancient city of Viterbo. *Talitu* probably denotes *Ṭārant*, the Arabic name for Taranto in the far south of the peninsula. *Banifa* transliterates *Benebent*, the Arabic name for Benevento.

The southeastern tip of the Italian Peninsula, known as Apulia, is shown separated from the mainland by a strait and bordered on the south by high mountains, suggesting that it is dangerous for ships. While the name *Halabayinu* 哈刺八以奴 may represent a corrup-

tion of *Qalibli* (Gallipoli), geographic logic would suggest instead that it could be *Qalawriyah*, the Arabic name for Calabria in the Southern Italy, mentioned in other Muslim sources (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 421). The name *Tasina* 他思那 / *Talina* 他里那 may transcribe the toponym *Taliya* or *Taliyan*, the Arabic name for Italy, mentioned in other Muslim sources which used this name for the language of Franks. However, the toponym may in fact be a corruption of *Atrānt* (=Turenum/Trani). For other locations on the map in southern Italy, see my appended table.

4. The Mediterranean world and its islands.

Even though the map's rendering of the Mediterranean does not distinguish its waters from the adjacent land masses by the use of color, at least some important geographic features found in or along it are depicted. For example, we find *Sahalina* 撒哈里那 (Sicily), the name of the island written in a cartouche. Lying at the heart of the Mediterranean, it is the sea's largest island, a natural stopping place for travellers, and close to both Rome and Tunisia on the North African coast, which profoundly influenced the island's history. The name *Sahalina* probably refers to *Siqalīa*, the Arabic name for Sicily (Ibn Ḥauqal 1800 p. 53). Indeed, the older Chinese geography *Zhufanzhi* called the island *Sijialiye* 斯加里野 (Zhao 1996, p. 133), clearly derived from the Arabic name *Siqalīa*. In Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic sources, Palermo is usually *Madīnat Ṣiqillīya* (the city of Sicily), and often just *Ṣiqillīya* (Sicily) (Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 469). While the dark color filling the contours of what in terms of its placement might be mistaken for Sicily would seem to be make it impossible to read any inscriptions from the photograph of the Honkōji *Kangnido*, Sugiyama Masa'aki has made out on it the names *Molide* 莫里的 and *Falisang* 法里桑, which he identifies as Marsara and Palermo (2007, pp. 58-59: table 1, №№ 182-183). In fact, it seems more likely that *Molide* refers to Malta, and *Falisang* to Balzan, a town of Malta.

5. The Balkans

The configuration of the Balkans on the Kangnido is unusual. Some important cities of Balkans seem to be missing, the confusion compounded by the fact that the landmasses of Asia Minor and the Balkans are subsumed into one. Many of its labels await identification. There are four place names east of *Aminaxinan* (Venice): *Saba* 撒八, *Chedala* 車大刺, *Shangnigu* 上尼古 and *Lataba* 刺它八. *Saba* probably refers the Arabic name *Ṣaṭwa* or *Ṣaṭu*, modern Zaton west of Zadar; *Chedala* is *Jādara* or *Jādhara* (al-Idrisi), the Arabic name for modern Zadar; *Shangnigu* is *Sabnaqi*, the Arabic name for modern *Šibenik* (*Sebenico*); and finally, *Lataba* is *Lastobon* (modern-

day Lastovo), the Slavic name of both an island and a city. Even if the Black Sea itself seems to be missing, major locations connected with its western and northern shores are included on the map. *Gusitanxina* 骨思嘆昔那 (*Qustaṅṭīniyyah*) is a phonetic rendering of Constantinople, present-day Istanbul. Along what might correspond to the sea's western coast is a toponym *Wusida* 烏里達, probably a corruption of *Wulida* 烏里達, referring to *Rūtā* river, an ancient name for the Danube; The toponym *Xikena* 昔克那 (the position of a large, red, gear-like marker on the river and west of the *Gusitanxina*) might correspond approximately to *Šighnu* or *Šaghnu* (*Istaḡhnō* – Tomaschek 1886, p. 341), the Arabic name for modern Stagno (Ston), also known as Stagno Grande (Roman settlement Sta-g-n-um), in the Bay of Sabioncello, a historical town in Croatia (cf. Miller 1926-31, 1, p. 73; 2, p. 127). The foundations of the Roman castrum can still be seen on Starigrad Hill. In the tenth century Ston was the seat of the diocese, probably located by the church of Our Lady of Luzina. *Shalehe* 沙樂呵 (an error for *Duolehe* 多樂呵) refers to *Adras*, the Arabic name for Durrës, historically Dyrrachium or Durazzo, the starting point for the Via Egnatia, the important Roman (later Byzantine) road that led east across the southern Balkans. For other cities in the Balkans identified on the map, see my appended table.

6. Crimean Peninsula

To the east along northern coast of Black Sea in the Honkōji Kangnido there is damage obscuring some of the names. However, the Ryūkoku Kangnido identifies several important cities: Shatianpulu 沙天普魯, Qusun 曲孫 (Korsun), Puyu 普余 (Fori, modern Foros), Chijina 赤吉那 (Kikineiz, modern Opolzneve), Sudali 速達里 (Sudaq) and Fashi 法失. Shatianpulu 沙天普魯 is most likely a copyist's error for the very similar-looking Shashipulu 沙失普魯, which presumably was intended to transliterate *Sizūboli* or *Sizubli*, the Arabic name for *Sozopol*, the oldest towns on the southern Bulgarian Black Sea coast (Konovalova 2006, p. 153). Fashi 法失 is most likely a copyist's error for the very similar-looking *Qieshi* 怯失. This suggests that *Qieshi* was intended to transliterate *Karši*, the Turkic name for Kerch. Sugiyama (2007 p. 59, № 94) identified *Sudali* as the Russian city of *Suzdal'*, which is so remote from the other locations here as to be improbable. Very likely, the character *li* 里 in this name must have been brushed in error, where the cartographer must have intended to write the similar looking character, *hei* 黑. *Sudahei* would make a plausible transcription for *Sudaq* (also known as *Soldaia*). *Qusun* (Karsūna, Kherson or Korsun), formerly called *Cherson Trachea* (outside present day Sevastopol), is to be distinguished from another *Kherson* on the Dnieper River. The one in the Crimea was taken by the Rus' prince Vladimir

in the 10th century; its name in the Russian annals is *Korsun'*, which has been proposed as the source for the form of the name in the Arab sources (Konovalova 2006, p. 177). On the east coast of the Black Sea lies a place named *Hudadelī* 忽達的里, perhaps a corruption of *Rud-i Ātil*, the Persian name of the modern Volga River.

Conclusion

This study of the toponyms written on the Kangnido in Chinese ideograms has resulted in the identification of most of them with toponyms recorded in the classical Arab and Persian geographies. In fact, it is remarkable that the names, when compared with those given by Arabic geographers, show as close an approximation to original Arabic sound as the Chinese language is capable of expressing. Despite the cartographic distortions in the western parts of the Kangnido, it is possible to discern how the basic outlines of landforms and the division of the world into several regions derive as well from Islamic cartographic traditions. The anonymous *Hudūd al-Ālam* and Ibn Khurradādhbih's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* are among the most detailed and earliest texts in that tradition and were based on itineraries of actual travel. That such information then was copied and transformed in subsequent Islamic "academic" geography is important to understand if we are to be able to say more (as remains to be done) about the direct Islamic sources used in the compilation of the Kangnido.¹⁶ Not the least of the issues here is the question of the relationship between text and map, where the maps may be rather schematic and farther removed from any geographical reality than are the texts their cartographers consulted.

Even given strong evidence about the Kangnido's reliance on Islamic sources for its depiction of the western regions, it is important to understand how, in captioning it using Chinese ideograms, the cartographers may have transformed their originals and, at least to a certain degree, drawn on Chinese cartographic traditions that preserved other evidence. The maps in the 16th-century *Gang yutu* seem clearly to have been such a source for the revised and fullest version of the Kangnido. A full discussion of such matters requires separate treatment, but it is to be hoped that this article will contribute to such a study.

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NOTES

1. In Chinese pinyin, the title would read *Hunyi jiangli lidai guodu zhitu*. For a treatment of the Kangnido in the context of the history of Korean cartography, see Ledyard 1994, pp. 244-49, 265-67. On the different copies and later maps of the Kangnido, see Fujii et al. 2007, pp. 56; 448-54. Sugiyama Masa'aki (2007) discusses the Kangnido in *Ibid.*, 54-83. Also see Robinson 2010, p. 92.

2. Japanese scholars have made significant contributions to the study of Kangnido. The Japanese historical geographer Ogawa Takuji (1928-29, 1, pp. 59-62) first brought the Ryūkyoku Kangnido to scholarly attention. After Ogawa, see the careful study of the place names in the Kangnido by Aoyama 1938. See also Wada 1958; Takakashi 1963-75; Miya 2006; Miya 2007, p. 14.

3. Cf. Sugiyama 2007, p. 56, who regards the comparison with the Catalan Atlas more grounded in history than the comparison with the Fra Mauro map.

4. Chinese text: 謹令工人畫‘海內華夷圖’一軸，廣三丈，從三丈三尺，率以折成百里 (Liu 1975, 12: 138:3787).

5. On the problematic treatment of the Indian Ocean region and especially the Persian Gulf on this map and possible Islamic sources for it, see Kauz 2013.

6. In the *Ming shilu* called Xigandaliye 西干達哩耶 (Iskandiriya). See *Ming shilu* 1964-67, Ming Taizong shilu, juan 56: [Yong-le: Year 4, Month 7, Day 29 (12 Aug 1406)] 舊港頭目陳祖義遣子士良梁道明遣姪觀政及西干達哩耶回回哈直馬合默等來朝賜鈔幣有差: “[Chen] Shi-liang, who had been sent by his father Chen Zu-yi, a chieftain of Old Port, and [Liang] Guan-zheng, who had been sent by his uncle Liang Dao-ming, also a chieftain of Old Port, as well as the Muslim Ha-zhi Ma-he-mo from Xi-gan-da-li-ye, came to Court. Paper money and silks, as appropriate, were conferred upon them.”

7. Alternatively, the name *Xunta* is said to reflect Arabic *Iskandiriya* which would confirm the pronunciation of our name as *Skinda*.

8. Alternatively, assuming a northern route, it could be the city of *Abshāya*, which appears in the world of earlier Arabic geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 81; al-Ya’qubi 2011, p. 332). According to Al-Ya’qubi, *Abshāya* was also known as *al-Bulyāna* (al-Ya’qubi 2011, p. 332). *Al-Bulyāna*

is located near the ancient Egyptian city of Abydos. In the *Ryūkoku Kangnido* this name is transcribed as *Alasaiyi* 阿刺賽伊. Sugiyama (2007, p. 59) identified it with *Alexandri*.

9. Although not on the *Ryūkoku Kangnido*, the *Honkōji Kangnido* shows the Chinese transcription *Zhebulu hama* 這不魯哈麻, which Takakashi identifies with the Persianized Arabic name *Djebel alqamar*, ‘Mountains of the Moon’. See Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 494.

10. About *Da Ming hunyi tu* and *Guang yu tu*, see Wang et al. 1994, pp. 51-55.

11. For a review of some of the issues requiring a new study about the location of *Wāqwāq*, see Tolmacheva 1987-88.

12. See, e.g., the discussion in Tolmacheva 1969, but with important qualifications based on more recent analysis of evidence not from “academic” geographical treatises but rather from actual travel itineraries (Tolmacheva 2015).

13. Other scholars identified *Balaxi* with Brazil or with the ethnonym *Pārsis/Parsi*. See Wade 2010.

14. Chinese text: 巴喇西, 去中國絕遠. 正德六年遣使臣沙地白入貢, 言其國在南海, 始奉王命來朝, 舟行四年半 (Zhang 1962, juan 325).

15. Mapmakers of the *Honkōji Kangnido* write the character *ku* 苦 as *ruo* 若. For example, 他刺若那 = 他刺苦那 (Tarragona). See Sugiyama 2007, p. 58, Table 1: № 189.

16. While there is a huge literature on Islamic geography, readers may wish to consult first of all Harley and Woodward 1992, especially Chs. 4-7.

The Place Names of Euro-Africa in the *Kangnido*

No	<i>Kangnido</i>	Name	Remarks/Location
Africa			
1.	Misi 密思	Miṣr	Cairo
2.	Manyong 蠻涌	Manūf	Memphis
3.	Ahaming 阿哈明	Ikhmīm	Akhmim, ancient Chemmis
4.	Xunta 尋他	Shaṭā	
5.	Bu 布	Fuwwah (Fūa)	
6.	Abusaiyi 阿卜賽伊	Abu Sir?	
7.	Bunasi 卜那思	Al-Bahnasā	Ancient Oxyrhynchus
8.	Lieyinsa 列因撒	Menshie or Al Minṣā?	Al-Manshah, an error for Bieyinsa 別因撒. Ancient Ptolemais Hermiou
9.	Liangyi 梁伊	Al-Minya?	
10.	Kunzheba 困者八	Quna, Qena or Qinā	
11.	Gaosi 高思	Qūs	
12.	Luodelini 羅的里尼	Rūd-i Nil?	
13.	Mahadalai 麻哈苔來	Maqdashaw	
14.	Kexihanichi 賴細哈你赤	Ra’s Khanzira?	Ra’s al Khanzīra, or Ra’s Anf al Khanzīra (‘the cape of the Pig’s nose’) is located between Berbera and Mait, on the northern coasts of modern Somalia, opposite Aden. See Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 445.
15.	Luoxi niejia 羅細捏伽/羅細捏加	Berniq or Berenice (Berenike)	Berenica=Benghazy in Libya. Outwardly resembles Cyrenaica, Arabic Barqah, nowadays called al-Marj.
16.	Dunfadana 敦法苔那	Thubaqt (Thubactis)?	Misrata
17.	Talasisbulu 他刺思布魯	Tarābulus/Tarābolos	Tripoli. Mustawfi al-Qazwīnī 1919, p. 258; Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, p. 86

18.	Faxi 法細	Fākis; Asfaqus (Sfax)?	Al-Ya'qubi 2011, p. 350.
19.	Zaobian 藻邊?	Sūsah	Sousse, an error for Zaosa 藻瀾.
20.	Zeshaba 則沙八	Jerbē	Djerba. Al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, pp. 274, 282.
21.	Asiniye 阿思你也	Al-Aṣnām	A locality west of Sirte. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 42; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 183.
22.	Moni 没你	Bunah	Al-'Annāba, modern Bône
23.	Nahala 那哈剌	(Qasr) al-Nakhla	According to al-Idrisi, (Qasr) al-Nakhla is situated near Benzert (Bizert), see al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, p. 277.
24.	Kanpuban 看普般	Qayruwān	Kanluwan 看魯般
25.	Hasatanina 哈撒它你那	Qusṭantīniyya	Constantine
26.	Molakandi 沒刺看地	Al-Murabitun? Or (Jazā'ir Banī-) Mazghannā?	The position assigned by <i>Kangnido</i> to the country of Molakandi, as well as the similarity in sound of the name point to its being the kingdom of the al-Murabitun or Almoravide princes who reigned over al-Maghreb and southern Spain from the latter part of the eleventh century to the middle of the twelfth. (Jazā'ir Banī-) Mazghannā, present-day Algiers. Wheatley 2001, p. 205.
27.	Salisabie 撒里撒別 or Salisaye 撒里撒也	Zarzi or Sarsis (Zerzi)	
28.	Habina 哈必那	Ṭubnah	An error for Dabina 荅必那, Classical Tubunae, present-day Tobna. Wheatley 2001, p. 204.
29.	Si 思	Sirt?	Sirte (Surt). Al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, pp. 274, 289.
30.	Alina 阿里那	Wargla/Warqalān?	Ouargla
31.	Fagun 法袞	Fakkān or Afkān	'Ain Fekan
32.	Mingfuna 明弗那	Ṭarfānah	An error for Zhaofuna 照弗那: A medieval locality on the route between Fez and Ténès. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 423.
33.	Like 立賴	Nākūr	<i>Hudūd</i> 1982, p. 154. Sugiyama Masa'aki identified it with Larache. Its native name is al-Araish, corrupted by the Spaniards into Larache.
34.	Yula 欲刺	Al-Ulyah	Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 423.
35.	Balazhe 八刺這	Ballash	Velez (in Spain). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1958-2000, 4, p. 944.
36.	Balawayang 八刺哇羊	Barghwāṭah	A Berber confederation in the Tāmasnā province, extending along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, between Salé and Safi, from the 8 th to the 12 th century. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 422.
37.	Xifuli 昔弗里	Ṣufrūy or Ṣofrūi (madīnāt al-Ṣufr)	Sefrou. Also Safrava, see Al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, p. 202; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 178; Leo Africanus 1896, 2, pp. 552, 652.
38.	Malidasa 麻里荅撒	Mostāsa or Misiṭāsa	An error for Masidasa 麻思荅撒.
39.	Alababietasi 阿刺八別它思	Arba' Brūj or Arwalṭis	al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 1, p. 293. Arwalṭis, a mountain in the Libya Interior, Pliny. Also see Nallino, "Al-Ḥuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo," in: <i>Atti Della R. Accademia Dei Lincei. Memorie Della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche</i> , Vol. 2, Roma, 1896, 29.
40.	Xizhilitumasi 細只里土麻思	Sijilmāsah/Sijilmasa	City now abandoned
41.	Weitamao 為它卯	Aydemur	al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 1, p. 328.
42.	Huangsha 黃沙	Ṣaḥārī rimāl	May refer to Jazīrat al-Tibr (Island of Gold), Jazīrat Wankarā al-Tibr, or Bilad al-Tibr, one of the countries of Sudan, south of the Maghrib. See Levtzion and Hopkins 1981, p. 169.

43.	Bakuna 八苦那	Meknasa	
44.	Marinakushang 滿那苦上	Marrākeš	Marrakash
45.	Jiasi'enun 加思恩那	Qeznāna?	Also Kazenāia or Keznana. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, p. 251.
46.	Anifa 阿尼法	Anfa	
47.	Balisihe 八里思和	Berešk/Brishk/Barashk	
48.	Waiyeming 外也明	Wārifan or Wāryād	A town on the banks of the river Chelif. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 423.
49.	Baizheli 拜這里	Fédala	Mohammedia
50.	Binanlongni 必難籠尼	Benō Marōni	al-Idrisi 1836-40, 1, p. 223.
51.	Tumatena 禿麻忒那	Tāmdalt/Tamadult	
52.	Aixue 愛薛	Al Sūs al Aqsa	
53.	Ani 阿尼	Al-Sus al-Adna?	
54.	Fasu 法蘊	Fās	Fez
55.	Ashiye 阿失耶	ʿAsilā/Azilā/Arzila	Asilah
56.	Ahalimadena 阿哈里馬的那	Agadir Medina?	
57.	Shanghema 上合麻	Āghmāt	Located approximately 30 km east of Marrakech on the Ourika road.
58.	Zhebuluhama 這不魯哈麻	Jabāl al-Qamar	The Mountain of the Moon
59.	Henayisiwa 合納亦思圭	Ḥaṭṭ al-istīūā	Equator
60.	Tibanu 梯八奴	Tabarnā	Taprobanē
61.	Hezu 喝卒	Hiiş	Heis or Hais. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 445.
62.	Kuliu 庫六	Kulwā	Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanganyika. The ruins of Kilwa are located on a small offshore island, south of Dar-es-Salaam.
63.	Wa'a'wa 哇阿哇	Al-Wāqwāq	
64.	Ala 阿刺	Unidentified	On the <i>Xinan haiyu tu</i> of Luo Hongxian written as Shī'alatulichi 失阿刺禿里赤 (Shī'erlatulina 失尔刺禿里那 in the <i>Da Ming huanyu</i>). Perhaps refers to Sofala.
65.	Maoxi habila 冒西哈必刺 / Changxi habila 昌西哈必刺	Marsa Qanbala or Jezira Qanbala? / Zanj-i Qanbala (or Qanbaltū)?	The Island of Pemba
66.	Hemaoli 合貓里	Qumair?	Comoros (Arabic Juzur al-Qamar). According to al-Bīrūnī (1910, 1, p. 210), the island of al-Wāqwāq belongs to the Qumair Island.
67.	Dieli 碟里	Deli (Sumatra)	Near Medan
68.	Habaya 哈八牙	Dibajāt, the Arabic name for the Maldivies and Laccadives archipelago	An error for Dabaya 荅八牙
69.	Mahehashu 麻合哈叔	Maqadashaw	Mogadisho, an error for Mahedashu 麻合荅叔.
70.	Malongsha 麻龍沙	Malong 麻龍	Malindi Malindi, a town on the east coast of Africa, a little more than 3 degrees south of the Equator, in today's Kenya. In the Ming Shilu mentioned as Malin 馬林, a polity noted in connection with the eunuch-led maritime voyages into the Indian Ocean in the early 15th century. Mills follows Pelliot in identifying this with Malindi (Ma Huan 1970, p. 205).

Europe			
71.	Aluní'a 阿魯尼阿	Qalūniā	Cologne (Köln)? Perhaps an error for Aluwa'a 阿魯瓦阿, referring to Awrūfā, the Arabic name for Europe.
72.	Falixi 法里昔	Barīz	Paris
73.	Ainu 愛奴	Aunis	Aunis
74.	Baizhena 拜者那 / Baizhuna 拜渚那	Baiūna	Bayonne. Miller 1926-40, 2, p. 104.
75.	Jiliruo 汲里若	Monaco	Monaco
76.	Nadula 納都刺	Andorra (of Navarre)	
77.	Alazhila 阿刺只刺	Raġāla	La Rochelle. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 134.
78.	Zhebulifa 這不里法	Jabal al-Faṭḥ	Gibraltar
79.	Layetala 刺也它刺	Mārtulah	On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> Laditala 刺地它刺. Mertola
80.	Dapulu 達普魯	Tabira	Tavira
81.	Zhelihalaxi'er 這里哈刺細兒	Jazirat al-Khadrā	Algeciras
82.	Maliuli 麻六里	Al-Marīri or Mawrūr	Morón de la Frontera
83.	Make'er 麻可兒	Muxacra	Mojácar
84.	Sala 撒刺	Shilb	Silves
85.	Sainaruo 賽那若	Zallaqa?	Sagrajas
86.	Yisibandena 亦思般的那	Iṣbīliyah	Hispalis, modern Seville
87.	Yuenata 粵那它	Gharnāṭa	Granada. Ibn Baṭṭūta 1958-2000, 4, p. 943.
88.	Lakesabu'er 刺可撒布兒	Lishbūnah/Al-Ushbuna	Lisbon
89.	Yisibandala 亦思般打刺	Al-Ashfān	Hispania. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 432. On the Honkōji copy this name is written together with Dala 打刺.
90.	Halabali 哈刺八里	Qulumriyah	Coimbra
91.	Halabasi 哈刺八思	Qal'at Rabāh	Calatrava was located on the road between Cordoba and Toledo, the two major cities of al-Andalus.
92.	Nadahana 那答哈那	Qartājannah	Cartagena
93.	Hehui'an 合惠安	Covilham?	Covilhã
94.	Lahesha 刺合沙	Lourosa?	
95.	Helike 合里渴	Galika	Miller 1926-31,2, p. 177.
96.	Falata 法刺它	Baladu-Walid	Valladolid
97.	Jiaola 交刺	Quellar	Cuéllar
98.	Touliha 投里哈	Darawqa	Daroca was a center of Jewish learning in Muslim Andalus. Its castle still exists today.
99.	Ma'er 麻兒	Mursiyya	Murcia
100.	Falibaha 法里八哈	Faḥṣ al-ballūt	Los pedroches
101.	Tena 忒那	Tirwāl	Teruel
102.	Haniye 哈你也?	Dāniya	Denie
103.	Jishan 雞山	Canary (islands)?	
104.	Halacha'er 哈刺刺兒	Qalahurrah	Calahorra (means castle of stone in Arabic)
105.	Nazhe 那者	Nāġera	Nájera
106.	Tangela 嘆戈刺	Al-Tafaylla	Tafalla
107.	Fasibaha 法思八哈	Waṣqaḥ?	Huesca
108.	Baibuna 拜不那	Banbalūnah	Pamplona
109.	Bailarenna 拜刺劔那	Balansiyya	Valencia. On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> , Bailaxina 拜刺細那.
110.	Malixilina 麻里昔里那	Barṣluna	Barcelona
111.	Talaruona 他刺若那	Ṭarakuna	Tarragona
112.	Aminaxinan 阿彌那昔南	Al-Finūziya	Venezia
113.	Nainina 妳你那	Ganua	Genoa
114.	Malu 麻魯	Malf	Melfi

115.	Talitu 它里秃	Tārant, or Toront?	Taranto or Tronto (Arquata del Tronto). Miller 1926-31, 2: 114. On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> , Talitu and Banifa are written together in one cartouche.
116.	Banifa 八你法	Benebent	Benevento
117.	Tianxiahu 天下戶	Tarquinia	Tarchuna. On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> , Tiandinghu 天丁戶.
118.	Lamo 刺沒	Rūma	Rome
119.	Kedunula 渴都奴刺	Qoṭruna/Kutruna	Cotronei
120.	Halana 哈刺那	Callana	Calanna
121.	Linu 里奴	Riyū (Rivāh or Rayah)	Reggio [di Calabria]. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 462.
122.	Sahalina 撒哈里那	Siqalia	Sicily
123.	Falisang 法里桑	Balzan	
124.	Molide 莫里的	Māliṭah /Melīṭa	Malta
125.	Manfalina 滿法里那 / Manfasina 滿法思那	Manabira/Manubali?	Monopoli
126.	Nisazhelu'ér 你撒者羅兒	Astranjlu	Strongoli
127.	Halabayinu 哈刺八以奴	Qalibli? Or Qalawriyah?	Gallipoli, Calabria
128.	Laladai 刺刺歹	Adrant/Adrantu	Otranto, or possibly Aradeo. Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 114.
129.	Tasina 他思那 /Talina他里那 /Dilina地里那	Taliya or Taliyan	The Arabic name for Italy
130.	Nakesina 那可思那	Anqūna?	Ancona. On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> , Nakelina 那可里那. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, p. 271; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 114.
131.	Asuwumo 阿速烏沒/ Asuwunu 阿速烏奴	Azmuna	Osimo. Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 117.
132.	Xikena 昔克那	Šighnu or Šaghnu	Stagno (Ston)
133.	Saba 撒八	Satu or Satwa	Modern Zaton west of Zadar. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, 267; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
134.	Chedala 車大刺	Jādara (Zadra)	Zadar
135.	Shangnigu 上尼古	Sabnaqi/Sabaqi?	Šibenik (Sebenico). Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 127; al-Fidā 1836-40, 2, p. 312.
136.	Lataba 刺它八	Lastobon?	Lastovo?
137.	Danzhuna 淡竹那	Deldjina or Delūgīa/Dulchigno	Dulcigno/Ulcinj. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, pp. 268-87; Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
138.	Niji 尼几	Nona or Ninos	Nona/Nin; an error for Nini 尼尼. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, 267; Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
139.	Sadu 撒都	Satu or Satwa	Modern Zaton west of Zadar. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, 267; Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 127..
140.	Shalehe 沙樂呵	Adraso?	Durrës, historically Dyrrachium or Durazzo. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, p. 120; Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 130.
141.	Qifu'ake 奇福阿可 / Qibu'ake 齐补阿可	Divjakë	
142.	Alang 阿郎	Lablūna / Aulon / Avlonya	Vlonë or Valona. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, p. 295; Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
143.	Funina 福你那	Fania	Jannina/Ioannina. Miller, 1926-31, 1, p. 73.
144.	Jiaofalina 交法里那	Kaūala	Kavala (ancient Christupolis)
145.	Ahesubi 阿合蘇必	Aḥrisūbali	Chrysoupoli. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 128.
146.	Futalina 福它里那	Butrinṭu	Butrinto. In the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> Butalina 补它里那. Buthrotum, some 14 km south of Sarandë, was an ancient Greek and later Roman city and bishopric in Epirus. Miller, 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
147.	Nasihalina 那思哈里那	Ashkilū?	Skyros. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 452
148.	Dabalizhu 達八里渚	Deabolis?	modern Devol in Albania

149.	Chixiba'er 赤細八兒	Jimara?	Himara or Himarë is a bilingual region and municipality in southern Albania, part of Vlorë County. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, p. 120; Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 127.
150.	Hebisuna 合必速那	Kobsila / Kibsila	Ipsala; ancient Cypsela. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 130.
151.	Shashenglilina 沙生里里那	Jefalūnia	Kefalonia. On the Ryūkokū <i>Kangnido</i> , Shashenglina 沙生里里那; perhaps an error for Shafalina 沙法里那.
152.	Makeduni 麻渴都尼	Maqedūnia / Maqadūniyah	Macedonia (region around Vardar river)
153.	Xisiwa 細思哇	Isqūbia?	Skopje / Üsküb
154.	Afa 阿法	Argħu?	Argos (Greece). al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, p. 125.
155.	Sazhengda 撒正打	Jajat, Jajito	Zakynthos. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, 121; Miller 1926-31, 1, p. 73.
156.	Taku 他苦	Thākū	Ithaki. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, p. 121. Ithaca (modern Ithaki) is mentioned on al-Idrisi's maps as Thākū. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 119.
157.	Hali'a 哈利阿	Jazirat Ĥarkah	Classical Chalke, modern Halki
158.	Kelijiao 可里交	Kérkyra (Corfu) or Qorfus (Corfu)	An error for Kelifu 可里夫. al-Idrisi 1836-40, 2, p. 121.
159.	Naiye 妳葉	Niyā?	Ios/Nio. This could be Ios/Nio in the Cyclades, which appears on the Idrisi's map as Niyā. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 124.
160.	Lamanusi 刺馬奴思	Lemnos	
161.	Meililina 美里里那	Miliṭin	Mytilene, the major port on the Island of Lesbos. Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2014, p. 486.
162.	Gusitanxina 骨思嘆昔那	Qusṭantīniyyah	Istanbul
163.	Shatianpulu 沙天普魯	Sizūboli/Sizubli	Sozopol
164.	Wusida 烏思達	Rūtā (river)	Ancient name for the Danube. <i>Hudūd</i> 1982, p. 76. An error for Wulida 烏里達.
165.	Qusun 曲孫	Karsūna or Kherson	Chersonnes. al-Idrisi, 1836-40, 2, p. 595.
166.	Puyu 普余	Fori	Foros, west of Yalta
167.	Chujina 赤吉那	Kikineiz	Opolzneve
168.	Sudali 速達里	Šolṭāṭa / Sudaq	Sudak. Cf. Konovalova 2006, p. 177, citing al-Idrisi's <i>Sultatiyya</i> .
169.	Fashi 法失	Karsh	Kerch. The Turkic name for Kerch was Karsh or Karši (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1958-2000, 2, p. 469).
170.	Hudadeli 忽達的里	Rud-i Ātil	This could be the Volga River, which appears on Idrisi's map as Nahr Ātil. Miller 1926-31, 2, p. 156.
171.	Fannahudi 凡納忽地	an-nugarda	Novgorod Republic (Konovalova 2006, pp. 191, 198).

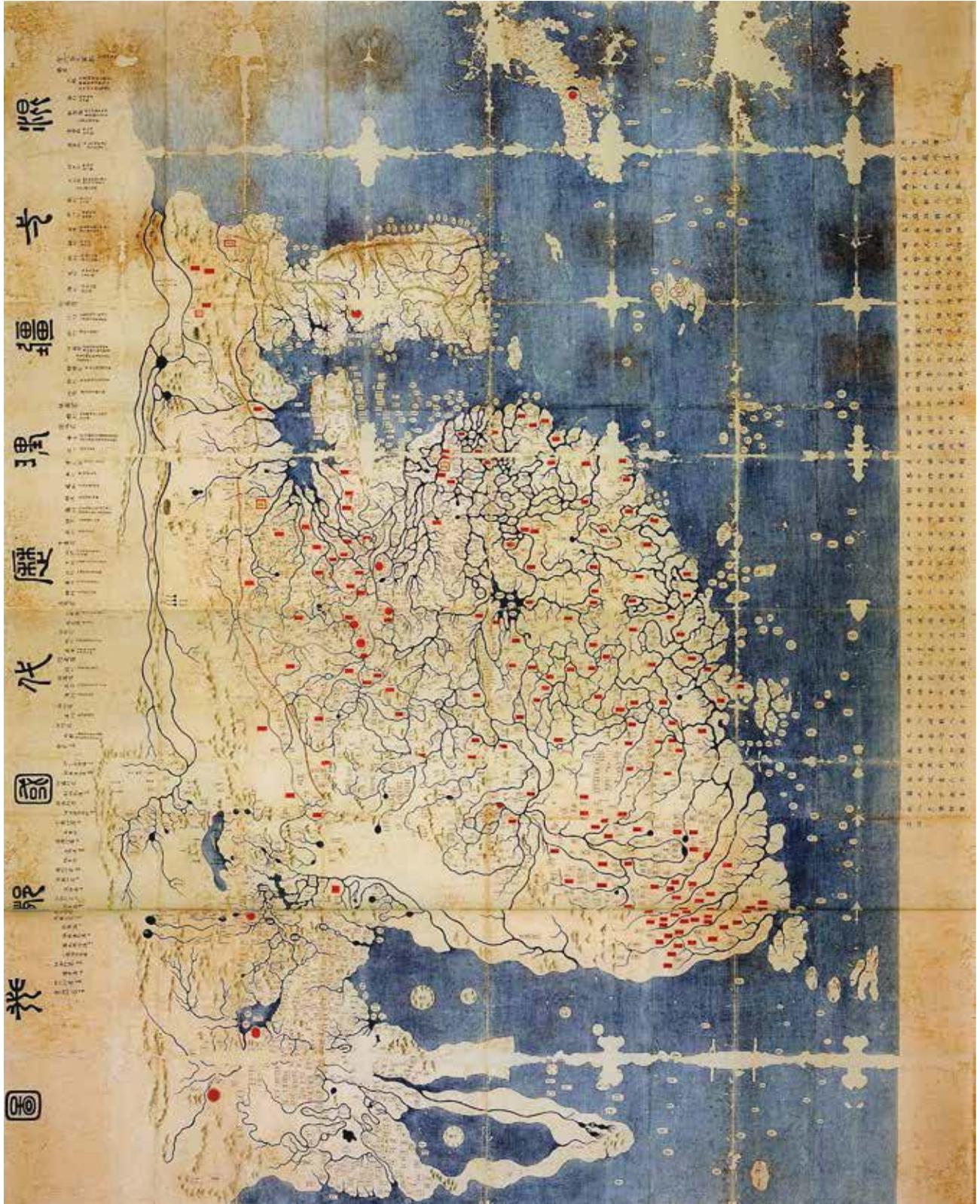
Acknowledgement

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Plate VII

Kenzheakhmet, "Kangnido," p. 106.

The Honkōji
Kangnido,
kept in the
Honkōji
Temple 本光
寺 in the city
of Shimabara,
Nagasaki
prefecture.



Picture source: <<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/GeneralMapOfDistancesAndHistoricCapitals.jpg>>.