

this branch expedition. Mills notes that Ma Huan probably added sections on Zūfār and Aden to his book after his return to China in 825/1422 (*op. cit.*, 35).

Ma Huan, although still a relatively young man, probably accepted that his journeys to the Indian Ocean were over when the emperor Jen Tsung forbade further expeditions to that remote region in 828/1424; however, when the Hsüan-te emperor revoked this edict in 834/1430 and ordered the ageing Cheng Ho to undertake his seventh and final expedition to the "Western regions", Ma Huan was once again employed as an interpreter.

Cheng Ho's seventh expedition is better documented than any of the preceding six. We know that more than 100 large ships took part in the voyage, and that a total of 27,550 men sailed with him. The fleet left Nanking in 835/1431, and returned to China in 837/1433. Once again, Cheng Ho and/or his emissaries visited Southeast Asia, Bengal, Southern India, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. On this voyage we know that Ma Huan sailed with a branch of the main fleet to Bengal, and thence to Kozhikode (Calicut) in South India. It seems very likely that from Kozhikode Ma Huan was sent, with six other Muslim emissaries, to Mecca. Mills has calculated that Ma Huan left Kozhikode about mid-836/1432, and arrived in Mecca about three months later; he then spent a further three months in Mecca before rejoining Cheng Ho's main fleet at Kozhikode in 837/1433.

On his return to China, Ma Huan added a lengthy and accurate account of Mecca to his *Ying-yai sheng-lan*. He notes that the inhabitants of *T'ien fang* ("the Heavenly Square", a clear reference to the Ka'ba) are "stalwart and fine looking"; they "bind up their hands", whilst their womenfolk "wear a covering over their hands, and you cannot see their faces". He describes the *Haram* and the Ka'ba in detail, noting that the pilgrims tear pieces from the *hiswa* (sc. the mantle used to cover the Ka'ba) as souvenirs, just as occurs today. He also mentions the Prophet's tomb at Medina, though his error in situating the well Zamzam near the latter rather than at Mecca causes Duyvendak to question whether Ma Huan did, in fact, ever visit the Hijāz (*Ma Huan re-examined*, 73). An excellent translation of Ma Huan's account of Mecca may be found in Mills, 173-8.

To the best of our knowledge, Ma Huan never again left China. He continued working on the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, in collaboration with Kuo Ch'ung-li, and the completed work was eventually published ca. 855/1451. Ma Huan is thought to have died some nine years later. Unfortunately, the 1451 edition of Ma Huan's book has long been lost, and our present knowledge of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* rests on three later editions, all dating from the latter half of the Ming dynasty (Mills, 37-41).

Bibliography: W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century, Part 1*, in *T'oung Pao*, xv (1914), 419-47; *Part 2*, in *TP*, xvi (1915), 61-159, 236-71, 374-92, 435-67, 604-26; P. Pelliot, *Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV^e siècle*, in *TP*, xxx (1933), 237-452 (Chinese translation by Feng Ch'eng-chün under the title *Cheng Ho hsia Hsi-yang k'ao*, Taipei 1963); J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Ma Huan re-examined*, Amsterdam 1933; Pelliot, *Notes additionnelles sur Tch'eng Houo et sur ses voyages*, in *TP*, xxxi (1935), 274-314; Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Ying-yai sheng-lan*

chiao-chu ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores") by Ma Huan, annotated, Shanghai 1935, republished Peking 1955; Taipei 1962; Pelliot, *Encore à propos des voyages de Tch'eng Houo*, in *TP*, xxxii (1936), 210-22; Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Chung-kuo Nan Yang chiao fang shih* ("History of the relations of China with the South Seas"), Shanghai 1937; Duyvendak, *Sailing directions of Chinese voyages*, in *TP*, xxxiv (1938), 230-7; idem, *The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century*, in *ibid.*, 341-412; idem, *China's discovery of Africa*, London 1949; idem, *Desultory notes on the Hsi-yang chi*, in *TP*, xlii (1953), 1-35; Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan chiao-chu* ("The overall survey of the star raft") by Fei Hsin, annotated, Peking 1954; T. Filesi, *Le Relazioni della Cina con l'Africa nel Medio-Evo*, Milan 1962, Eng. tr., *China and Africa in the Middle Ages*, London 1972; J. V. G. Mills, *Ma Huan: Ying-yai sheng-lan*, "The overall survey of the ocean's shores", 1433, Cambridge 1970; J. Needham, *Science and civilization in China*, iv/3, Cambridge 1971, 492; L. Carrington-Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming biography*, 1368-1644, New York and London 1976.

(A. D. W. FORBES)

MA MING-HSIN (*Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American Edition 1969, characters nos. 4310, 4534, 2735), also known as MUHAMMAD AMIN, a Chinese Muslim leader of the mid-12th/18th century who was instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 12th/18th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-13th/19th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung [q.v.].

Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 12th/18th century at An-ting, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu [q.v.]. The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 28, n.) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his rôle as a religious reformer amongst the Salar Turks [q.v.] of southwestern Kansu and eastern Chinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 108). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic soubriquet, a practice common amongst the Hui.

Ma Ming-hsin seems to have first come to the attention of the Chinese authorities in 1175/1761, when he returned to Kansu after a prolonged period of travel and study in Central Asia and Arabia. During the course of these travels Ma made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the Yemen, where he was initiated into the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* (Tawādu', *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 115). It seems probable that he returned to Kansu via the major Naqshbandī centre of Bukhārā, as well as through the lesser Naqshbandī centres of Kāshghar [q.v.] and Yarkand. On his return, Ma proclaimed himself the "Possessor of the True Teaching" (Hartmann, in *Bibl.*, 123, n. 128), and armed with a "magnetic personality" (Ford, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 154) and the prestige naturally accruing to *hādījī* on this distant periphery of the Muslim World, he began to expound a heterodox form of Islam with the avowed aim of reforming the Chinese *umma*.