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The Ottoman Empire through the Eyes of a Chinese Pilgrim: Ma Dexin's *Hajj* Travelogue in its Historical Context

The area between the Black and the Red Seas, between the Tigris and the Nile – during the early modern period largely the realm of the Ottoman Empire and to Europeans the “Orient” – has been a hub for trade, travel, and exchange since antiquity. The importance of Jerusalem and Mecca as places of religious and cosmological “orientation” for Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the junction of the three old continents added further to this phenomenon and rendered individual long-distance travel from all directions a historical constant to be traced through centuries with countless surviving travelogues bearing witness.

As a matter of fact, with the technical practicability of travel and the number and status of members related by religion to the “Orient,” the number of individual travels varied greatly, leaving us with many more *hajj* travelogues from the Balkans or from the Levant in the early modern period than, for instance, from western Africa or China. This difference in number, however, cannot be directly translated into the importance attached to returning travelers in their respective home countries. Joseph Fletcher Jr. even states that “the more secluded and remote a Muslim community was from the main centers of Islamic cultural life in the Middle East, the more susceptible it was to those centers’ most recent trends.”¹ In the case of early modern China’s Muslim communities, the seclusion Fletcher refers to was only interrupted by a very small number of pilgrims reestablishing connections and providing information often after decades or even centuries of silence.

This paper introduces the *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*hajj* travelogue) by the Chinese Muslim Ma Dexin 馬德新 (1794–1874) as the earliest published Chinese eyewitness account of a travel through the Ottoman Empire and as pioneering incentive and guide for encouraging Chinese Muslims to perform the *hajj* and thus participate in a world of increasingly connected ideas, practices, and iden-

Note: This article contains an abridged outline of preliminary research results in preparation of a complete annotated translation of Ma Dexin’s “*Hajj* travelogue”, to be published later.

1 Joseph F. Fletcher, *The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China*, edited by Jonathan N. Lipman, in Joseph F. Fletcher, *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, edited by Beatrice Forbes Manz (Aldershot 1995), pp. 1–46.

ties. To demonstrate the historical importance of this account, I first present a detailed overview of earlier – religious and secular – Chinese accounts of the Middle East, set within the context of the development of Islam in China. This is followed by an analysis of the travelogue itself, focusing on its key contents and ways of description as well as on the manner of communicating travel experiences in the different areas of the Ottoman Empire and the Indian Ocean visited by the author.²

1 Earlier Chinese accounts of the Middle East

The list of Chinese travelers to the Middle East before the nineteenth century is relatively short: it starts in 138 BC, when the military official Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 114 BCE) was sent on a diplomatic mission to the far west in order to organize an alliance against the Xiongnu 匈奴 and reached the realm of the Parthian Empire (Anxi 安息), probably near Balkh in present-day Afghanistan.³ Gan Ying 甘英, who was dispatched in 97 CE with the aim of reaching Rome, may have travelled farther, to the shores of a so-called “Western Sea,” a term referring to the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Black Sea, or even the Mediterranean. Both envoys appear to have delivered reports upon their return, which, clearly in an abridged form, found their ways into official historiography.⁴

The famous Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), the first Chinese traveler to the West to leave a personal account of his own, only passed an outpost of the Sassanian Empire at the Hindukush on the way to India. More than one hundred years later, a certain Du Huan 杜環 (around 751) was the first to actually arrive at what had by then already become heartlands of the Islamic world and to deliver a detailed report of his journey. Du had been captured by the Abbasid army after the Battle of Talas in 751 and brought to Kūfa. In the following ten years, he had the opportunity to travel widely in the Middle East, probably

² For a religious perspective on the text see Kristian Petersen, *The Multiple Meanings of Pilgrimage in Sino-Islamic Thought*, in Jonathan N. Lipman (ed.), *Islamic Thought in China* (Cambridge 2016), pp. 81–104.

³ Michael Loewe, Zhang Qian 張騫, in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han, and Xin Periods* (220 BC–AD 24) (Leiden 2000), pp. 687–689.

⁴ For a translation and discussion of the passages related to Gan Ying see John Hill, 3 September 2003, *The Western Regions according to the Hou Hanshu*, The Xiyu juan (“Chapter on the Western Regions”) from Hou Hanshu 88, accessed 4 April 2022, <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/hhshu/hou_han_shu.html>. Zhang’s record was included in the *Shiji*. See Loewe, Zhang Qian.

even as far as North Africa, before eventually returning to China. His uncle Du You 杜佑 (735–812) included his detailed report into the *Tongdian* 通典 (Comprehensive institutions), an encyclopedic work he published in 801.⁵

During the Song Period (960–1279), Middle Eastern traders, many of which had first arrived by land and sea routes under the preceding Tang Dynasty (618–907), established themselves in great numbers especially in flourishing port cities like Quanzhou and Guangzhou in southwest China. Chinese accounts show that during this time knowledge about their countries of origins increased enormously, but they were based on resident Arab and Persian merchants as their main source, not on eyewitness reports by Chinese travelers.⁶

The successive Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368) made China part of an empire encompassing large parts of the Middle East as well and thus intensifying connections through land and sea routes alike. Chinese craftsmen settled in Tabriz and other cities of the Ilkhanate,⁷ so-called *ortogh* merchants from West Asia managed the financial administration of China for the Mongols,⁸ and resident traders in the port cities of Fujian and Guangdong enjoyed far-reaching privileges.⁹ In this setting, Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (1311–1350) compiled his *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (Brief description of the foreign island peoples)¹⁰, a detailed account of the maritime world between China and East Africa, intended to become part of a new local *Gazetteer of Quanzhou*, then a major port for China's long-distance trade. Although the author claims to have visited all the places he

5 Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia* (Cambridge 2012), pp. 20–21; Du You 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 (Comprehensive institutions) (5 vols., Beijing 1988), vol. 193. For a detailed analysis of the section about Western countries in Du You's *Tongdian* see Li Jinxiu 李锦绣, Yu Taishan 余太山, "Tongdian" Xiyu wenxian yaozhu 《通典》西域文献要注 (Main annotations on the accounts about western regions in the *Tongdian*) (Shanghai 2009).

6 See e.g. Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 (1170–1228), *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* 諸蕃志校释 (Description of the foreign lands, with annotations and footnotes), edited by Yang Bowen 楊博文 (Beijing 1996); Friedrich F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi* (Description of foreign peoples) (Saint Petersburg 1911). More generally see John Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400* (Cambridge 2018), pp. 76–123.

7 Morris Rossabi, *Tabriz and Yuan China*, in Ralph Kauz (ed.), *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea* (Wiesbaden 2010), pp. 97–107, p. 105.

8 Elisabeth Endicott-West, *Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The Ortoy*, in *Asia Major*, third series 2/2 (19), pp. 127–154.

9 Chaffee, *Muslim Merchants*, pp. 124–161.

10 Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (1311–1350), *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略校释 (A shortened account of the non-Chinese island peoples, with annotations and footnotes), edited by Su Jiqing 蘇繼庠 (Beijing 1981).

describes in person, there may be doubts because his descriptions of Southeast Asia are much more precise than those of places farther away.¹¹

Building on the experiences and connections of the Yuan period, the Yongle 永樂 Emperor (1360–1424, r. 1402–1424) of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) dispatched the famous eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1433/35) with an enormous number of ships to Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean with parts of his fleet reaching the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Swahili coast. Zheng He himself, like Ma Dexin, was a Chinese Muslim from Yunnan province and as such may have been deemed especially suited to represent the dynasty in the Middle East.¹² The bulk of state documents written in the context of these expeditions seems to have been destroyed soon after the end of the expeditions in 1433,¹³ but two remarkable individual reports survive. Most detailed is the *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (Overall survey of the Ocean's shores) by Ma Huan 馬歡 (1380–1460), a Chinese Muslim from Zhejiang who accompanied three of the seven journeys, most likely as a translator for Arabic, and who was sent as one of seven envoys to Aden and Mecca on the last journey in 1431.¹⁴ His description is the oldest surviving Chinese eyewitness report of the holy sites of Islam.¹⁵ Less is known about Fei Xin 費信 (1385–1436), another member of Zheng He's crew who may have joined as many as four voyages.¹⁶ His *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (Overall survey of the star raft) contains unique though shorter descriptions of different places around the Arabian peninsula such as Hormuz, Aden, and Mecca as well. Ma's and Fei's works are highly descriptive and omit the narration of the authors' individual experiences entirely. Already six years before

11 Roderich Ptak, Glosses on Wang Dayuan's Daoyi zhilüe, in Claudine Salmon (ed.), *Récits de voyages des Asiatiques: Genres, mentalités, conception de l'espace* (Paris 1996), pp. 127–145.

12 On the Islamic belief of Zheng He see e.g. Ralph Kauz, Zheng He und der Islam in Fujian: Das Bild Zheng Hes als gläubiger Muslim in der neueren Chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung, in Claudine Salmon and Roderich Ptak, *Zheng He: Images & Perceptions / Bilder & Wahrnehmungen* (Wiesbaden 2005), pp. 75–90. For further discussion of Zheng He and Mecca see Roderich Ptak, Zheng He in Mekka: Anmerkungen zum Zheng He in Mecca: Anmerkungen zum Sanbao taijian xiyang ji tongsu yanyi, in Salmon and Ptak, *Zheng He*, pp. 91–112.

13 J. J. L. Duyvendak, The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century, in *T'oung Pao* 34/5 (1939), pp. 395–396.

14 On these envoys see Alexander Jost, He Did not Kiss the Earth between his Hands: Arabic Sources on the Arrivals of the Zheng He Fleet in Aden and Mecca (1419–1432), in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *Early Global Interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World*, vol. 1 (London 2019), pp. 85–89.

15 Ma Huan. *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433), translated by J. V. G. Mills (London 1970).

16 Paul Pelliot, Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV^e siècle, in *T'oung Pao* 30/3–5 (1933), pp. 264–268.

Zheng He had embarked on his first maritime mission, the Yongle Emperor had sent Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1365–1457) onto the first of three diplomatic missions to the Timurid Empire.¹⁷ Chen reached Herat in present-day Afghanistan and upon his return compiled a report with the title *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志 (Record of the barbarian countries in the western regions).¹⁸ The information conveyed by these three texts remained state of the art for centuries to come and was included in the encyclopedic as well as belletristic literature of the late Ming period, when China had already largely secluded itself from the wider maritime world.¹⁹

With the Ming sea ban (*haijin* 海禁), the political disintegration of the Central Asian Silk Road routes at the end of Timurid rule and the upcoming dominance of European powers in the Indian Ocean after Vasco da Gama's (1469–1524) voyage of 1497, the opportunities for direct travel by Chinese to the Middle East diminished. Maritime networks of Chinese Muslim merchants became dysfunctional and many Muslim families moved to the hinterlands, some entirely giving up their Muslim identities.²⁰ Consequently, despite scattered pieces of information about individual Chinese Muslim pilgrims to Mecca such as Hu Dengzhou 胡登洲 (1522–1597)²¹, no actual travelogue has come down from the period of close to three centuries after Zheng He's last voyage in 1433 – the very epoch during which European ships brought all larger land masses in regular contact

17 On diplomatic exchanges between the Ming and Timurid empires see Ralph Kauz, *Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden: China, Iran und Zentralasien im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden 2005).

18 Morris Rossabi, A Translation of Ch'en Ch'eng's Hsi-Yü Fan-Kuo Chih, in *Ming Studies* 17 (1983), pp. 49–59.

19 For further literary perceptions of Zheng He and Mecca see e.g. Ptak, *Zheng He in Mecca*. For encyclopedic works see e.g. Wang Qi 王圻 (1530–1615), *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 (Illustrations of the Three Powers), chapter 13, *Dili* 地理 (Geography), p. 14a. See also Klaus Sonnendecker, Huang Xingzeng 黃省曾: *Verzeichnis der Akteneinträge zu Audienzen und Tribut von Westlichen Meer* (Xiyang chaogong dianlu 西洋朝貢典錄), *Annotierte Übersetzung* (PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 2007), pp. 180–189.

20 Oded Abt, *Muslim Memories of Yuan-Ming Transition in Southeast China*, in Francesca Fiaschetti and Julia Schneider (eds.), *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China* (Wiesbaden 2014), p. 152; John Chaffee, *Muslim Merchants and Quanzhou in the Late Yuan-Early Ming: Conjectures on the Ending of the Medieval Muslim Trade Diaspora*, in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The East Asian "Mediterranean": Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce, and Human Migration* (Wiesbaden 2008), pp. 115–132.

21 Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge 2005), p. 40; Zhao Can 趙燦, *Jingxue xi chuan pu* 經學系傳譜 (Genealogy of the Transmission and Lineage of Classical Learning) (Xining 1989). Upon his return, Hu established a new method of teaching Islamic religion, the "scripture hall education" (*jingtang jiaoyu* 經堂教育).

with each other, eventually giving rise to the phenomenon of globalization. It was thus already a very different world from which the two Gansu Muslims Ma Laichi 馬來遲 (1681–1766) and Ma Mingxin 馬明心 (1719–1781) returned in 1734²² and 1761²³ respectively. Both had set out for reasons of religious zeal to perform the *hajj* to Mecca and to study with Naqshbandiyya Sufi Shaykhs in different places of the Middle East, both had introduced their newly acquired ideas to communities in China and both had developed enormous religious charisma being venerated like saints already during their lifetimes. As to their journeys, no records from their own hands remain but their stories have been integrated after a certain period of oral transmission and with some religious adornment into hagiographic literature in Arabic.²⁴ Though Ma Laichi and Ma Mingxin had a large impact in bringing Islamic practice especially in Northwest China much closer to the current trends of the Middle East, their endeavors remained singular events and pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina or study in Cairo or Damascus remained just as far out of reach for China's Muslims as it had for centuries before. What Sufi tradition recorded about their itineraries was unclear, often contradictory, and gave greater inspiration to venerate than to imitate their deeds.

2 Ma Dexin and his *hajj travelogue*

At the height of the First Opium War, Ma Dexin, a Muslim from Dali in western Yunnan, departed on a pilgrimage journey from which he would only return

²² Jonathan Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China* (Seattle 2011), p. 67. Fletcher dates Ma Laichi's return to China as early as 1705. See Lipman, *Naqshbandiyya*, p. 16.

²³ Lipman, *Familiar Strangers*, p. 88.

²⁴ For Ma Laichi see Ma Tong, 馬通, *Zhongguo Yisilan jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilue* 中国伊斯兰教派与门宦史略 (A Brief History of Islamic Factions and Sufi Orders in China) (Yinchuan 1983), pp. 225–226, including a narration of the oral transmission of Ma Laichi's journey. For Ma Mingxin, the story of his journey to Mecca and his studies in Yemen was related in greater detail in an Arabic manuscript in private ownership, which is commonly referred to as (*Kitāb al-*) *Rashaḥāt* after its first word. It is only available to the scholarly world in a publication adapted by its owner and translated into modern Chinese. See Guanli Ye 閔裏爺, Aibu Ailaman Abudu Gadi 'er 艾佈艾拉曼 阿卜杜 嘎底兒 (*Abū l-Amān 'Abdalqādir*), and Zhang Chengzhi 張承志 (eds.), *Rashaḥāt / Reshiha'er* 熱什什哈爾 (Percolations), translated by Yang Wanbao 楊萬 and Ma Xuekai 馬學凱 (Beijing 1993). For the hagiography of Ma Mingxin in the *Kitāb al-Jahrī* see Florian Sobieroj, *The Chinese Sufi Wiqāyatullāh Ma Mingxin and the Construction of his Sanctity in Kitāb al-Jahrī*, in *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 70/1 (2016), pp. 133–169.

seven and a half years later. Upon his return he wrote down his experience in an Arabic manuscript, which is now lost but was translated into Chinese and published as a woodblock print by his disciple Ma Anli 馬安禮 (d. 1899) in 1861, still during Ma Dexin's lifetime, with the title *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*Hajj travelogue*).²⁵ It can thus be seen as the first travelogue of a Chinese returning from the Middle East, which has been written by the traveler himself. Other than the preceding examples describing pilgrimage journeys, the text is written with the greatest precision. For all events on the journey exact dates are given according to the Chinese and the Islamic lunar calendar, implying that the author must have kept a journal throughout his voyage, which he could later base his work on. In addition to Ma Anli's Chinese rendering, all foreign names are also printed in their Arabic original or respectively in their closest transcription based on Arabic script. From this practice alone, it can be seen that this text was not a hagiography compiled to add to the charismatic aura of the returning pilgrim but rather a guidebook telling the reader what route he might choose and what might await him when he attempts to go on the journey himself.²⁶ For this purpose, Ma largely withdraws his own subjective feelings and experiences from the narrative allowing every individual reader considering the pilgrimage as an option for himself as well, to place himself into the picture.

It is furthermore remarkable that although Ma's journey clearly had religious motives and was clearly written for a religious readership, he does not confine himself to religious subjects but mentions numerous other impressions he gained at the side of his travel route as well. The text serves therefore as an early example of an upcoming genre of travelogue as often recorded by Chinese traveling to Europe, Japan, or America during the late Qing or Republican periods. The Ottoman Middle East, however, is not to be counted as a routine target region for this genre.

25 The woodblocks of this 1861 edition are preserved in the library of the Nancheng Mosque 南城清真寺藏書樓 in Kunming; a facsimile version has been republished in Wu Haiying 吳海鷹 (ed.), *Huizu diancang quanshu* 回族典藏全書 (Complete Collection of Hui literature) (235 vols., Lanzhou 2008), vol. 223, pp. 195–244. Generally, this facsimile version is the one cited. There is an older annotated version by Na Guochang 納國昌, *Chaojin tuji* 朝覲途記 (*Hajj travelogue*) (Yinchuan 1988).

26 This argumentation is presented in greater detail by Kristian Petersen in his study *Multiple Meanings*. He contrasts Ma Dexin's writings with the works of two earlier eminent Muslim scholars, Wang Daiyu 王岱輿 (1590–1658) and Liu Zhi 劉智 (1662–1730), demonstrating how in Chinese Islamic thought the role of pilgrimage developed from a purely theoretic idea, for which practicable alternatives or excuses had to be found, to a very real obligation for every financially and physically able believer as in other parts of the Islamic world.

After his return to China, when ethnoreligious tensions in Yunnan developed into what is remembered as the “Panthay Rebellion” and under the lead of Du Wenxiu 杜文秀 (1823–1872), western Yunnan was ruled for eighteen years in the style of an Islamic Sultanate under the name “State pacifying the South” (*Pingnan guo* 平南國),²⁷ Ma first assumed a role as religious leader and “generalissimo” (*da yuanshuai* 大元帥), building on the enormous prestige he gained among his brethren in faith after returning from the *hajj*.²⁸ After several years, however, Ma Dexin turned away from Du Wenxiu, reconciled with the Qing government and in 1862 even temporarily assumed the post of Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou before he retreated from active political life concentrating on religious leadership and writing while still maintaining enormous influence and being known to all under the name “old father” (*lao baba* 老爸爸).²⁹ In 1886, when a detachment of the French Mekong expedition led by Ernest Doudart de Lagrée (1823–1868) and, after the latter’s death, by Francis Garnier (1839–1873), proceeded into the territory of the Sultanate in western Yunnan, he received them at his residence in Kunming and, after a longer conversation centered on topics related to astronomy, issued a letter of recommendation for their free passage to Dali.³⁰ As a consequence, two publications issued in the aftermath of this expedition contain information about Ma Dexin, his life, and especially his pilgrimage journey, which were obtained during the meeting in Kunming.³¹ According to Émile Rocher (1846–1924), another member of the expedition, his own diary (“*son propre journal*”) was presented to them by Ma, which should likely be either the manuscript or the then newly printed edition of the *Chaojin tuji*.³²

3 The way to Mecca

The precision with which Ma Dexin recorded dates and places of his journey allows a detailed reconstruction of his itinerary. He took off on 7 December 1841 with a horse caravan of a merchant named Ma Yuande 馬元德 from Feng-

27 For the Panthay Rebellion see David G. Atwill, *The Chinese Sultanate* (Palo Alto 2005).

28 Émile Rocher, *La province chinoise du Yün-nan*, 2 vols. (Paris 1879–1880), vol. 2 (1880), p. 48.

29 Rocher, *Province*, vol. 2, p. 46.

30 Francis Garnier and Ernest Doudart de Lagrée, *Voyage d’exploration en Indo-Chine effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868 par une commission française ...* (Paris 1873).

31 Garnier, de Lagrée, *Voyage*; Rocher, *Province*.

32 Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. VIII.

chengzhuang 豐成莊, a village in close vicinity of his own hometown of Xiaguan 下關 at the south end of Lake Erhai 洱海 in Dali 大理. They first followed what is today called the *chama gudaο* 茶馬古道 (the old tea-and-horse road) south towards Pu'er 普洱.³³ After twenty-three days they crossed the Sino-Burmese border and arrived at the town of Lashio on 14 February 1842. Here Ma parted ways with the caravan and walked on foot along narrow paths³⁴ onward to the capital of the Ava Kingdom, which before the annexation by the British ruled over most of northern and central Myanmar.³⁵ As in many important places he reached later, Ma gives a short overview of size, predominant communities, and schools of thought (*madhāhib*) among the local Muslim population and indicates which languages are spoken – helpful information to potential fellow pilgrims seeking support on the spot. Having stayed for eighteen days, he embarked on a ship loaded with copper purchased from Chinese merchants which took him along the Irrawaddy river to the Sea port of Rangoon within another seventeen days.

After a forced stay of five months, due to unfavorable winds and currents of the monsoon, a time he spent in the house of a certain Mawla Hāshim, a hospitable man from Surat, he embarked on the HMS *Carnatic*³⁶ to continue his journey to Calcutta where he arrived on 8 October (Fig. 1 shows a sketch of the identically constructed HMS *Cornwallis* and Fig. 2 the surviving original Figurehead of HMS *Carnatic*). Having spent another almost three months in Calcutta and getting to know its Muslim and non-Muslim religious communities, Ma Dexin boarded another ship with the name *Shāh Sulaimān* owned by a certain Farhān, which took him all the way to al-Mukha through Sri Lanka, the Malabar Coast, Socotra, and Aden. After a stopover of more than ten days, he went on by ship to Hodeidah and finally to Jeddah, where he arrived on 17 May 1843.

³³ Obviously in contrast to his return route, Ma Dexin chose this way, because the route through the Pearl River and Guangdong was affected by the First Opium War during the time. Since January 1841, the entrance of the Pearl River was blocked by the British and warfare extended further along the coasts of Southern and Central China.

³⁴ It took him eight days to walk 280 kilometers with an average of thirty-five kilometers per day. Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, p. 202.

³⁵ Since the palaces in the town of Ava itself had been completely destroyed by an earthquake and the capital had been moved to neighboring Amarapura, it is likely that Ma Dexin in fact stayed there. For further information on this earthquake and its circumstances see e.g. the related compilation: *Some Documents of Tharrawaddy's Reign: 1837–1846, Part I*, in *School of Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS) Bulletin of Burma Research*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Autumn 2003), pp. 48–59.

³⁶ The HMS *Carnatic*, launched in 1823 at Portsmouth, was a third-rate ship of the Line of the British Royal Navy. See Brian Lavery, *The Ship of the Line – Volume 1: The Development of the Battlefleet 1650–1850* (London 2003), p. 191.

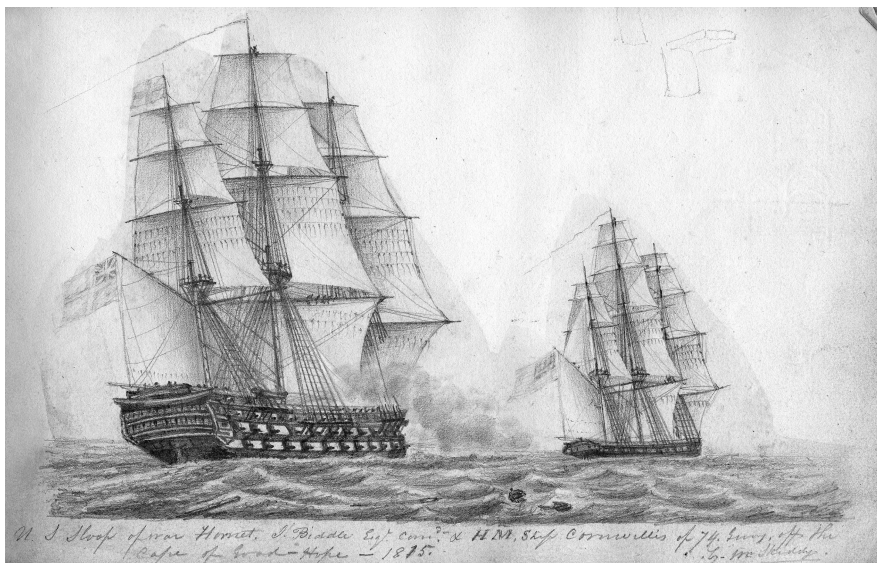


Fig. 1: William T. Skiddy, Hand sketch of HMS *Cornwallis* off the Cape of Good Hope on 27. April 1813. Source: © William T. Skiddy Collection (Coll. 304), Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic CT.

Since Ma reached Mecca on 30 May 1843 but the pilgrimage month *Dū al-Ḥijjah* was not to start before 23 December that same year, he had to stay in Mecca for almost seven months until he could perform the *hajj*.

Ma Dexin's account of his pilgrimage itself and the related sites is brief yet still detailed in terms of external description. He largely omits personal sentiments thus leaving space for his readers and future pilgrims to project their own individual *hajj* experiences.³⁷ In his later works he returned to the inner aspects of his pilgrimage, for example in his *Mingde jing* 明德經 (Scripture of bright virtue), which contains a chapter entitled "Hajj" (*chaojin* 朝覲) as well.³⁸ A schematic depiction of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* is included in the printed version (Fig. 3).

³⁷ Ma Dexin's visit to Mecca and his *hajj* is described in greater detail by Petersen in *Multiple Meanings*, pp. 96–98.

³⁸ For the treatment of the *hajj* in the *Mingde jing* see Petersen, *Multiple Meanings*, pp. 93–96.



Fig. 2: Unknown artist, Figurehead of HMS *Carnatic* (1823).
Source: © National Museum of the Royal Navy in Portsmouth.

4 Through the Ottoman Empire

After completing his *hajj* – the key objective of Ma Dexin’s travels – he did not yet return to China but embarked on a journey through different parts of the Ottoman Empire. He had visited Medina for ten days in March 1844 and set off from Jeddah to cross the Red Sea only in September 1844 so that he had altogether spent more than fourteen months around the holiest sites of Islam. After a cruise of eighteen to twenty days, he arrived at the Egyptian port of Qoseir and after another three days and nights on camelback along the river Nile, near Qenah. He spent the *ʿId*

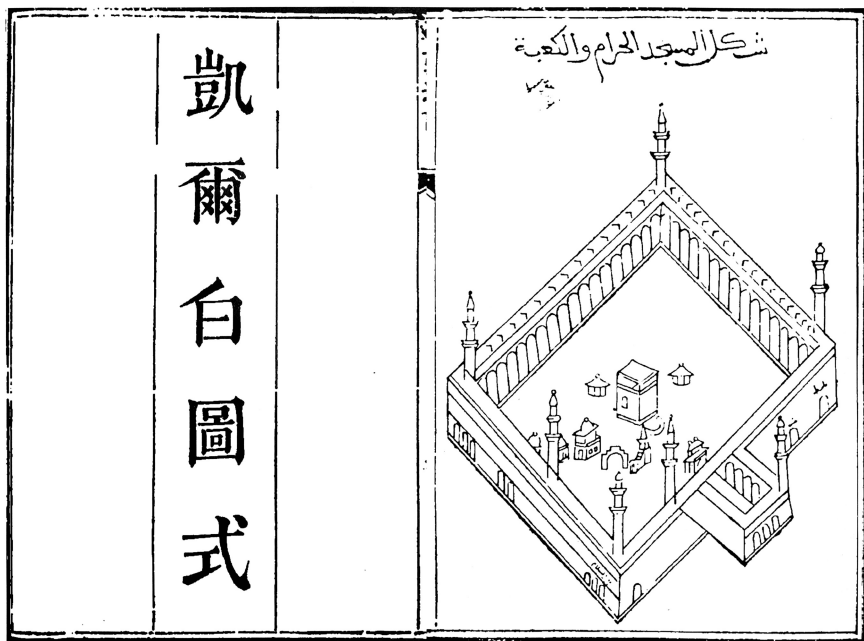


Fig. 3: Depiction of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām*. Source: After Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, Wu Haiying 吴海鹰(ed.), *Huizu diancang quanshu* 回族典藏全书 (Complete collection of Hui literature) (235 vols., Lanzhou 2008), vol. 223, pp. 210–211.

al-Fiṭr at the end of the fasting month Ramadan on a ship down the Nile near Beni Suef and reached Cairo on 18 October 1844.

During this first visit to the capital of Egypt, Ma stayed only for twenty-eight days, enough time to notice its great number of Muslims and mosques as well as the outstanding importance of Al-Azhar University, before he continued his journey on the Nile and, supposedly, down the Mahmoudiyah Canal to Alexandria. Interestingly, he noted that in Alexandria Turkish and Arabic were spoken likewise, indicating that he may have been in frequent contact with the Ottoman elites of Muhammad Ali's regime. He describes the sultan as a "greatly wise and brave" ruler practicing a "beneficial governance" (*da zhi, da yong, shan zhili* 大智大勇善治理)³⁹. In Alexandria, he also took notice of the importance of the city in Hellenistic antiquity mentioning Galen (129–210) and Ptolemy (90–168). After nine days he left Egypt again by ship.

³⁹ Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, p. 215.

His journey went on across the eastern Mediterranean to Bodrum where he had to stay in quarantine for fifteen days, due to a cholera epidemic he would have to face again later. When passing the Dardanelles, currents and wind were against him, so that he had to change ships twice until he could finally reach Istanbul on a steamer (*huochuan* 火船) from Lapseki on 9 February 1845. He must have been greatly impressed by the capital of the Ottoman Empire because of all the places he visited on his journey – including Mecca – he gives most space to its description.

For the next seven months, Ma Dexin lived in the – then as now – busy Mahmutpaşa Bazaar neighborhood at the *Yarım han*, a typical pilgrim's guesthouse⁴⁰ in the west of the city. Only two days after his arrival, he met a certain Arif Bey, an official of the sultan, as he observed,⁴¹ another indication that he was in contact with leading circles of the empire already before he reached the capital and that the court took notice of his presence. Arif Bey proved well-informed about the state of affairs in China, knowing that major flooding had occurred there, because he had received the latest information from correspondence with the British in Guangzhou. Ma had another impressive experience when he attended the celebration of the wedding of Adile Sultan (1826–1899), sister of Sultan Abdulmejid I (1823–1861), with the later Grand Vizier Mehmed Ali Pasha (1813–1861). He witnessed the ascent of the Italian aeronaut Antonio Comaschi (c. 1820–1860) with a hot air balloon.⁴² The level of detail in his description ex-

40 Elfine Sibgatullina, *Tatarca Hacnamelerdeki İstanbul* (Istanbul in in Tatar *hacj* Travelogues), in Erol Ülgen and Emin Özbaş (eds.), *Uluslararası Türk Edebiyatında İstanbul Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (3–5 Nisan 2008, İstanbul) (Proceedings of the Symposium on International Turkish Literature, Istanbul, 3–5 April 2008) (Istanbul 2009), pp. 933–938, here p. 935.

41 It is difficult to ascertain the identity of this official. His name is given in Chinese as A'erlefu Baikai 阿爾勒甫拜凱 without Arabic transcription. It is possible that it was Ārif Hikmet Bey (1786–1859), a learned scholar of Islam and famed poet who had filled official positions in Egypt, Medina, and Jerusalem in the 1810s and 1820s. In 1845 he was present as governmental advisor in different roles related to the Tanzimat reform process. One year later, he was pronounced Shaykh al-Islām. Ārif Hikmet Bey might have been interested in getting to know an educated visitor from as far away as China and might also have been informed about events around the world. It seems, however, somewhat odd that such a relatively high-ranking official would come to visit Ma Dexin rather than receiving him in his own premises and that he had nothing more memorable to exchange with him than the recent news about a flood. See Tahsin Yazıcı, Hekmat Bey, in Ehsan Yarshater and Ahmad Ashraf (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (currently 16 vols., London, New York since 1985), vol. 12/2 (2004), p. 150.

42 Comaschi stayed in Istanbul for more than one year and altogether performed three balloon ascents with the support of Sultan Abdulmejid I. The last one, for which he took off on 22 June 1845 from the Haydarpaşa field in Üsküdar on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, was part of the wedding celebrations. The ascent did not go smoothly and the balloon was driven far away to the

ceeds the one of all other anecdotes, with or without a religious context, in the *Chaojin tuji*:

I saw countless curious and interesting things, I also saw a flying boat (*feichuan* 飛船), which rose to the air. A man stayed in it, its wind sail looked like a watermelon and was round. Making use of the wind it ascended from the ground, the wind filled the sail from inside like an inflated bladder. The boat carried the man upwards until it could not be seen by the eyes anymore. Eventually, with a telescope (*qianli jing* 千里鏡) it could not be seen anymore either. People said: ‘usually when it rises to the air it will land again in the take-off location within one day and one night, sometimes a little more far away from the take-off location.’ This time the boat did not return after all, there was also no information about it thus I do not know in which place it landed.⁴³

This matches numerous reports about the event found in the Ottoman newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis* and a related contemporary illustration (Fig. 4), and shows that Ma was a careful observer with a broad scope of interests exceeding the realm of Islamic religion alone.

The last highlight of Ma Dexin’s stay in Istanbul was his visit to the sultan’s treasury⁴⁴ upon an invitation signed by the sultan himself (*guowang zhi piao* 國王之票), which was conveyed to him, as he mentions, by an official named Khusraw. He was deeply impressed with the sultan’s treasure collections and praised them with the most enthusiastic words: “On this day in the state treasury I saw immeasurable and uncountable curiosities, as many as sand grains in the Ganges river in their number, one cannot record or count them.”⁴⁵

southern side of the Marmara Sea. The event was witnessed by tens of thousands of spectators. For a detailed description see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Havacılığına Genel Bir Bakış* (A General Overview of Ottoman Aviation), in Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Mustafa Kaçar (eds.), *Çağımı yakalayan osmanlı: Osmanlı devleti’nde modern haberleşme ve ulaştırma teknikleri* (The Ottoman Seizing His Sge: Modern Communication and Transport Technology in the Ottoman Empire) (Istanbul 1995), pp. 497–596, here pp. 512–514.

⁴³ Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, pp. 220–221.

⁴⁴ Ma Dexin gives the location of the treasury as Tophane (Zhuanbuhanaï 篆補哈迺, ar. Tubhana) and mentions that this equalled the Imperial Department of Medicine (*taiyiyuan* 太醫院) in China. It is possible that Ma confused the name “Tophane” with the name “Topkapı”, which is the actual location of the imperial treasury and – besides being the site of the Sultan’s central palace – also home to a number of hospitals. For the possible confusion of names see also Na Guochang, *Chaojin Tuji*, p. 39. For the role of hospitals inside the Topkapı Palace see Sari, Hatice Nil, *The Medical Organization at the Ottoman Court*, in *Studies in History of Medicine and Science* 1 (2000), pp. 37–51.

⁴⁵ Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, p. 221. It is interesting that Ma uses an expression of rather buddhist style here.

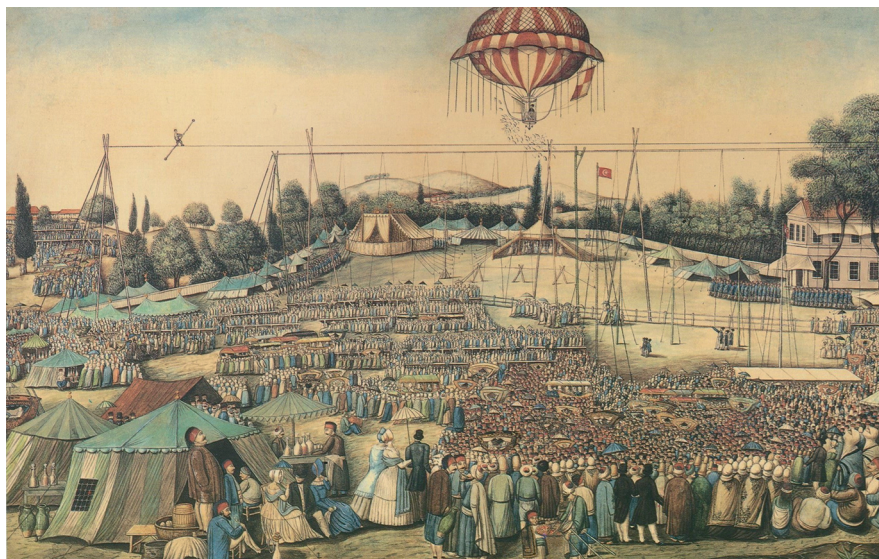


Fig. 4: Unknown artist (Turkish school), Festivities at Haydar Pasha on the occasion of the wedding of H.I.H. Adile Sultan with his Highness Mehmet Ali Pasha, 12 June 1845 (c. 1845). Source: After E. Grunberg and E. M. Torn, *Four Centuries of Ottoman Taste*, Exhibition Catalog (London: The Kyburg Gallery 1988), item 80.

On 25 July 1845 Ma left Istanbul on a ship bound for Yaffa together with a group of 70 Jews on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. En route they had short stopovers in Rhodes and Larnaca,⁴⁶ where he staid during the beginning of the fasting month of Ramadan. Probably because of the overwhelming majority of Jewish passengers, however, he was unable to fast and eat according to his duties before he reached the Holy Land, arriving in Jerusalem on 11 September 1845. Although he also once mentions the Arabic name al-Quds (*Gudeshe* 顧德士, lit. “the holy”) for the city, he mostly refers *parte pro toto* to the Dome of the Rock using the term “pure and clean chamber” (*qing jing shi* 清淨室) when speaking about Jerusalem.⁴⁷ The passage is highly descriptive and detailed. He lists all religious

⁴⁶ The text mentions Tuzla as the location where the ship anchored. The modern village of Tuzla in northern Cyprus, however, only received this name when it was settled by Turks from the former Tuzla quarter of Larnaca, which was located around the harbor of the city in 1974.

⁴⁷ Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, p. 222. The term “pure and clean” (*qingjing* 清淨) is in some contexts used synonymously to the common term “pure and true” (*qingzhen* 清真) for the pure and sacred character of Islamic religion in Chinese. *Qingjing shi* 清淨室 (“pure and clean room”) has to be understood as Chinese translation of the Arabic term *bait al-muqaddas* (sacred house), which

sites, especially grave monuments that he visited and also takes note of their importance for Jews and Christians beside Muslims.⁴⁸ For the first time in his travelogue, Ma speaks about his own physical condition noting that after the visits he was completely exhausted from walking. His plan to travel onward to Hebron (Ar. al-Khalīl) needed to be abandoned as too dangerous because of ongoing unrest in the region. Six weeks after his arrival, he left Palestine again through the port of Yaffa.

Ma's original schedule must have been to first travel through Damietta (Ar. Dumyāt) to Cairo to join the Egyptian *hajj* caravan and thus to take the opportunity of performing the pilgrimage one more time. It was, however, mainly the cholera epidemic raging in the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea at this time that crossed his plans. Instead of reaching Damietta, the ship dumped him on a deserted stretch of the Egyptian coast where he was left alone for two days and two nights and where, as he stated, he almost died. He was then found by a fellow pilgrim and stayed in quarantine for fifteen days before he was allowed to enter Damietta. From his description it is not clear if he actually contracted cholera or was left behind for other reasons and quarantined as a measure of precaution. In any case, he must have been in a weakened state of health by then. With a considerable delay he continued his journey by donkey and by ship along the Nile once more to Alexandria, where his luggage and books,⁴⁹ purchased in Istanbul, had been shipped to avoid a detour through Palestine. By the time he reached Cairo in December 1845 the pilgrimage month had already begun and it was too late for him to participate.

was earlier used as a name for the Temple in Jerusalem, but later also for the Dome of the Rock as successive building of the Temple and for the prayer direction (*qibla*) towards Jerusalem before it was readjusted towards the Ka'aba by Muhammad. In Chinese, the term is before Ma Dexin used by Liu Zhi 劉智 (1662–1730) who gives its Arabic as *baituo li mugaidesi* 擺脫離穆改德寺 (i.e. *bait al-muqaddas*). See Liu Zhi 劉智, *Tianfang zhisheng shilu* 天方至聖實錄 (Veritable Records about the Last Prophet of Islam) (13 vols., s. p. 1724), vol. 10, pp. 2b–3a.

⁴⁸ The sites mentioned include beside the Dome of the Rock the al-'Aqṣā Mosque, the graves of Dāwūd/David, 'Uzayr/Ezra, Maryam/Maria, 'Īsā/Jesus, Sulaymān/Solomon, Mūsā/Moses and the mystic Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya, as well as the fountain of 'Ayyūb /Job and the ascension place of Jesus on the Mount of Olives.

⁴⁹ We do not have details on the books, but Ma Dexin's later works show clearly that he must have had access to a selection of Islamic literature in China, which at least in parts should originate from Istanbul and was part of this shipping. The shipping may also have included books on astronomy and other topics.

For the following six months he lived in the house of a certain Labūt [al-]Barbarī in the Musiki street,⁵⁰ a period for which there are no descriptions in the report, before he took off for the following year's *hajj* together with a certain Habib Effendi and his family on 3 June 1846. This time the travel route led through Suez to Jiddha, which they reached after a land journey of three and a sea journey of twenty-six days. Mecca during this year had repeatedly been struck by epidemic again, claiming a high death toll especially among pilgrims near mount Arafat, so that he first stayed near Marwa and later moved to a place between the Umrah Gate and the Ibrāhīm Gate of the Great Mosque, where some time later he had accommodation with a certain Ahmad Mushaffa' from Java.

5 The way home

During his time in Mecca, a severe fire devastated the neighborhood around the Umrah Gate and the epidemic became increasingly serious in the city. Ma Dexin mentions that a certain Ayyūb, another Chinese pilgrim from Shaanxi province, had fallen seriously ill and hoped to return with him to China. Without a further comment on the *hajj* itself, during which he must have stayed in Mecca, Ma describes that he received a letter from Jeddah telling him that a ship would be available for him to board in Jeddah in a few days. He took the opportunity, but only together with a certain Mushafa', because Ayyūb had died on the very night of their departure on 19 June 1847. The ship they took had the Arabic name *Faṭḥ al-Mubārak* and conveyed him, with stopovers, as he mentions, to Hodeidah, Karachi, Allepey,⁵¹ Aceh, Penang, and Malakka all the way to Singapore. Before reaching Hodeidah the ship hit a rock but could still continue its journey. The largest number of passengers disembarked at the Port of Penang, as Ma notes, presumably returning pilgrims from Malaysia.⁵² According to the *Chaojin tuji*, on 6 November 1847, Ma Dexin reached Singapore. The *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* records the arrival of the Barque "Fattle Mombarak" from Penang under British flag only three days later, on 9 November.⁵³ In Singapore, Ma Dexin was fortunate to live as the guest of the wealthy and influential

50 So far it has not been possible to identify his exact place of residence or his host, judging by his name probably a Nubian.

51 Port on the coast of Kerala, today Alappuzha.

52 Penang was one of the most important feed stations for Malay pilgrims who crossed the Indian Ocean over the nineteenth century. See Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford 2013), p. 189.

53 *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (11 November 1847), p. 3.

Hadhrami merchant and philanthropist Saiyyid ‘Umar (1792–1852), today still well-known in Singapore as Syed Omar Aljunied.⁵⁴ He praises him and his house in enthusiastic words: “Omar is a righteous man (*xianzhe* 賢者) from Hadhramaut who has lived in Singapore already for more than thirty years. His wealth has since increased in greatest abundance and his house holds a great number of classic books. I love them very much and wish I could have stayed longer there to study those many classic books!”⁵⁵

After a stay of ten months, however, during which Ma could study Syed Omar’s book collection and undertook observations about the effects of Singapore’s location close to the equator, on 12 September 1848, he embarked on the *Myaram Dyaram*, an Indian ship under British flag transporting cotton from India to China.⁵⁶ After a terrifying thunderstorm, Ma Dexin set foot on Chinese ground again in Guangzhou on 13 October 1848.

Instead of directly continuing his journey back to Yunnan, however, he stayed on in Guangzhou for about one hundred days with Bengal Muslims at the Haopan street Mosque (*Haopan jie qingzhensi* 濠畔街清真寺) close to the harbor area of the Thirteen Factories (*shisan hang* 十三行). On 15 January 1849, he eventually took off on his journey back home, first by ship on the Pearl River to Baise 百色, passing on his way through Zhaoqing 肇慶, Wuzhou 梧州, Xunzhou 潯州, and Nanning 南寧, then the rest of the route to Yunnan on land. On 17 May 1849, seven and a half years after his departure, Ma Dexin returned home.⁵⁷

The *Chaojin tuji* ends with a list of place names along three possible routes from Yunnan to Mecca: the first one was through Myanmar, and Bengal further on the sea route, the second through the Pearl River, Guangzhou, and further on the sea route, and the third directly through Central Asia on the land route (*tianfang beilu tucheng* 天方北路途程). For the first route, information about costs is given as well. Since earlier in his report Ma Dexin had never mentioned the op-

54 On Syed Omar and his family see Michael Mukunthan, Nor Afidah Abd Rahman, Syed Omar Aljunied, in Singapore Infopedia (A Singapore government agency website), accessed 4 April 2022, <https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_847_2004-12-29.html>; see also Zahra Aljunied, The Genealogy of the Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia – the Alawi Family, Paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2013 – Singapore – Future Libraries: Infinite Possibilities in Session 220 – Genealogy and Local History.

55 Ma Dexin, *Chaojin tuji*, pp. 233–234.

56 Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (14 September 1848), p. 4, agrees with this date.

57 Na Guochang, *Chaojin tuji*, p. 55 comments, that “home” (*jia* 家) in this case does not refer to his home village Fengchengzhuang near Dali, where he had taken off, but to Kunming, the provincial capital of Yunnan. He does not, however, give any further reason for this assumption.

tion of a land route or other pilgrims choosing this way, however, it cannot be excluded that this part of the appendix was added later by Ma Dexin or Ma Anli.

6 Ma Dexin's journey in French records

The accounts of the French expedition contain several pieces of information that add, or even contradict, the content of the *Chaojin tuji*. First, Rocher mentions that Ma Dexin had collected 45 *tael* of gold equaling an impressive amount of 765 *tael* of silver already two years before his departure in 1839 to add to his own modest financial resources.⁵⁸ This money likely came from his own and other Muslim communities in his region, where his brethren in faith may have hoped to have a share in the beneficial religious effect of his pilgrimage. It is possible that among these contributors were owners of horse caravans (*mabang* 馬幫), who were often Muslims in the Dali region and usually had far-reaching contacts for instance in Myanmar and other parts of South and Southeast Asia. Despite this generous supply, Ma Dexin told the French that he ran out of money during his stay in Istanbul, which forced him to return home.⁵⁹ While his own account gives the length of this stay only as seven months, Rocher notes that he stayed for two years and was especially occupied with studying astronomy and mechanics.⁶⁰ The duration of his stay may have been a matter of misunderstanding or exaggeration, while his involvement with astronomy and mechanics in Istanbul is possible. His observations on the hot air balloon at Adile Sultan's wedding show that he was obviously interested in technical matters and used a telescope; he may not have mentioned his efforts in greater detail, because he presumably considered them of minor interest to readers of religious motivation. The book boxes he had to send from Istanbul to Alexandria may also have contained volumes on these topics and could provide an additional explanation for his depleted funds. As Rocher writes, the reason of Ma's yearlong stay in Singapore was primarily related to his interest in astronomy as well. A fellow astronomer in Istanbul had told him that close to the equator, days and nights were about the same length throughout all seasons, an assumption Ma wished to verify in the place closest to the equator he would pass on his journey home – Singapore.⁶¹ This matches exactly with the related passage about Ma's observations

⁵⁸ Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. 47.

⁵⁹ Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. 48.

⁶⁰ Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. 48.

⁶¹ Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. 48.

in Singapore in the *Chaojin tuji*, only that the fellow astronomer in Istanbul is not mentioned there.

Well aware of Ma's later importance for Yunnan's Muslims, the Panthay Rebellion, and their journey, Rocher summarizes thus the impact of his pilgrimage: "The interesting voyage he had accomplished, the objects he had brought back from abroad, the knowledge he had acquired, the reputation of sanctity attached to pilgrims returning from Mecca only still increased the prestige he had already enjoyed before his departure."⁶²

Conclusions

With his *Chaojin tuji*, Ma Dexin paved the way for hundreds of Chinese pilgrims following in his footsteps during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when in an increasingly connected world more and more efficient transport and communication technology began to facilitate long-distance travel. His journey, which he started at the height of the First Opium War, inaugurated an age of strengthening ties, a new tide as Dru Gladney puts it,⁶³ between China's Muslim communities and the heartlands of Islam. The printed Chinese version published in 1861 by Ma Anli, which survives until today, was clearly not intended as a revealing and reflecting autobiographic work on the experience of Ma Dexin but as a guide to prospective pilgrims and an incentive to follow his example. It is therefore understandable that information about means of transportation or about travel routes and durations take more space in the book than exciting anecdotes or observations on intercultural comparisons. While railways inside the country and steamships chartered to transport pilgrims directly from Shanghai to Jeddah would change the experience of travelling from China to Mecca within a few decades and thus somewhat made the *Chaojin tuji* slightly outdated as a travel guide, it still remains an impressive testimony. It is a source of information on the first recorded Chinese to visit the Ottoman court in Istanbul, on a man who left China to travel the world before its first treaty ports opened through its mountainous southwestern backdoor, a man who observed the new technological developments of the Far West, collected books, and established contacts with scholars before the first Chinese exchange students were sent to Japan, Europe, or America. In Mecca, this man was remembered as

⁶² Rocher, *Province*, vol. 1, p. 78.

⁶³ Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (Cambridge, Mass. 1996), p. 36.

well. When in 1938 a group of Chinese students of Islamic theology from Al-Azhar University went on the pilgrimage,⁶⁴ as one of them, the reputed scholar Na Zhong 納忠 relates later, the group was still able to “visit the old building in which Ma Dexin had studied and lived a century ago; it was basically still preserved in its original state.”⁶⁵

64 For details on the *hajj* season of 1938, during which two rivalling Chinese pilgrim groups were organized by the Japanese administration as well as by Chinese exchange students in Egypt see Yufeng Mao, A Muslim Vision for the Chinese Nation: Chinese Pilgrimage Missions to Mecca during World War II, in *Journal of Asian Studies* 70/2 (2011), pp. 373–395.

65 Na Zhong 納忠, *Qingdai Yunnan musulun dui yisilan xuewen de jiaoxue yu yanjiu* 清代云南穆斯林对伊斯兰学问的教学与研究 (Teaching and Research of Yunnan Muslims on Islamic Studies during the Qing Period), in *Ningxia zhexue shehui kexue yanjiusuo* 宁夏哲学社会科学研究 (Ningxia Academy of Philosophy and Social Sciences) (ed.), *Qingdai Zhongguo yisilanjiao lunji* 清代中国伊斯兰教论集 (Article Collection on Islam in China during the Qing Period) (Yinchuan 1981).

