

Maritime China and Macau in Traditional Maps (c. 1000–1650)



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**MARITIME CHINA AND MACAU IN TRADITIONAL MAPS
(c. 1000-1650)**

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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Presentation

Isabel PINA and Roderich PTAK

In recent years historians, sinologists and other specialists have published a substantial number of books and articles on traditional maps showing Hainan, Guangdong, Macau, Fujian, Taiwan, Zhejiang, North China, and / or maritime East Asia in its totality. This mostly concerns Chinese and European maps and, very importantly, works prepared by the Jesuits in China.

Such traditional maps often record hundreds of toponyms, besides telling us something about the administrative structure of a particular region. The iconographic arrangement follows various patterns. In some cases, it is possible to differentiate between certain genres or subtypes. Clearly, “reading” and correctly interpreting old maps requires careful research. One must consult all kinds of texts to solve the questions which old maps pose. There are also editorial issues that one may need to consider, and in several cases the biographical background of the cartographer(s) matters as well.

Further aspects relate to the techniques of measurement, different projections, cosmological ideas, nautical data, various symbols, hidden allusions, and the size, circulation, uses, and perception of maps. Some pieces are richly decorated and bear a representative character, others are preliminary studies or inserted in books. Maps with a focus on Macau and individual port cities may tell us something about urban design and the social dimensions of a place. Most notably as well, in several cases European cartographic conventions have influenced Chinese mapmaking and vice versa. Here one may again think of the Jesuit maps, the Selden Map, maps on Japanese folding screens, Ruggieri’s atlas, and other famous examples.

In sum, what we have in mind to do is rather “straightforward” and “simple”: We wish to find out more about how China’s coastal areas and the adjacent seas were portrayed in cartographic works of the period roughly extending from circa 1000 to 1650 (and not of earlier and / or later periods). This links to the “things” mentioned above: research methods, toponyms, iconographic patterns, genres, political and social facets, technical dimensions, biographical and editorial details, the circulation of geographical knowledge, mutual influences between European, Chinese, and other traditions; it also connects to the question of sea routes, the perception of maritime spaces and navigational texts, to mention just a few more aspects. Some of these aspects will be addressed in the presentations, others will show up in the discussions. In short, we shall try to unfold a colorful panorama by looking at traditional maps related to parts of maritime Asia in multiple ways.

**Before the Arrival of the Jesuits:
Early Maps and Texts as Documents of Cultural Exchange
between East and West.
Notes on Islamic, Chinese, and European Works**

Victoria ALMONTE (Viterbo)

In my contribution to this workshop, I shall look at cartographic and ethnographic sources with information on some of the territories now forming part of Indonesia and Malaysia (Malay Peninsula, Melaka Strait, Sumatra, Srivijaya, Java, Sanfoqi, etc.), and at certain other locations connected to the routes leading towards the ports of South China or strongly involved in activities in and around the South China Sea. The relevant information comes from works written in Arabic, Armenian and Chinese between the 11th and 14th centuries. This including the following titles (among others):

- (1) *Description of Cities, Indian and Persian: Reminzar, the Land of Gold* (anonymous work written in Armenian, probably from 1106 and 1161; an itinerary for merchants setting out for the “Land of Gold” from the cities of Ghazna in Afghanistan and travelling via India and Ceylon; see R. Abramyan 1958 and V. Braginsky 1998).
- (2) *The Book of Curiosities* (an Arabic treatise compiled in the late 11th century, and containing several maps, including a rectangular and a circular world map [fig. 1 and 2; references to the presentation]; see Johns and Savage-Smith 2003).
- (3) Beato of Liébana’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* map (a very significant cartographic work of the European Early Middle Ages, written by the Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana during the 8th century; see J. Williams 1997, fig. 6-7-8).
- (4) *Huayi tu* “Map of China and the Barbarians” (an anonymous map made in 1136, inspired by the famous [textual] work of Jia Dan, a scholar of the 8th century, referring to the *Hainei Huayi tu* “Map of Chinese and Barbarian Lands within the Seas” [fig. 5]; see Smith 1996, p. 27; Lili Jiang 2017, p. 1527; and <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7820.ct000284/?r=-0.229,0.129,1.619,0.788,0>).
- (5) *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* (the geographical compendium written by Idrisi in Arabic, in 1154, for the Norman king of Sicily [fig. 3]; see G. Tibbetts in Woodward 1987).
- (6) *Lingwai Daida* (a Chinese geographical work compiled by Zhou Qufei in 1178; see V. Almonte 2020).
- (7) *Zhufan Zhi* (a geographical and ethnographic treatise compiled by Zhao Rukuo in 1225; see Hirth and Rockhill 1966).
- (8) *Daoyi Zhilüe* (by Wang Dayuan, with prefaces and a postscript of 1349/50; it deals with his travels in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa; see Rockhill 1913).

The passages extracted from these works for analysis are very different from each other and some of them are not very accurate, but they contain many interesting aspects. I shall look at certain details, and especially at how the authors dealt with the easternmost limits of the inhabited world. The toponym “Reminzar” (“Land of Gold”) in the Armenian text is the starting point. It represents Srivijaya. Thereafter the discussion proceeds to “Jazirat al qumr” in (2) – this toponym stands for Java or the Malay Archipelago as a whole, near the island of Sarandib (Sri Lanka; see fig. 2) – and the land mass (perhaps “Indonesia”) in the left part of the rectangular world map (fig. 1). Here one finds the following

inscription: “Island of Jewel and its mountains encircle it like scales”. Another feature is a cluster of islands on the *Tabula Rogeriana* (5). This cluster points to the Malay peninsula, Java, Sumatra, and Sri Lanka (fig. 3). Finally, I shall briefly look at the southernmost portion of the *terra incognita* recorded on the right side of the Beatus map versions (fig. 6-7-8).

All these maps and the annotations on them will be compared with related elements recorded in Chinese sources. In that context one needs to consider traditional Chinese concepts of space. Scholars have treated these concepts in flexible ways, often linking them to a complex system of symbols. Remarkably as well, ancient Chinese maps share certain things with Islamic maps and medieval mappamundi made in Europe. The relative size of objects, the distance between different points, and the question of scale always mattered. This is very different from the mathematically predictable universe brought by the Jesuit to China (see Woodward, *Cartography in Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, p. 288, and Smith, *Chinese Maps*, p. 3).

From an ethnographic point of view, many early descriptions suggest the existence of strong bonds between the South China Sea and the rest of the world. Moreover, comparative approaches “confirm” what we already know: The circulation of ideas and images from West to East and in the other direction began long before the arrival of the Western missionaries. Thus, research on pre-modern sources and maps will assist us to improve our understanding of cultural exchange between distant territories and to value some works that scholars have rarely considered or even neglected until now.

Guangdong in Some Jesuit Manuscript and Printed Maps of China (1590–1650) (Ruggieri, Giangolini, Sanson, Duval and Their Sources)

Marco CABOARA (Hong Kong)

This paper will look at Michele Ruggieri's manuscript maps of Guangdong kept at the Rome State Archives in connection with material from the Rome Jesuit Archives (ARSI) – i.e., a manuscript report in Ruggieri's hands including a printed map of China (Iap. Sin. 11 I 14a [n. 7]), and a 1593 manuscript map of China titled *Regnum Sinicum*.

I shall relate this material to later printed maps of the mid-seventeenth century, with special emphasis on three maps of China printed two to three generations later, based on late sixteenth-century material, namely the maps by Giangolini (Rome 1642), Sanson (Paris 1656), and Duval (Paris 1672) (see Caboara 2022).

Also, I shall focus on toponyms along the coast and islands of Guangdong – and specifically in the Pearl River Delta – to look at the retentions and changes in European geographical knowledge of these areas as reflected in different printing networks, the Dutch and the Franco-Italian.

Reference:

Caboara, M (2022). *Regnum Chinae: The Printed Western Maps of China to 1735*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Hu Zongxian's Discussions of Guangdong's Coastal Defense System in the *Qiankun yitong haifang quantu*

Jiehua CAI (Munich)

During the Jiajing era (1521–1567) of the Ming Dynasty, the maritime defense system of the Hongwu reign (1368–1398) was falling apart due to frequent invasions of the coastal regions by a coalition of Japanese and local Chinese pirates. Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲 (1512–1565) skillfully used military tactics and strategies to put an end to the chaos caused by the Wokou pirates in the south. He also wrote many works, including the 13 volume *Chouhai tubian* 籌海圖編 (Illustrated Book of Planning out the Seas) and several practical treatises on coastal defense. Meanwhile, many officials created local maritime defense maps. Among the most famous was the *Wanli haifang tu* 萬里海防圖 (Map of the Maritime Defenses of the Wanli Era; 1561), drawn by Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若曾 (1503–1570) and others, specifically aimed at defending China's coasts against the Wokou invasions.

In 1605, Xu Bidai 徐畢達 (1503–1583) and Dong Kewei 董可威 (?) used Zheng Ruozeng's *Wanli haifang tu* and other sources as references to create a series of scroll-style maritime defense maps called the *Qiankun yitong haifang quantu* 乾坤一統海防全圖 (Complete Map of Maritime Defenses of the Unified Empire). This large map, extending from the Guangdong coast eastward and northward, shows many details, such as islands, mountain ranges, sea routes, military deployments, and various military and administrative institutions. Notably, the map also includes sixteen essays written by Hu Zongxian, known as the *Hu Shaobao haifang lun* 胡少保海防論 (Hu Shaobao's Treatise on Maritime Defense), discussing coastal geography, institutional evolution, combat strategies, etc.

The presentation will focus on Hu Zongxian's discussions of Guangdong's coastal defense system. The aim is to understand his thoughts and the strategies he designed for these areas by presenting a detailed interpretation of the text, combined with references to various other military maps.

Macao and the Global Circulation of Cosmographic Knowledge in the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries through the Lens of Japanese ‘World-Map’ Folding Screens

Angelo CATTANEO (New Haven)

This paper focuses on the analysis of a selection of Japanese so-called ‘World-Map’ folding screens (*sekai chizu byōbu* 世界地図屏風), drawn in Japan in the late Momoyama (1573–1615) and early Edo periods (1615–1868). There are circa 30 known and extant ‘World-Map’ *byōbu*. Through them, Japanese painters addressed a new geography of the world by re-elaborating works from three main cartographic genres that reached Japan during the *nanban* century. This included Western manuscript and printed maps of the world; the planispheres written in Chinese and printed in numerous editions in the context of the mission in China by Matteo Ricci, in collaboration with Chinese scholars, engravers and printers, such as Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1565–1630) and Zhang Wentao 張文燾 (c. 1585–1610); finally, Sino-Korean cartography that reached Japan independently from any European agency. These works were part of the global circulation of material culture and knowledge, which resulted from the Iberian and Dutch expansions and Jesuit missionary strategies in Asia, as well as the circulation of material culture between Japan, China and Korea; that also includes the context of Japan’s unsuccessful expansion in Korea.

The Japanese painters who designed the cartographic *byōbu* were re-copying and transforming images of the world with different origins. Their cartographic features reveal the provenance of their sources, enabling one to also to draw a cultural map of cosmographic ideas reaching Japan during the *nanban* century. Seen from that perspective, ‘World-Map’ *byōbu* are fundamental for tracing the global circulation of cosmographic images in early modernity. The maps used as sources for the Japanese ‘World-Map’ *byōbu* arrived in Japan from Macao, through Portuguese agents and the Jesuits, from Amsterdam through Dutch merchants, and from Korea, acquired through diplomacy or war.

Those arriving from Macao were originally dispatched from Lisbon, being either designed in Portugal, or printed in Rome, Antwerp or Amsterdam, or designed and printed within the context of the Jesuit mission of China, where Matteo Ricci and his Chinese interlocutors drew and printed planispheres as early as 1585. From Macao, onboard the Portuguese *nau do trato* or *kurofune* (黒船, ‘black ships’, as the Japanese called these vessels), both European maps and iconography and the so-called ‘Ricci’ planispheres reached Nagasaki whence they began circulating inside Japan, at first via the Jesuit missions, but later also independently from the latter. Instead of a linear, pendular model based on a direct West-East circulation, the corpus of cartographic *nanban byōbu* highlights a complex radial system of vectors that was centered on, departed from and arrived to a major fulcrum: the port city of Macao.

Maritime East Asia's Depiction and Toponyms in Jesuit Atlases and Maps

Paolo DE TROIA (Rome)

From the late sixteenth century onwards, following the eastward expansion of Western powers and the exploration of new sea routes, geographical knowledge of Asia, particularly Maritime East Asia, increased significantly, especially in comparison to knowledge related to the interior of the Asian continent. Boats had been travelling to and through the East for long centuries, and in the ports and custom houses to which itinerant merchants would go, a growing stock of information became available, thus making it possible to regularly update information on these areas, and to adjust current images of Asia's lands and seas by adding fresh information to earlier material.

My paper will attempt to collect data from such geographical records, with particular attention to Maritime East Asia, an area well known to the Chinese since antiquity and described in many Chinese works, but also presented in new and updated Western accounts and on European maps. Both traditions accurately describe numerous islands and polities such as the ones on Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, or in the Philippines and the Moluccan world.

It is an interesting task to focus our attention on the differences and mutual influence between these traditions. My paper will look at the possible "intersections" of Western and Chinese information by analyzing "hybrid" sources, such as the Sino-Jesuit works, which include data drawn from both the Western and Chinese sides. The intention is to create what may be called a genealogy of such data, and to observe how particular images of Maritime East Asia came into being. This implies observations related to different types of documents, different kinds of data, different cultural elements, and different strategies of presentation.

Cartography and Geography for the Pre-modern Spanish and Portuguese Empires: toward a Cultural and Social History

Pascale GIRARD (Paris)

Generally speaking, geographical knowledge does not take the form of academic disciplines. As Paul Claval points out in his *Histoire de la géographie* (1995), there is a gap between the need for geographical information for individuals and the need for geographical knowledge recorded in written form. In the past, only a few persons (politicians, merchants, etc.) needed written documents. The transition from oral forms of geography to written forms must, therefore, be placed in the context of pre-modern bureaucracies and the rise of empires. Written forms of geographical knowledge are therefore not only linked to obtaining information about a certain area, but also to technical levels, intentions and projects, societies in their general shape and power.

We already know that written forms of geographical knowledge (maps, guidebooks, etc.) are organised differently across the world and specifically within the context of Chinese and Western traditions. As far as the production of a geography of China and the Philippines is concerned, my presentation will focus on two aspects: the producers and transmitters of information (members of the royal administrations, ship officers, missionaries...), and the evolution of state policies to structure this same production.

**Mapeando a História de Macau:
Uma nova perspectiva na leitura de uma peça cartográfica “Padrão Real” de
Diogo Ribeiro para revelar a presença portuguesa anterior a 1557**

JIN Guoping (Beijing)

A investigação académica internacional, apesar dos esforços contínuos, continua a enfrentar uma questão central na disciplina da Macaologia: a data exata em que Macau é mencionado pela primeira vez na cartografia. Esta palestra se propõe a abordar essa questão de forma mais detalhada. Uma peça cartográfica de extrema importância, característica do “Padrón Real” da monarquia espanhola, obra de Diogo Ribeiro, cartógrafo português em serviço da coroa espanhola, fornece uma visão inovadora para a discussão. No mapa-mundi de 1525, uma legenda específica apresenta a primeira referência a uma área que se identificaria como Macau: “y. damquem”. A desambiguação deste termo é essencial, sendo “y.” uma abreviatura para “ylha” (ilha), “d” uma contração para “de”, e “amquem” a designação antiga em chinês para uma terra que veio a ser Macau, conhecida como “Haojing” (蚝镜). Na década de 1520 do século XVI, o termo “Macau” (Aomen) não estava em uso mesmo no idioma chinês, o que confere à transcrição uma elevada precisão histórica.

**Drawing the City of Manila: Chinese Traditional Painting Techniques
Applied to the Image of a Spanish-style City.
A Preliminary Discussion of the “Manila Box”
in the Museum of Jose Luis Bello**

Fabio Yuchung LEE (Taipei)

For a long time, artists have endeavored to depict three-dimensional cities on flat surfaces. Both Europe and China have their own extensive histories in that regard. In 1553, Portuguese settlers established themselves in Macau, followed by the Jesuits entering China for missionary work, while Spanish merchants came to Manila in 1571. Ever since, a continuous exchange of languages, cultures, and knowledge developed between East and West. The results of this exchange also became manifest in the realm of painting. Notably, some Chinese artists who settled in Manila have been assisting Spanish painters in their work. Such works include the renowned Boxer Codex and Adriano de las Cortes' account of the shipwreck in Chaozhou. In the realm of city painting, the “Philippine Boxes” at the Museum of Jose Luis Bello in Mexico stand out as one such example.

This paper will briefly discuss the historical background of cultural exchange between Chinese and Spanish settlers staying in Manila. It will focus on issues such as production time, the composition of the drawings, the urban space depicted, painting techniques, and other related aspects of the “Philippine Boxes”. The aim is to draw attention to and stimulate fresh scholarly research on urban maps showing Macau and other locations in the seventeenth century.

Sea Names in the Western Pacific and the Northern Indian Ocean Areas as Recorded in Late Medieval Chinese Sources With a Focus on *Yang* 洋 and *Luoji* 落漈

LIU Yingsheng 刘迎胜 (Nanjing)

Since the Song period, the Chinese names of several spaces in the Yellow Sea, East China Sea, South China Sea, and North Indian Ocean have one thing in common, that is, they mostly end with the character *yang* 洋. In contemporary Chinese, *yang* refers to the oceans, such as the Taiping yang 太平洋 (Pacific Ocean) and Yindu yang 印度洋 (Indian Ocean), while the term *hai* 海 is used to denote smaller spaces near the coast, at the outer rim of the oceans. However, in ancient times this was different. Usually, *Yang* referred to a specific sea space, or part of it, often comparable to the English “sea” in its current sense.

Most of the toponyms ending with *yang* appear in late medieval Chinese texts and must be considered as entities which received their names by Chinese navigators when these sailors came through the areas in question, or after they had completed their voyages; therefore, such names are typical Chinese toponyms.

Already in Song times, Chinese sailors knew the warm current in the West Pacific, i.e., the Kuroshio, that runs from the Philippines to Japan. Sources refer to this current under the name *Luoji* 落漈. In the eyes of the Ming and Qing governments, it constituted the sea border between China’s Diaoyu Islands 钓鱼群岛 and the Ryukyu kingdom. This border space was also named as *Liuqiu dayang* 琉球大洋 or 琉球水 *Liuqiu shui*, both translatable as “Ryukyu Sea”.

Origin and Sources of the Cartographic Representations of China in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*

Rui M. LOUREIRO (Lisbon)

The Dutch traveler Jan Huygen van Linschoten lived in Goa, on the west coast of India, between 1583 and 1588, working as a secretary for the Portuguese archbishop Vicente da Fonseca. After returning to Europe, Linschoten published in Amsterdam, in 1595–1596, a group of works collectively known as the *Itinerario*, gathering a mix of travel accounts, maritime rutters, and geographic and natural history descriptions. The textual part of the *Itinerario* was complemented with a large series of illustrations depicting landscapes, people, ships, animals, and natural products; besides that, it also included several detailed maps of extra-European lands and seas. The purpose of the present paper is to analyse the cartographic representations of China that are present in the *Itinerario* and to determine their origins, purposes, and sources. Among these sources, one will find several Portuguese manuscript maps that, somehow, Linschoten was able to copy.

Prata Fina, Lei Divina:
Trade and Mission in Fernão Vaz Dourado's Map of Japan of 1568

Miguel Rodrigues LOURENÇO (Lisbon)

Unlike most Portuguese nautical charts of East and Southeast Asia from the second half of the sixteenth century, Fernão Vaz Dourado's map of Japan of 1568 is one of its kind. The slow-paced development of nautical knowledge related to these regions resulted in a gradual repetition of models over long decades. Contrary to this tendency, extant cartographic specimens suggest that Dourado's work was not repeated by its author, nor by other cartographers, with the level of detail depicted in 1568. Enriched with abundant toponymy and iconography, the 1568 map of Japan provides a unique image that systematizes the accumulated knowledge on the archipelago at a time of growing interest in the presence of European there. In this presentation we propose to undertake a 'deconstruction' of the 1568 map with the aim of analyzing and discussing the image conveyed by it. By identifying the sources that make up the cartographic discourse elaborated by Dourado, we wish to demonstrate that the information used to create this chart stems from two main types of sources: on the one hand, Jesuit accounts of their missions in the archipelago; on the other hand, from different traditions related to sailing directions, recorded in later Portuguese rutters.

Navigating Perils: Charting Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Maritime Risks in the Vicinity of Macau and the South China Sea

Arianna MAGNANI (Enna)



‘Shipwreck’, ‘storm’, and ‘*dafeng*’ are words frequently found in the testimonies of the Jesuits during their journeys through the South China Sea. From the times of Francis Xavier through to the well-documented voyage of the *Amphitrite*, which set sail from France in 1701, bringing missionaries to China, one encounters numerous reports of the dangers faced at sea and even of shipwrecks that occurred in the vicinity of Macau, involving arriving or departing vessels. It is no coincidence that texts of the Ming period such as the *Haidao jing* 海道經 and the *Huang Ming zhifang ditu* 皇明職方地圖 include several sections that teach readers how one can predict changes in weather and waters conditions during sea voyages.

Given the richness of these written testimonies, my presentation will focus on one region – on the maritime dangers associated with the routes from and to Macau. In that context it seems plausible to transfer the locations of nautical hardship along the sailing corridors from the Xisha islands 西沙群島 to Shangchuan 上川島, and from Macau to Japan, to contemporary maps. For the further analysis it is also necessary to link these locations to European and Chinese charts of the Ming dynasty. That in turn makes it possible to compare viewpoints: How did the Chinese perceive dangers, and how did European navigators deal with these problems? Finally, a brief excursion into the field of underwater archaeology will be useful to round off my remarks.

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Depicting a Sailing Route along the Coast of China: The “Haiyun tu” 海運圖 and its Circulation in Ming Books

Elke PAPELITZKY 林珂 (Oslo)

Luo Hongxian’s 羅洪先 (1504–1564) atlas *Guang yutu* 廣輿圖 (Expanded Terrestrial Maps; first printed 1556 or 1557) contains a map titled “Haiyun tu” 海運圖 (Sea Transportation Map; fig. 1). This map shows the grain transport route from Fujian to northern China and leaves blank a route in a sea of waves. On the following pages, a text fills the reader in with information on the voyage along the coastline depicted on the map. Mapping routes as lines, as on this map, was not uncommon in China. Already a Song period map carved on stone marks these lines. However, it was the “Haiyun tu” that circulated widely and made a large number of map readers see maps with such route-lines. This is due to the popularity of the *Guang yutu*, of which the maps (and sometimes also text) were reprinted countless times in Ming and Qing China. This paper will analyze the “Haiyun tu”, its connection to other route maps, and its circulation in later artifacts.

Hainan in Selected Maps of the Song to Ming Periods

Roderich PTAK (Munich)

Song, Yuan, and Ming maps showing Hainan abound. There are different types of such maps, and different ways of presenting the island. This concerns its shape, important locations on and near it, its administrative division, rivers, mountains, and above all, the way in which it is placed near the Gulf of Tongking and / or near the Leizhou Peninsula. Some of these features change over time, others remain stable. One may add, early Portuguese maps also show Hainan; in doing so, they often follow Ming conventions.

Very often, sailing corridors and other considerations related to maritime trade and traffic are key features for our understanding of the maps depicting Hainan. Furthermore, military installations appear on cartographic scrolls dealing with the coastal defense system. Such maps become important under the Ming. Extant local Hainan chronicles of that period offer additional views. They contain detailed cartographic illustrations with precise information on towns, villages, foreign quarters, markets, temples, offices, natural ports, inland routes, points of orientation, capes, etc. Data of that kind can be cross-checked against information in the textual parts of these chronicles, and in geographic works with a more general character.

In my presentation, I shall briefly discuss, from the bird's-eye view, selected examples taken from different cartographic genres.

Portuguese Routes along the China Coast in the 16th Century: Textual and Cartographic Sources

Jorge SEMEDO DE MATOS (Lisbon)

Portuguese ships reached the coast of China in 1517 when Fernão Peres de Andrade's expedition arrived at the Canton River. The Portuguese stayed there for about a year, during which they did excellent business and had time to send out Jorge Mascarenhas' ship to explore the coast further north. However, in 1522 the Portuguese were expelled from the Canton River, and the relationship between both sides seems to have broken off at birth. Yet, private merchants (outside the control of the Portuguese crown) returned to the China coast in the 1530s. They maintained an intensive maritime trade that extended northwards to Zhejiang Province or Hangzhou Bay. These voyages left behind a cartographic memory with many inaccuracies (and errors), as well as some rutters describing coastal dangers and how to overcome them by choosing safe routes. My presentation will look at the routes in question and the difficulties associated with sailing in those waters. Also, it will highlight some Portuguese place names recorded in sixteenth century rutters, cartography, and other documents of the time.

