

A Portuguese Seventeenth Century Map of the South China Coast

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This Portuguese map is a treasure trove of information because it gives readers a detailed description of Canton Province in the seventeenth century, its location in the South China Sea, its numerous islands and rivers, its cities and the military outposts which controlled it. Like all historical documents, it has a precise objective. We must therefore decipher the details and information in this map. Apart from the legends, the information in the map shows the outline of urban and agricultural areas in Canton province.

The map shows us that the cartographer reveals a deep geographical knowledge of the Chinese coastline illustrating precise economic and political realities. The map we intend to analyze may be found in Lisbon's Biblioteca da Ajuda (Ajuda Library), where it is kept classified under "Mapa Topográfico da região de Macau e Cantão. Jorge Pinto de Azevedo. 1646" (annexed to MS. 54-XI-21⁹). Neither scale nor date is included, and the author of this map is unknown. Its present dimension is approximately 44 x 59.5 cm.¹

The map is attached to a parchment of white cloth.² It is bordered by a silk ribbon. The drawing shows a relatively extensive central area, with a white mark due to a tear, where a fragment of the map has disappeared. This possibly represented the remains of a cultivated area on the left and right banks of the "River Anção." The tear also probably caused the disappearance of part of a small town.

The legends seem to be written in seventeenth century script and are accurate. The drawing is done in different shades of watercolors: the sea and rivers are marked in blue, the land is brown, cultivated areas and trees are in green, the houses have white walls, black doors and red roofs. Finally the Canton walls are marked in black and the town walls of Anção in red. The perimeter of the map (the margins) is in poor condition; there are parts where it has been torn and some parts are missing; however, they do not alter the interpretation and the beauty of this map. It maintains a presentable and interesting aspect, which is enriched by its polychromatic effect.



The whole map as it appears today: "Carta do Delta do Rio das Pérolas" (B.A. Ms. 54-XI-21⁹)

Some Notes Concerning the History of this Map

This map of the province of Canton was attached to a document dated March 1646 by Jorge Pinto de Azevedo,³ which was handed to Filipe Mascarenhas, the Viceroy of India, and addressed to King John IV. It was entitled "Advertencias de muita importancia ha / Magestosa coroa del Rey Nosso Senhor Dom João / o 4º do nome offercidas. e aprezen / tadas ao dito Senhor no seu Conselho do Esta / do a índia, em mão do Senhor Vice Rey Dom / Phelipe mascarenhaz. por Jorge Pinto de Azevedo / morador na China em Março de 1646."⁴

In his exposition Jorge Pinto de Azevedo makes three explicit references to the map. First, he explains that he presented the map in order to clarify the suggestions written in his document.⁵ The second and the third references are points to call to the reader's attention so that on a certain part of the document they may use the map as an aid to locate and clarify the size of the rivers, lands and cities mentioned in the document.⁶

However, there is still a need to answer a legitimate question about the age and authorship of the map. The history of the two documents are related. The "*Advertencias . . .*" was written to alert King D. John IV of the difficulties existing in China. In particular it reveals the necessity to undertake Chinese commerce with other countries under Portuguese domination. We also know that for a period of time between 1646 and another unknown date (when the document entered the Library of the Count of Redondo), the above-mentioned document and map belonged to António Lobato Calheiros.⁷

Despite several searches in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, namely in *Documentos Remetidos da India*, we have not yet found any other reference to the history of the map and treatise "*Advertencias . . .*" before it became part of the Count of Redondo's library, and subsequently (in the middle of the 18th century) in the "Real Biblioteca da Ajuda." It is not surprising to know that this manuscript was part of the Count of Redondo's personal library, for the Count was the great great-grandson of D. João Coutinho, fifth Count of Redondo, Viceroy of India, who died there in 1619. The second (of his line) Count of Redondo, Tomé de Sousa de Castelo Branco Coutinho e Meneses,⁸ amassed a magnificent library, which included the "*Advertencias . . .*" and the map. However, he died in 1717 and was succeeded as Count of Redondo by his one-year-old son, Fernando de Sousa Coutinho (1716-1791). It was this Count of Redondo who, in 1756, sold the library of his house (manuscripts and prints) to King D. José. This collection was then

incorporated into the recently formed Royal Ajuda Library.⁹

The first librarian responsible for the new Royal Palace Library was Father José Caetano de Almeida, who had previously served in the Royal Palace Library when it had been located on the Ribeira, and who remained in this position until 1768. It was undoubtedly this librarian who supervised the integration of the Count of Redondo's library into the Royal Palace Library, giving origin to a new nucleus called "Livreria da Casa de Redondo." In the Main Library of Coimbra University is a manuscript¹⁰ which contains a list of prices of the books and manuscripts which had formerly belonged to the second Count of Redondo and sold to King José I. This list gives us two important pieces of information: the first of which is that the manuscript "*Advertencias . . .*" and our map to which it is attached were both included in the sale; and in the second place, they were classified under the following reference: "*Advertencias muito importantes a D. João IV,*" and were sold to the King for the amount of 980 reis. This topographic map of the Canton region, from the island of Hainan to the River "Sal" in the Ajuda Library, at the present is classified as we stated earlier: MS 54-XI-21.¹¹

Authorship

As far as I know this map has never been studied. Luis da Silveira, however, referred to it, publishing¹² a small photograph, accompanied by a legend which identifies the authorship of the map to the man who also wrote the "*Advertencias . . .*"—Jorge Pinto de Azevedo. The highly esteemed work *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* also briefly mentions it¹³ without publishing any photograph of the map, and referring to the possibility of the map dating back to 1646 or a little prior to this date. Nevertheless, Armando Cortesão takes care not to mention the authorship of the map, apart from stating that it is an annex of "*Advertencias . . .*," whose author is Jorge Pinto de Azevedo. As for us, we find it strange and significant that a map of such a size, carefully traced and painted, had been used to illustrate a report ("*Advertencias . . .*") addressed to the King without having been signed. If this map had really been drawn by Pinto de Azevedo, we consider it as most probable and natural that he would have signed it too. On the other hand, we do not think it plausible that, in the three references made to the map by Pinto de Azevedo in the report addressed to the King, he would not have profited from the opportunity to mention the fact that he himself was the author of the map, if he really were. Instead, Pinto de Azevedo only

uses the following expressions: "I offer the painting to Your Majesty" and "The painting that I present."¹⁴

Furthermore, we consider very significant the fact that the map presents the name André Feio written or signed at the bottom and in the middle, above a large island near Macao, possibly the island of Coloane (legend 38). Apart from this reference, we have not encountered any island called André Feio in the numerous maps we have consulted. This data, together with our interpretation of the map and representation of Macao¹⁵ indicating the fact that this map was drawn before 1646, allows us to make this very plausible hypothesis: Jorge Pinto de Azevedo was not the author of this map, but possibly André Feio was.¹⁶

As far as the legends are concerned, and according to the paleographer Dr. António Joaquim Ribeiro Guerra (Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon) the form of the letters make us think of an occasional work that does not correspond to the author's usual activity, owing to the variations shown in the writing of the letters. By the form of the letters we assume the author to be a writer who is accustomed to a cursive, quicker type of handwriting than the writing that is usually used by map makers. On comparing the variations in the form of the letters used in the legends of the map with those of the handwriting in the manuscript to which the map was annexed, we can verify that these variations are similar (as is the case for: d, p, R, I). This letter of the late Humanist type and the referred similar variations open the possibility that the same author wrote the legends of the map and the handwritten manuscript.

A Reading and an Analysis of the Map

Placing this map on the Southern Chinese Coast, in order to locate the city of Canton to the Northwest, we may note the remaining boundaries of the map: to the northeast the China Sea and the "White Island" as a northern boundary area, to the southwest part of the island of "Ainão," and to the southeast the island of "São Choão" and "Ilha dos Veados."

The richness and diversity of information given by this map allow us to analyze it from three perspectives: one from a geographical point of view, focusing on the seas and rivers; another, the economic aspects, with emphasis on commerce; and lastly, the military characteristics, namely to point out the kind of armaments and number of men necessary for Portuguese dominion.

1. *Physical Geography.* Let us examine first of all, the contents concerning the geographical area.

The map covers a very extensive geographical area, mainly the coastline. The China Sea covers only one-third of the map, extending over a narrow area from the north to the southeast to the southwest. In spite of this, the aspects of continentality are softened by the fact that the greater area of the coastline, is illustrated by the Pearl River delta (or Zhujiang) and the West River (or Xi Jiang). The fluvial areas ramifying off into a complex and entangled network, which encloses the entire map.

Therefore, it is not surprising to see represented approximately a dozen rivers, with six being identified: the "Canton,"¹⁷ the "Sanquy,"¹⁸ the "Quimpà," the "Anção," the "Lantão," the "Sal."¹⁹ The massive representation of insular areas (more than 40 islands are illustrated) also reveals the difficulty the author of the map had in identifying these islands. There are 21 identified islands: "Ainão,"²⁰ "Lichial"²¹ "Duas Irmãs,"²² "Anção,"²³ "Sumtà,"²⁴ "Pulutacho," "São Choão,"²⁵ "Ilha dos Veados," "Monte de Trigo," "Pinhal," "Montanha,"²⁶ "Maquareira,"²⁷ "Jamy,"²⁸ "Vacas," "Caquião"²⁹ "Ilha da Fazenda,"³⁰ "Lantao," "Leme,"³¹ "Fernando," and "Ilha Branca,"³² "André feyo." However, as pointed out earlier, the last-mentioned—"André Feyo"—may have been the name of the map's author.

2. *Human Geography.* The map, apart from pointing out the existence of various towns, reveals the presence of 5 small-holdings which we think are intensive agricultural and irrigated areas. These areas are subdivided into small regular parts on the banks of rivers and they are colored in green.

One of the important contributions of this map concerning human geography lies in the fact that it presents a highly populated region, where 40 towns are represented. The diversity of chosen forms reveals a multitude or even an established hierarchy. Some of them are marked by three small houses, whose location appears to be arbitrary. Others are marked by numerous houses and with one or two square-shaped town walls and with a geometrical land composition, respecting a well defined hierarchy, which obviously refers to centers or political administrative poles, resembling traditional oriental architecture. Over many centuries the major Chinese cities were founded according to plans deriving from evident ideological and political-religious conceptions.³³ Therefore we may state that the two walled towns represented on our map—Canton and Anção—are two clear examples of the influence of these cosmological conceptions in urban structure. We will discuss Macao later (Annex II).

Canton (Guangzhou), the capital of Guangdong (Kuang Tung) province, together with Zhangzhou (in Fujian), a major city on the southern Chinese coast in the mid-17th century, are important due to their commercial networks, which transported Chinese merchandise to markets in Japan, to Southeast Asia and the West, and to Macao and the Portuguese. Canton is the major city illustrated on this map. However, it is only partially represented, as the city extends to the north-east, further away beyond the limits of the map. It has two concentric town walls, with a great number of houses, some of them in different styles. According to the legends of this map, Canton is considered a major key as far as its political and economic role in Portuguese commerce with China.³⁴

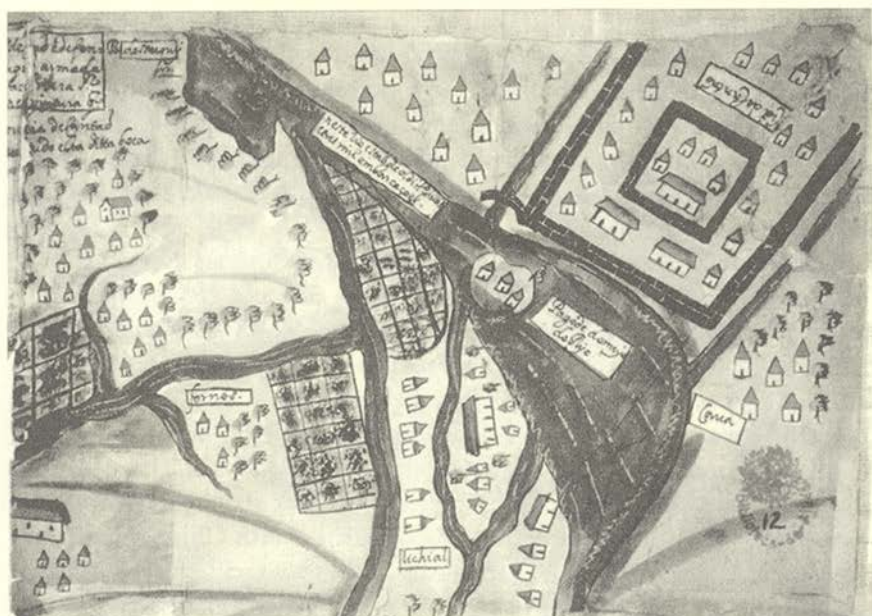
Anção, which is actually written in Chinese *Xiangshan*, appears to be the second major city according to our cartographer. "Anção" was the city-borough (today's Xiangshan), which Macao came under. It was a city with its town walls, including different kinds of houses: two houses with one entrance and a roof; two detached houses with their respective entrances, possibly representing streets; and a larger house with three entrances and roofs in the city center.³⁵ Regarding the other thirty-seven towns, only nine are identified by the author. They are: Quimpà, Quitaho, Chitay, Chapoy, S. Luzia, Sumtã, Montanha, Jamy, Lantao.³⁶

One of the towns in the hinterland, and to the northwest of Anção, is still to be identified, as the square usually drawn to write the city name inside was left blank. As far as "Quimpà" is concerned, the locality on the river bed was the only place identified and it was given the same name—Quimpà. However, no town was drawn near the legend.

One of the main characteristics of these towns is that they are nearly always surrounded by some trees, which could signify an ecological concern characteristic of Chinese urbanism.

Some other architectural elements are identified, possibly serving as a landmark for navigation—for example, the Chinese Temple designated as a "Shrine in the middle of the river" (leg. 2) or the island called "The White Island" or the "White Rock." Actually this White Island is found on numerous maps, illustrating the Guangdong coastline (Canton).³⁷

The author of this map was actually a man with considerable experience. He was very familiar with the Southern Chinese coastline, in particular with the province of Canton and the small peninsula of Macao, the latter dominated by the Portuguese. This experience permits him, quite often, to know the distance between certain localities, such as "25 leagues from this island to Macao and Canton" (leg. 22), reflecting the



A detail of the map representing the city of Canton



A detail of the map representing the city of Anção

need to provide useful data for the Portuguese in the region.

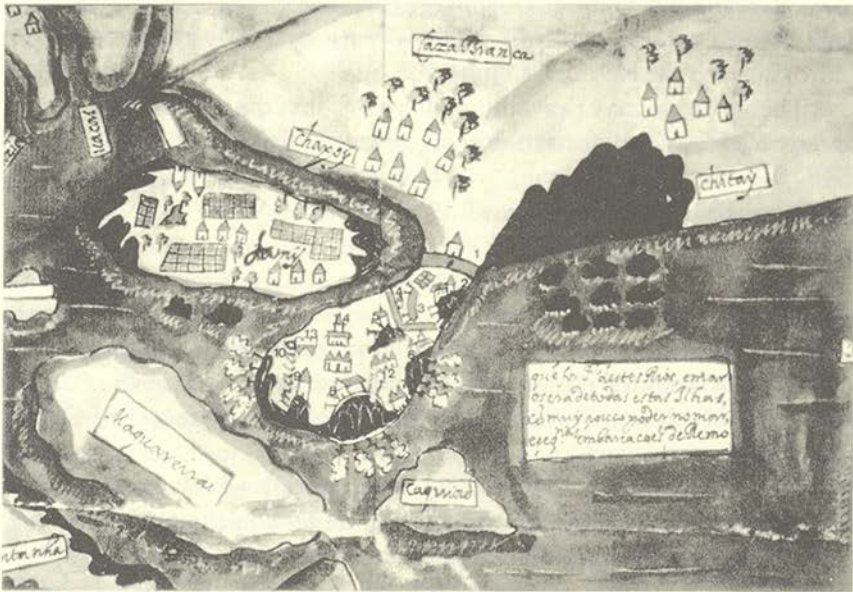
As far as the population density is concerned, the manuscript "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27 very clearly explains this factor. It confirms that the City of Canton is one of the most populated cities which the map covers: "The inhabitants cannot leave even if they have the intention. They have nowhere to go, as the kingdom is so populated; they will populate other lands" overseas, as they did in Japan, in Manila and in South-East Asia.

The information given by the legend explains a series of points useful to Portuguese navigation, both in the China Sea and rivers. Hence we are given information regarding strategic points on the coastline and rivers. Thus even with small naval assistance, it is possible to acquire a greater dominion over coastal areas. In this context the legend explicitly indicates: the mouth of the river "Sanquy" (Xijiang, leg. 6); the river "Quimpá" (leg. 10); and the Sal River and Macao (leg. 47). To illustrate this, we will write out the reference to the strategic river mouth of the Pearl (Perola) River (Zhujiang) and the South China Sea: "Who will be the Lord of these Rivers and Sea will be the Lord of these Islands with the little power at sea and small rowing boats" (leg. 40).

The map also supplies specific indications as to which are the most advisable sea-routes to follow. Readers are warned to avoid adverse maritime river conditions: "Along this mouth and river the people from Macao will navigate in order to avoid any wind in the bay of the shorter way" (leg. 24); it also refers to the most ideal vessels: "Along this river very large vessels will enter Canton and leaving Macao one can reach it in one day, in small rowing boats"³⁸; on some occasions we are informed of the distance from one locality to another: "This island is 25 leagues from Macao to Canton" (leg. 22).

Representation of Macao

To conclude our analysis concerning the geographical features, we will now focus on Macao, a center of Portuguese presence in China since the sixteenth century. An accurate study of the urban area of Macao reveals the absence of a typically Chinese organization and orientation, i.e., a concentric cosmological and religious structure. Among the fourteen architectural elements drawn in Macao, eight are clearly for warfare³⁹: the door of the "Cerco" and two sets of walls,⁴⁰ plus five buildings which we suggest may represent the Fortress of "S. Francisco" (M. 6), the Fortress of "Guia" (M. 2), the Fortress of "S. Paulo do Monte" (M. 5), the Fortress of "Bom Parto" (M. 8), and the Fortress of "S. Tiago



Macao and surrounding countryside

da Barra (M. 10). Four buildings appear to represent religious buildings: the Church of "Penha" (M.9), "S. Domingos" Church (M. 11), the Church of "Nossa Senhora do Amparo" (M. 13) and/or a Chinese Shrine, by virtue of its unique configurations (character and position) or the Church of Santo António (M. 14). To conclude, the last two buildings are apparently civic buildings. One may represent the Loyal Senate and the other a small house, but it could be also a small fort (M.7).

Judging by the dates the aforementioned forts and churches were built and the nonexistence of city walls, and comparing this map with others we have consulted, we may verify that the author of this map has represented Macao as the city was c. 1630 (if not earlier), since all buildings had been practically finished by that date.

As far as the city walls are concerned, they were being built in 1622 (after the first attempt at construction in 1605 and their demolition following a Chinese edict). According to António Bocarro the walls would have already been almost concluded when D. Francisco de Mascarenhas left his post as General Captain in 1626. A large part of these walls which were facing the entrance (Door of the "Cerco") was demolished by order of the Chinese Mandarins, "consequently the only part which

will remain are found in front of the sea and the West area and trench on the Cassilhas Beach."⁴¹ In spite of this, Macao already possessed a large area of the city walls in 1635, which are clearly represented on Pedro Barreto de Resende's chart.⁴²

Therefore we may draw this conclusion, that the author of this map already had the conditions to draw it between 1630 (maybe before) and 1646, the date when the map was handed to the Viceroy as an annex to the treatise "*Advertencias . . .*"

Economy

This map provides important information about the economy of the region. It includes the coastline and insular zones, as well as the routes, which could facilitate Portuguese control over the commerce of China with the Western world.

The Portuguese interest in local raw materials which may be used, or even controlled, by the Portuguese can be seen in the practice of the author of this map of denominating some localities according to the abundance of raw materials, instead of identifying them with their original place-names.⁴³

Therefore we may encounter place names designating foodstuffs: For example, cereals, such as "Monte de Trigo" (leg. 31); game and meat, e.g., "ilha dos Veados" (leg. 30) and "Vacas" (leg. 36); and salt, e.g., "rio do Sal."⁴⁴

The designation of the Canton River as the Pearl River, employed in many Portuguese maps as the river which bathes Canton, shows the application of a place name to an important product.⁴⁵

The abundance of forest products supplying materials for construction is marked by the designation of an island under the toponymy "Pinhal" (leg. 32). The map illustrates the existence of numerous urban settlements. Almost a dozen cities⁴⁶ are identified and many others are represented. There are also references to the city of Canton, or to the region of Hainan,⁴⁷ control of which would ensure the dominion of many other cities and towns.

Furthermore we encountered a legend marking a place of worship: "A shrine in the middle of the river" (leg. 2) and another marking some equipment for production, namely "ovens" (leg. 11).

According to the author of "*Advertencias . . .*" the domination of cities and rivers was a way for the Portuguese to consolidate their political and commercial presence along the coast of China. According to the author such domination would enable the Portuguese to support

themselves by collecting taxes from the Chinese. However, in order to facilitate Portuguese dominion, the Portuguese should charge lower taxes than those the Chinese were previously forced to pay to the Chinese administration.⁴⁸

Political-Military Information

The reading of the legends clearly informs us of the political-military perspective which provided the rationale for the inscriptions on the map. The legends summarize the information given on the drawing of the map, even though they are merely geographical and to assist navigation, or of economic origin.

The first priority of the author of the map is to mark the strategic centers on the map, which would permit military domination either by occupying islands or cities by Portuguese military forces, or by controlling the sea and rivers by Portuguese boats. In this way, we are shown that if the city of Canton is taken under control and the mouth of the river Sanquy is controlled by military forces, the Portuguese could easily control the entire province of Canton.⁴⁹

We are at the same time explicitly informed of three other centers which the author considers advantageous for the Portuguese to settle in order to dominate and control: the region of Hainan;⁵⁰ the region which extends from Quimpà to Macao;⁵¹ and the regions of Lantao and Lamão.⁵² In order to facilitate this dominion, the author who wrote these legends manages to calculate both the number of men and the kind of armament necessary for this domination: the presence of a troop of "fifty men" using "artillery" in a specific place (a beach on Ainão Island), to control the region.⁵³

Also included in this political-military perspective is information about some Chinese centers of political-administrative importance. Canton, as the capital of the Chinese province where Macao is included and on which it depends, is painted more clearly. The legends explicitly mention that those who control the city of Canton dominate the entire region represented on the map (leg. 6). Pinto de Azevedo in his "*Advertencias . . .*" states that he included such information "to show more clearly what is convenient" or, in other words, to illustrate the areas where his main suggestions of political-economic intervention would be located.

His objective is the control of Canton. This would permit the Portuguese to become "lords of everything including rivers, the sea, of the map that I present (more or less) apart from other rivers which I

did not see personally, in order to better know the possibilities and impossibilities of the Chinese trade and to get it from the inhabitants, as being afraid of us, they will give us together whatever may be in the vicinities."⁵⁴

However, Canton, because of its efficient defense system, would be a most difficult target of a Portuguese military action. However, if it is conquered by the Portuguese, it would be very difficult for the Chinese Emperor to regain the city, "as it has 2 walls and trench" and the Portuguese will have to maintain, after the conquest, four hundred soldiers to dominate the city with artillery. Diplomacy would be needed to acquire help from local authorities.⁵⁵

The map also emphasizes the city of Anção. Hence we may confirm that it refers to an important town (city borough of Xiang-shan, where Macao is integrated). This city is represented with some streets and houses in its center, and it is surrounded by a city wall. The political and military pretension to control this city by the Portuguese, is expressed in the "*Advertencias . . .*" when it suggests as a matter of orientation, the control over Anção by a small military force of one hundred men.⁵⁶ However, the basis of control would be the Portuguese navy, with artillery⁵⁷ which would permit the substitution of the Chinese administration by a Portuguese captain.⁵⁸ The cartographer did not complete his drawing of the place called Casa Branca, where the Chinese authorities resided, and which permitted them a direct surveillance over the Portuguese town of Macao.

By reading this map we may perceive the geo-strategic points and some political administrative centers of the extensive province of Canton. Our map is used as a geographic aid for the main suggestions written in the accompanying document "*Advertencias . . .*" The author reinforces his idea (which was already explained in the legends) that the consolidation of the presence of Portuguese domination along the Southern Chinese coast, depends on the supremacy of the Portuguese navy in the Chinese sea, and on the control of the rivers and cities of Canton, Anção and Macao, with the Sal River, the Hainan Island and Quimpà, which are from a political-military perspective, the geo-strategic points.⁵⁹

Conclusion

As far as the authorship and date are concerned, we are led to conclude that further investigations should be made in order to confirm or refute the suggestions we have made. We have argued that the map was drawn

during the period between c. 1630 (if not earlier) and 1646, the latter year being the one when the map was annexed to the manuscript entitled "*Advertencias . . .*" and handed to the Viceroy of India.

Since the conquest of Malacca, the Portuguese had always been concerned about making a detailed map of the China coast, especially of the Province of Canton, even before they entered China in 1513-14. They were motivated by the trade with the Far East, especially China's products, silk in particular.

To our knowledge seventy-seven maps of the sixteenth century depict the Chinese coast with its numerous place names. The majority of these maps are "Mapa Mundi"; others only depict the Far East. The Portuguese cartographers in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century tried to clarify the cartography of the China coast already visited (the geographical spaces and the political and economic realities) to the Portuguese crown in particular, and to Europeans in general.

The information about the region not yet visited (by the Portuguese) was collected from local sources. Cartography, in its multiple forms, compiled from years of experience. Often it tended towards a global outlook. It was in actual fact this synthesis of experienced and interdisciplinary knowledge, which clarified the strategic geographic points of China's coast to the governors and the European elite. For the European elite, the maps were artistically depicted, with beautiful lines and colors. For those concerned with navigation, the maps were useful guides, being simple but containing all the useful information. These specialists used these maps, sometimes simple sketches, with new regions. They were indispensable instruments for aid in unknown seas, and for an efficient fulfillment of their missions.

This map of the Province of Canton should be included as part of the traditions of Portuguese cartography, regarding China. This tradition began with the maps by Francisco Rodrigues of 1513 published in *Suma Oriental* by Tomé Pires, and including two anonymous maps, kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (without any date, but possibly from the 17th century under the annotation D-89-R, D-90-R). Both maps represent the mouth of the river Canton. Thus this map we have finished studying, is one of the first (if not the first) known sources of Portuguese cartography, with very diverse detailed information about the coast from the Island of Hainan to the Sal River, outlining a very extensive area of the interior of the Province of Canton.



Numbers on this map correspond to the legends listed in Annex I.

Annex I: The Contents and Comprehension of the Legends⁶⁰

1. *Cidade de Cantão* : Capital of the Chinese province of Guangdong at a latitude of 23° 8'.
2. *Pagode de meyo / do Ryo* : This island is probably Henan⁶¹ as it definitely refers to the big island which is situated in the middle of the river between the port Huang Pu (a port where heavy draft vessels moor, and where later on Europeans settled in trading posts) and Canton. The Mid Stream Pagan Temple (possibly represented by a large house with four entrances, located on the coast of the large island facing Canton, appears on the map in the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (S.G.L.): 7-F-3. Examining this map, already mentioned, we are also informed that on an island facing Huang Pu, another Pagan Temple exists, on this map called "Wang poe Pagoda" (The Pagan Temple of Huang Pu).
3. *Cava* : It is an artificial trench which surrounds and protects the exterior walls of Canton.
4. *Neste rio estão de ordinário duas / e três mil embarcações* : ("In this river there are normally two to three thousand vessels"). We believe it is Zhujiang or Pearl River.
5. *B. [bouca] do Sanquy* : A possible reference to the mouth of Xijiang or the Western River (which in Cantonese is written Sikiang), which bathes the district of San Shui, that in Chinese means three rivers, because the waters of Beijiang (the Northern River), River Suijiang and the River Xijiang itself join together in it.
6. *quem for senhor desta cidade de Cantão e defen / der esta bouca do Sanqui armada / no mar, com descanso e facilmente sera senhor / não so do conteudo ne[sta] pintura que / he muito mas de toda a prov[in]cia de Cantão / que he muito grande por quanto he hou [] tudo esta ditta boca* : (Whoever is the lord of this City of Canton and defends this mouth of the Sanquy by sea [armada no mar] shall with ease [and tranquility] be lord not only of whatever the map includes which is much more than the entire Province of Canton which is very big . . . everything in the mentioned bay). This legend did not fit into the white rectangle which was previously allocated. Therefore it occupies an area on the left and beneath this mentioned rectangle. This area is slightly higher than the rectangle in white.
7. *todas as cidades e povoações / que por aqui ha, que são muitas, se / rão subgeitas ao senhor / desta ilha se elle quiser / obrigalas com suas armas, por ficar / muito perto* : (All cities and towns, there are many here, will be subject to the lord of this island if he wishes to compel them by force of arms because they are very close by). The last two lines were already

written outside the rectangle previously reserved for the legend. This legend is written in a region on the map, where under the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) the city of Leizhou stood out.

8. *Nesta paragem esta / praya . . . / . . . deserta en que / sinquenta homens podem / [por] artelharía defenderse / de todo poder da ilha* : (Here about on this deserted beach where fifty men may place artillery to defend themselves from all the power on the island). The legend was previously written on the Island of Ainão. Nevertheless, there was an attempt to erase it, consequently at the present with great difficulty we can understand the words we have attempted to write out. To the right of this legend and on the same island, there is clearly written: *Ilha de Ainão*. Ainão is frequently referred to beginning in 1529 (Planisferium by Diogo Ribeiro. Vaticana Library, Rome. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, plate 39). Under the Ming Dynasty, the city of Qiongzhou stood out in this island. It was also called the city of Ainão in the Antonio Dias' map, 1752, S.G.L. exhibited in the Cartography Hall, with the number 1047. It is situated on 18° 10'-20° 20' real latitude.

9. *Quimpà* : It is possibly related to the city called "Timpa" on the region between the Hainan island and Sanchoão island, drawn on the map of the S.G.L. exhibited in the Cartography Hall—no. 1047; or to the "city of Tienpihien or Tienpack," represented on the maps at the beginning of the 19th century of S.G.L.: 4-H-33 and on the Japanese map of the Southeast Coast of China (Reproduction of British Charts of 1934).

10. *quem for senhor desta cidade / e rio de quimpá, o / sera desta costa até / Machao, com algum pouco poder no mar* : (Whoever may be the lord of this city and River of Quimpà will be the lord of this coast until Macao, with no little power over the seas).

11. *fornos* : A toponym marked near to a town southeast of the island of Henan, they possibly refer to wheat storage and/or ceramic ovens for the market and fair at the nearby city of Canton.

12. *Lichial* : A place name in the middle of an island in the Pearl River which we referred to (Henan) situated in front of Canton. It may be related to the "Torre de Lido" of the map in the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: 3-G-20.⁶²

13 *Lamão* : The toponym Lamão is frequently marked on maps of the southern coast of China, according to the planisferium by Lopo Homem 1554 (Museo di Storia della Scienza, Firenze), indicating an island (Lamão, Lamau, Namoa . . .) at approx. 23° 30' real latitude. It appears to be the locality named Lammon marked on the map in the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: 7-F-3.⁶³

14. *por este rio entrão em Cantão / grandes embarcações, e de Machao / se vay em hum dia: nas pequenas / que remão* : (Along this river large vessels enter Canton, and from Macao one can go in one day in the small boats which they row). This legend in the river Zhijiang was not anticipated by the author, as there was no white space reserved for it.
15. *B. [boca] de Cantão* : (Mouth of Canton). See note no. 18. (2. A Reading and an analysis of the map).
16. *quitaho* : It is a town represented by 4 houses surrounded by 6 trees.
17. *Duas irmãs* : (Two sisters). They are two rocky islands in front of quitaho.
18. *chitay* : A legend near to a coastline mountain and which has nearby a town with 5 houses and 5 trees.
19. *chapoy* : A town between the place names chitay and Caza branca, drawn with 7 houses and 9 trees.
20. *Caza branca* : White House was a place where the Mandarin lived, with direct jurisdiction over Macao. Also marked in the Map S.G.L.: 3-G-20, refers to "Casa Branca," where the Mandarin works." An anonymous map of the Southern Chinese Coast (B.N.L.: D-89-R), possibly a contemporary map (17th century), also marks "Casa Branca."⁶⁴
21. *umã* : A place name written next to a place town represented by 5 houses and 8 trees.
22. *Esta ilha tem de Machao / a Cantão 25 leguas* : (This island is 25 leagues from Macao and Canton). This legend, written in a rectangle previously left in white for this effect, situated in an area more or less in the center of the district of Anção (or Xiangshan). Some of the maps we consulted called this island the "Ilha de Macau" (B.N.L.: D-90-R, S.G.L.: 3-K-1) or Heongsan (S.G.L.: 3-J-4).⁶⁵
23. *Anção* : A walled town, with a representation of different kinds of houses: two houses with a door and a roof, two detached houses with their respective doors and roofs, possibly representing 2 different sets of streets, and a larger house with 3 doors and 3 roofs in the center of the city. It is possibly the Chinese city of Xiangshan, the city borough with the same name as the city Xiangshan. The name Anção was used by the B.N.L.'s map (D-89-R) to designate all the island.
24. *Por esta boca e rio navega / vão os de Machao por se / livrarem de algum ven / to na bahia do outro caminho / mais breve* : (Along this bay and river the inhabitants from Macao sailed to get free from wind in the bay of the shorter way). It refers to Xijian River which bathes Anção.

25. *S. Luzia* : A legend registered on the coast near a place town of 5 houses.
26. *B[oca] de Anção* :
27. *Sumtá* : The only place locality represented by 4 houses and 4 trees, on an island in front of the city of Anção: We may refer to the "sub-prefeitura" on the south of Cantão designated as Shuntak (in Cantonese) which A. Kammerer identifies with Chouen-to hien (*La découverte de la Chine . . .* Pl. II, p. 67).
28. *Pulutacho* : The prefix "Poulo" means island in Malaysian. Since the map of c.1522 by Anonymous—Pedro Reinel (British Museum, London, in *P.M.C.* Plate 11), several similar place names frequently appear (Pulotim, Pulotya, Pulutuxo, Pulotuio). According to A. Kammerer they all refer to the group of islands designed Taya at a latitude of 19° 53' and 19° 58'. According to Sthefen Chang (M.A.), this island may possibly refer to the actual Hailing Shan (at a real latitude of 21° 34'-21° 42'). This island is also drawn under the designation "I. Tacho" in the "Mapa do Golfo da China ao estreito de Malaca—1752," with the reference 1047, on exhibition and framed in the Cartography Hall of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. The map in the B.N.L. on Macao and the island of Canton published by Cristovão Ayres in *Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisboa, 1904, informs us of another island—designated as "P. Tacho." This latter island is marked very near to Sanchoão and it has an original shape (round?). It is above all very small and it faces Hailing Shan.
29. *São choão* : It is possible the island of Sanchoão is fictitious. Such an island was also represented on maps of the second half of the 16th century to the 17th century in B.N.L. (D-89-R, D-90-R). However, it should be smaller than the island to the Northeast, whose rectangle was reserved for the legend left in blank. This should have been the island where S. Francisco Xavier died. According to the legend of the same map (B.N.L.: D-89-R), it was known as "Sanchoão," which the Chinese designate as Shang Chuan; it lies at a latitude of 21° 33' and 21° 57'. The first indications of this island on Portuguese maps, appear on the map of 1561 by Bartolomeu Velho (Bib. Accademia di Bella Arti, Firenze, in *P.M.C.*, plate 204).
30. *Ilha dos Veados* : (Deer Island). This legend was not previously planned by the mapmaker; in fact, there is no rectangle in white. This island was also represented on the map of the B.N.L.: D-89-R. The Chinese designation Coucok was attributed to this island on another map classified under reference 1047 in S.G.L., and the earlier eighteenth

century map S.G.L. (7-F-3) gives it the Chinese name of Niken Ko. The map of Macao and Canton islands, according to Kammerer dated 1580/1590 published by C. Ayres mentions the Chinese name "Cau-col" for the island of Viados.

31. *Monte de Trigo* : (Hill of Wheat). I could not discover any other island with this same designation on any other maps I consulted.

32. *Pinhal* : This island is represented in an exaggerated size. The Spanish tried to settle there, causing some confrontations with the Portuguese, who considered it within their exclusive area of control. This island is clearly situated in the region between the western and eastern river mouth of Xijiang. This data contradicts the identification made by Ljungstedt (with Ping hae, to the north of Hongkong) and what Chang claimed (with Ping Nan in "sub-perfeitura" of Xiangshan) and to prove what Kammerer sustains, who adds that the island of Pinhal, flooded by the river alluvions, lies some kilometers off the coast today (*idem* pp. 147-48).

33. *Montanha* : A town represented by 4 houses and 5 trees in the hinterland of the island surrounded by hills or mountains, it is still known as a mountain, apart from appearing on some maps designated in Chinese as Vong Can or Wong Kum or Wong Kung (a map of the British Admiralty No. 2562) situated at c. 22° 5' and 22° 8' real latitude.

34. *Maquareira* : An island also known as "D. João (de Macareira)." It lies at 22° 8' and 22° 10' real latitude.

35. *Jamy* : (Tamy . . . ?). An island to the southeast of the peninsula of Macao with 3 sets of houses, respectively two with 3 small houses and 4 cultivated fields. The island is one that the Portuguese probably knew under the following names: Lapa or Padres, or Island of Frades (in S.G.L.: 3-6-20). In early maps in B.N.L. (D-89-R, D-90-R) it appears under the name of Apão. This island is situated between 22° 10' and 22° 16' real latitude.

36. *Vacas* : (Cows). The island is also known as "Lam Cheou" on the map in S.G.L.: 7-F-3. It is used as a place name in a bay at the mouth of a river (probably the eastern mouth of Xijiang), on the southeast of the island of "Jamy" and marked on the anonymous maps of B.N.L.: D-89-R and D-90-R.

37. *macao* : Peninsula and Luso-Chinese city, representation of which on the map will be described in Annex II and in its own context. This territory is under Portuguese dominion. Approx. 22° 10' and 22° 12' real latitude.

38. *Andre feyo* : This is the name of an expert navigator of the Chinese Sea (that I already refer to in the section "Authorship") registered on

the representation of the island which is at the base and in the center of the map. It is possibly the island known with the following names: Apomee (S.G.L.: 3-E-1), or Ko-Ho (S.G.L.: 3-J-2), and Caho, nowadays known as Coloane and in Chinese Luhuan (translated by Dr. Wang Suoying, University of International Studies of Xangai, together with Dr. Lu Yan Bin from the same university who were very helpful in deciphering the Chinese characters corresponding to some of the Portuguese toponyms on this map). Situated between the latitudes of $22^{\circ} 6'$ and $22^{\circ} 8'$

39. *Caquião* : Probably it is the same island that later on will be known under the following names: Taipa, Gu Aquiam, Ko Ong, or Kecong. The toponym "Caquião" is also marked on the eighteenth-century map by Miguel Antonio de Sousa (S.G.L.: 3-E-1) and on the seventeenth century map by Custodio de Azevedo Rendo (S.G.L.: 6-D-16). It is situated between the latitude of $22^{\circ} 9'$ and $22^{\circ} 10'$.

40. "*quem for senhor destes Rios, e mar / o sera de todas estas Ilhas, / com my pouco poder no mar / e pequenas embarcações de Remo* : (Whoever is the Lord of these Rivers, and sea will be the Lord of all these islands with very little power at sea and with small rowing boats.). On top of this legend, there are a group of 9 islands without identification, at the mouth of the river Zhujiang (or Pearl River), which are known as 9 Islands—Biblioteca da Ajuda—codex 46-XIII-33).

41. "*T. [lha] da fz^a*" [fazenda] : (Trade Island). Possibly represents the island called Veniaga (which means to trade) by the Portuguese, frequently appearing since the first Portuguese maps of China, namely since the Planisphere by Diogo Ribeiro of 1529 (Bib. Vaticana, Roma; and Thuringische Landesbibliothek, Weimar, *P.M.C.* plates no. 39 and no. 40). This island is identified by A. Kammerer as the island of Litin (Ling Ting— $22^{\circ} 25'$ latitude).

42. *Lantao* : Represented by a town of three houses and four trees which is possibly known as Ty Ho (S.G.L.: 4-H-33). It is also called Tai Yu Shan (on hydrographic Japanese map no. 415). To the north of this town lies another town with a big house with three doors in front of another four small houses. This town is possibly Sah Lo Wung or the neighboring town called Toong-chun. The island of Lantao is often marked, namely on maps of the second half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries in B.N.L.: (D-89-R and D-90-R). Situated between $22^{\circ} 12'$ and $22^{\circ} 19'$ real latitude.

43. *Rio de Lantao* :

44. *Ilha do Leme* : It possibly refers to the island of the Great Leme, component of the archipelago of Leme. Also marked in maps of S.G.L.: 3-G-20, 7-F-3. It is identified by A. Kammerer as the Lema Island at a real latitude of 22° 2'.

45. *Ilha Fernando* :

46. *Rio Sal* : Represented in almost all the Portuguese maps of China of the sixteenth century (after 1527, in *P.M.C.* plate 38, by Diogo Ribeiro), including that of Fernando Vaz Dourado, 1576 (B.N.L.: cod. Iluminado 171).

47. *quem for senhor deste / rio do sal, e de / Machao, o sera / de lantao, e de / muita parte de la / mão com algum / poder no mar* : (Whoever is the lord of this river of Sal, and of Macao, will be the lord of Lantao and of the major part of Lamão with some power at sea).

48. *Ilha Branca* : This island (sometimes called stone instead of white island) is a frequent reference for navigation in the waters of the southern China seas. Hence it was drawn in several maps on the coast of the Canton province, namely Bartolomeu Velho's map of 1561 (*P.M.C.* plate no. 204) and the "Roteiro da China" by Hughes of Linschoten. See among other references the already-mentioned S.G.L.: 3-G-20 by José da Trindade, which refers to an island in front: "Pedra Branca. It is similar to a sugar cane (Pao de Assucar) in its appearance and color, and it serves as a point of reference for ships"

Annex II: Description of the Representation of Macao (legend 37)

M.1—A *Red Wall* is marked and it is erected to the north of the peninsula of Macao which completely separates it from the rest of China. In the middle of the wall a building is marked, representing the *Porta do Cerco* which was built by the Chinese circa 1573.

M.2—Right afterwards a small cultivated field (it is possibly a meadow which also appears on other maps we consulted) to the northeast, on the top of some hills (ending up in the sea and overlooking *Cacilhas Beach*) two houses, one of them broad with two windows, another next to it is higher and narrower with a door. At the foundation of the broader house are two strokes of a pen which resemble 2 cannons (we think it is the representation of the *Guia Fortress*, whose construction began a little before 1622).

M. 3—Followed by a half-moon large wall marked in red with 4 cannons, two at both ends (it is possibly an advanced *battery of the Fortress of St. Paulo*).

M.4—Right afterwards another wall (this narrower) which is with a V shape (with the vertex facing south); it begins on the beach on the left (the back of the wall faces the sea), of the peninsula and ends nearly on the beach on the opposite margin of the peninsula (it possibly shows *the walls of St. Paulo's Gate* which protect the interior of the peninsula from an attack from China). On the wall there is a small building to the north of the wall.

M. 5—There is a hill on the south point of the wall, crowned with a small house with a roof, without windows or doors representing 2 cannons (it is possibly *the Fortress of St. Paulo* begun by the Jesuits *circa* 1616-17 and concluded in 1626 by Dom Francisco Mascarenhas).

M. 6—Northeast of this mount and near the sea, another hill is marked with a house, and one beneath the length of the house without any door or window, and above it or behind, a small tower. On top of the narrow house which is higher, which can stand for a tower with a door. At the foot of this hill, there are some cannons overlooking the sea. They are opening fire. (According to us, it is *São Francisco Fort* which was already mentioned in 1622, and whose homonymous fort was built in 1629.)

M. 7—Southwards near the sea we can see the house with 2 roofs and doors and one window, which can stand for a dwelling in *Praia Grande* or a small fort (possibly the S. Pedro fort, which would be built after 1622).

M. 8—On the hill, southwards we encounter a fort which seems bigger than the previous ones. It has 4 cannons, two at each end and another 4 at the foot of the hill. (Santiago possibly represents the fort of S. Tiago da Barra which was built over a "bateria," already existent in the same place in the year 1622. In 1629 the work of building the fort was completed.)

M. 9—On the next hill to the east, in the middle at the southern point in the Macao peninsula, and on its top there is a tall house with roof, possibly representing the hermitage—*Nossa Senhora da Penha*—*circa* 1621-1622), and which fort of the same epoch and name, was then demolished.

M. 10—Still along the coastline, at the end of this border of hills, which on the drawing seem to border the peninsula to the northeast and south, the last hill is equipped with one more battery for defense with 4

cannons. It is possibly the fort of Patane, also known as Palanchica fort. M. 11 — In the interior of the peninsula 4 constructions are drawn. The middle one has 3 roofs and 3 doors and it is a bit larger than the others. It may represent the *Church of São Domingo*.

M. 12 — The house northeast has 3 roofs and 3 doors (It seems to represent the Leal Senado).

M. 13 — To the northeast and next to the coastline, from the south to the north there are 2 remaining houses, the first one has two roofs and 2 entrances and it faces the island opposite to it, contrary to the others. It may represent the *Church of Nossa Senhora do Amparo*.

M. 14 — The last house, unique in its style, has one tower on top and in the middle of its roof and it has three doors under the main roof. Possibly it represents a Chinese Shrine which is also marked on the map of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: 5-R-1, or the *Church of Santo António*.

Bibliography

Main Archival Source

The map we analyzed is located in the Ajuda Library, where it is kept classified under "Mapa Topográfico da região de Macau e Cantão, Jorge Pinto de Azevedo, 1646" (annexed to MS: 54—XI-21).

Cartography

To carry out research on registered place names on the Southern Chinese Coast, and in particular the identification of the islands at the mouths of Zhujiang and Xijiang, we analyzed various old maps and several comparatively new ones:

Chinese maps from the local gazetteers: the *Xiang Shan Xian Zhi* (compiled c.1550, 1673 and reprinted in 1879 and 1923), the *Guang Dong Tong Zhi* (compiled in 1558 and 1602), the *Guang Zhou Fu Zhi* (compiled in 1759 and 1879), the *Zhang Zhou Zhi* (published in 1628).

Hydrographic French maps nos. 1434, 2232, 3519, 4601, 4919, 4923, 4928, 4940, 4946, 4971, 5268, 5419, 5599, 5622, 5691.

A hydrographic English map, no. 2562 (at the mouth of the Pearl River).

Japanese hydrographic maps from the Department of Marine Sciences: no. 415 "Chukiang Delta," a base on the British chart, 1936; a map entitled "Tienpak Chian and Macao Harbour" based on the British map dated 1934.

Portuguese sixteenth and seventeenth century maps of the China Coast, identified in our endnotes.

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Notes

1. This is the size registered by the Ajuda Library. Luís da Silveira, *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades Portuguesas do Ultramar* Vol. III, p. 482 and the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* both refer to 47 x 65 cm. Nevertheless, in measuring it now, I found different sizes: concerning the size of the paper which is at the top 59 cm., in the middle 59.3 cm., and at the bottom 58.5 cm. in width. I found the left 42.4 cm., in the middle 43.7 cm., and the right 43 cm.

2. This prohibits the reading of the legend on its covers. This cloth which serves as a frame was an attempt made in this century to avoid any further deterioration of the paper. The cloth has a surface of 49.5 x 66 cm.

3. Jorge Pinto de Azevedo regards himself as a knowledgeable Portuguese as far as concerns the Far East: This includes a "twenty-four years stay in India," when he visited "cities, fortresses and kingdoms." In fact, he visited all of them, "both as Captain in service to the King, and as a merchant, both for warfare, and commerce." In 1646 he lived in Macao (Fl. 1 "Advertencias . . ."). His civic contribution in public affairs in Portuguese Territory led him on 31st May 1642 to sign, in Macao, the document of proclamation of João IV as King of Portugal. The list of names of those who, in the Senate of the city of Macao signed this proclamation, was published by C.R. Boxer, *Macao na Época da Restauração*, Imprensa Nacional, Macau, 1942, p. 206.

4. "Remarks of considerable importance to Our Majesty King Dom João the Fourth, offered and presented to the King in his State Council of India, by Jorge Pinto de Azevedo living in China in March 1646." Hereafter abbreviated as "Advertencias . . ."

5. ". . . The Island of Anção, where the city of Macao (which I offer to Your Majesty, the map more or less), together with Ainão, and the River Sal, in order to improve one's understanding—it is convenient—" "Advertencias . . .", fl. 24.

6. ". . . Defending this (Canton and its river) we are the Lords of everything that includes the rivers, and sea on the map which I present (a little more or less) . . ." fl. 27, and "the city of Canton, and a lot of others, which the maps show." "Advertencias . . ." fl. 27v.

7. According to an inscription in the manuscript in the first sheet of "*Advertencias . . .*"— "This book belongs to Antonio Lobato Calheiro . . ."
8. The Second Count of Redondo was Vedor da Casa Real de João V, Senhor of the towns: Alvor da Serra, Figueiró dos Vinhos, Gouveia, Pedrogão and Riba Tâmega. He was also commander of Santa Maria de Gondar in the Order of Christ and Mes-sejana in the Order of Santiago."
9. The catastrophic earthquake of 1755 destroyed the Royal Palace and consequently the Royal Library in "Ribeira" Palace. The transference of the Court to the Palace of Ajuda (originally a wooden structure, it was gradually rebuilt in stone). The entire contents recovered from the ancient Royal Library were also transferred. Then it became the Royal Library in the Ajuda Palace.
10. It is manuscript no. 633 B.G.U.C. entitled *Ms. que a casa de Redondo vendeo para a Biblioteca Real*.
11. In the past, it was catalogued differently, namely "B.A. 759-761" as cited by Luis da Silveira, *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades Portuguesas do Ultramar*, Junta de Investiga-ção do Ultramar, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1956, Vol III, p. 482. And the "Registo 12" which illustrates the code 51-XII-42-2 cited in *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica, op. cit.*
12. Luis da Silveira, *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades Portuguesas do Ultramar*, p. 482.
13. "C.1646—anónimo, carta do Delta do Rio das Pérolas," Vol. V., p. 120.
14. See note nos. 5 and 6.
15. See the point called Macao Representation.
16. In the attempt to locate André Feio, as well as the course of the map and codex, we only could consult: the *Assentos do Conselho de Estado*, published by Historical Archives in India, 5 Vols., 1953-57, under the direction and coordination of Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar; *O Conselho da Índia*, Agência do Ultramar, 1952, de Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz. The *Boletim da Filмотeca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Lisboa 1954 ss.; and the Chancelarias Reais (Filipinas, D. João IV e D. Afonso VI), and *Documentos Remetidos da Índia* (e.g., book 24, fl. 257).
- The only reference to an André Feio which we managed to locate was André Feio, a native from Amieira vila de the Priorado do Crato (Portugal) involved in a quarrel and for this reason condemned to exile in Africa. However, he was forgiven and this punishment commuted. He did not make any earlier contacts with Macao. The most significant documents on André Feio are: *Chancelaria de Filipe I* (Philip I's Chancellery), in attestations we encountered no more than two documents: a letter of condolence, 10.2.1589 addressed to André Feio, in book V and another fl. 242, another condolence letter, addressed to André Feio, and João Feio his father and other people dated 15.2.1589. We still encounter—in the *Documentos Remetidos da Índia* (book no. 24, fl. 257), Royal Letters written in Lisbon by John Feio on which we obtained no information whether it concerned André Feio's family or not. Another João da Costa Feio "who was leading two Ships" in the Armada in the Straits of Ormuz, according to the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (Government Reports), Vol. II, p. 377.
17. See leg. 15 in Annex I also called Tiger, or Pearl River which in Chinese is written Zhujiang, water of which comes from the rivers Xijiang and Dongjiang, and Beijiang. Its waters influence more than half of the total area of the province of Guangdong. According to the document "*Advertencias . . .*" the Canton river is a strategic point for the Portuguese. The rivers should always be kept under control by the navy, "the navigation of these rivers must keep in the Canton River under enough power" fl. 27 V.
18. Leg. 5, we think it is the river Xijiang or the river West, which in Cantonese is written Sikian.

19. Leg. 46, the document "*Advertencias . . .*" written in Macao, referring that "the Salt river, which is from Macao 20 or 25 leagues," fl. 28V. In order to locate the legends, where these rivers are mentioned, see Annex I: Contents of the legends," and legends nos. 5, 10, 15, 26, 43, 46.
20. Leg. 8, the author of the "*Advertencias . . .*" writes from Macao, "the island of Anão which lies at 60 leagues south," fl. 25. Designated in Chinese by Hainan.
21. Leg. 12, the place name written on the island which we think is Henan the neighbor island designed by Actaeon. In spite of this Lichial could refer to the locality called a Small Shrine (Si Chi Tan) on another map.
22. Leg. 17. Two Sisters are two rocky islands in front of Quitaho.
23. The leg. 22 of our map informs us that "This island is 25 leagues from Macao to Canton. As '*Advertencias . . .*' the island of Anção where the city of Macao is situated" fl. 24. See in the annex the Chinese map of 1750 with the city-plan.
24. Leg. 27. "Sumtà." It is the only toponomy in front of the city of Anção. We found it drawn beside the only two towns on the island. By the sound of it, it could refer to the locality of Shuntak written on another map.
25. Leg. 29. It is possibly the island of Sanciam or the island of Sanchoão. Marked also on a map from the second half of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (the Geography Hall, no. 39), which should be smaller than the island on the right hand side, whose rectangle was left empty. This must be where S. Francisco Xavier was buried. It was known as "Sanchoão."
26. Leg. 33. The mountain features of this island are clear on the eighteenth century map: "The / Type / and Harbour of Macao / Principally from a Survey / By / Captain P. Heywood / of / The Royal Navy / Published Sep. 12, 1809, by Laurie and Whittle, no. 53, Elect Street, London," in the Sociedade da Geografia de Lisboa 3-J-2. This island sometimes appears on Portuguese maps, under the designation in Chinese Vong-Can, namely "Carta Chorographica / das / Possessões / Portuguezas ao Sul do Império da China / feita e desenhada / pelo / tenente Ramiro da Roza. S.S.G.L. / 1891," in the S.G.L. 3-J-4. "Carta das Possessões Portuguezas ao Sul da China" by Albino Ribas da Silva, c.1929, in Junta de Investigação do Ultramar: p. 30 (26). At present it has the same designation of "Montanha."
27. Leg. 34. This island on the south of Macao sometimes appears designated in English—"Mackkareera" (the map already mentioned by P. Heywood in 1802) or by the Portuguese—"D. João de Macarira" (a map by Ramiro da Roza 1891) or just "D. João" (a map by Albino Ribas da Silva, c.1929).
28. Leg. 35. An island to the left of Macao with 3 sets of houses, two with three small houses and the other with 2 houses, and 2 cultivated fields. It is probably the three islands known under the following names: "Ilha da Lapa" or "Ilha dos Padres" (the Priests' Island), or "Ilha dos Frades" (Island of the Brothers).
29. Leg. 39. It is probably the island known by the Portuguese as Taipa, or in Cantonese Gu Aquiam or Ko Ong, Kecongo.
30. Let. 41. It may possibly represent an island which was used as a commercial stop and possible because of the trade, it takes the name "fazenda." It may also be the same island which is called Veniaga on other Portuguese maps.
31. Leg. 44. It possibly refers to the Island of Leme.
32. Leg. 48. White Island, this island is sometimes called "Pedra Branca" and it is a reference point for navigation in the southern Chinese Sea, so it appears on many maps of the coastal area of Canton. See among other references: S.G.L. 3-G-20 by José Trindade. Our reader will be able easily to locate the twenty above-mentioned islands, by reading the legends which we enumerate: 8, 12, 17, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48.

33. See Jeffrey F. Meyer: "Traditional Peking: The Architecture of Conditional Power" and Diana L. Eck: *The City as a Center—Essays on Six Asian Contexts*, published by Bardwell Smith and Holly Baker Reynolds, E.J. Brill, Leiden, New York, 1987.
34. The complex structure of Canton is emphasized by the reference to hierarchy which apart from being made up of "The King's Ministers," it is still made up of "aposentados" and by "Cabeças das Ruas" in "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27. See the Chinese map of Canton, published in the Chinese Monograph of Canton in 1558 called Guangdong Tong Zhi, and produced by C.R. Boxer in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 94-95.
35. In order to locate this city, consult the map of the estuary of the "Rio das Perolas" and Xijiang published by C.R. Boxer in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, P. XXXIV. See a Chinese plan of Anção in the annex.
36. To locate the above-mentioned towns, consult the respective legends: 9, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27, 33, 35, 42.
37. The map by José Trindade (S.G.L.: 3-G-20) clearly refers to "Pedra Branca similar to Sugar Cane in its configuration and color, and it was a landmark for ships."
38. See leg. 14, the codex "*Advertencias . . .*" completes this information, referring to the use of different kinds of boats: ". . . galleons and manchuas which the slaves rowed" (fls. 25). Jorge Pinto de Azevedo makes an appreciation of the quality of these boats, pointing out that on these boats resides the Portuguese supremacy on the rivers of Canton, Anção and Macao, vis-à-vis the Dutch: "for the best vessels we have" (fl. 25). The author assures that the Portuguese must use ". . . the rivers as if they were the roads of the villages" (fl. 25).
39. The Luso-Chinese community, in general, had some ideas of its limitations before the Chinese power. From it the military prospective was essentially for defense and its politics was supported by negotiations and permanent malleability, which did not exclude the presence of some of the Portuguese seeking for triumph or adventurers who developed impossible projects for the conquest and occupation of vast regions of China with their military interventions. Among those projects, we may mention the plan of invasion and conquest expressed in "*Advertencias . . .*" by Jorge Pinto de Azevedo.
40. See in the Description of the Representation of Macao, point M. 1, M. 3 and M. 4 in Annex II. I will mention the letter M. (of Macao) accompanied by the respective number of the description in the annex.
41. "Description of the City in name of God in China" included in *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental . . .* 1635, fl. 157.
42. This plan of Macao was included in the above-mentioned book of António Bocarro (1635).
43. The repetition of Chinese words was difficult for the Portuguese, since in the official Chinese language the same word has four different ways of being pronounced. The sounds for a foreigner seem similar. In Cantonese the difficulty is greater, because there exist nine different tones.
44. See leg. 46. The Sal River is important which makes Jorge Pinto de Azevedo suggest in locating it under Portuguese control, either by force or by means of a contract to explore it. The objective was to make the Portuguese his intermediaries and suppliers, selling it in Canton to the merchants of "Nanquim and Comsay, and others." This observant author, describes the method of salt extraction: "And this salt is produced by the sun, from salt water which with high waters stay in the fields, while no other high waters are produced without a lot of people's work." "*Advertencias . . .*" fls. 28v.
45. The MS "*Advertencias . . .*" clearly shows us the economic interest which the Canton river offered them. The following quotation connected this interest to the expansion of Christianity: "As this river is of such an importance to the Kingdom, that without

it they cannot live because they need the salt and sugar which they transport all over the realm, and makes them live in peace. The merchandise must travel in good shape so that profits can not miss, neither Christians, as clergymen will immediately build churches, and the Christians from Macao, China and the others who live elsewhere, and the townsfolk from Nanquim who will come to trade, will immediately give a good example by attending the churches," fl.s. 27-27v.

46. The following towns and cities are marked on our map: Canton, Quimpà, Quitahó, Chitay, Chapoy, Casa Branca, Umà, Anção, Sumta, Montanha and Macau.

47. See leg. 7. Jorge Pinto de Azevedo in his treatise clearly proposes the use of military force in order to obtain a strategic economic dominion in the region of Hainan and Anção ("occupying some of the fortresses which were found deserted," fls. 25) so as to compel the Chinese to accept Portuguese trade ("and they know the dominion, and admit the Portuguese manner," fl. 25).

48. Jorge Pinto de Azevedo appeals for the creation of a system of self-finance of the Portuguese activities in China, through the collection of a tax to be paid by the Chinese villages "punishing the villages until they pay the tax" (fl. 25), to turn the Portuguese administration and at the same time could create a chain of political dependence which would consecrate the Portuguese authority. This tax should be smaller than that collected by the Chinese Empire—the tax collected from the Chinese "will not be larger than those they usually paid to their king, and even smaller to acquire the wishes and obedience of those who by excessive taxes rise against their natural king every day" (fl. 27v).

49. See legend 6 of Annex I.

50. See legend 7 of Annex I.

51. See legend 10 of Annex I.

52. "Whoever may be the Lord of this Sal River, and of Macao, will become the Lord of Lantao, and of a large area of Lamão with some power at sea," leg. 47.

53. See legend 8 of Annex I. The invasion and occupation of Hainan is not an original proposal. It is part of the tradition of the first accounts on China, namely the reports by Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo in Canton Prison (dated from 1534 and 1536, but nowadays historians believe that it was actually written in 1524), where they explained a plan to conquer, namely Canton, Fujian and Hainan, referring to how easy the occupation of the island of Hainan is, which they consider a key point in South China.

54. "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27.

55. "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27.

56. "so as to avoid a lot of people in the fort and ensure that a hundred men armed were enough to defend that post," in "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27v.

57. "some artillery on the wall or on the hill from where the city of Anção can be dominated," in "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27v.

58. To "go to the city of Anção, remove the King's administrators and assign our captain," in "*Advertencias . . .*" fl. 27v.

59. Our seventeenth century map became integrated (1646) in a treatise of which political strategy proposed to the Portuguese Estado da Índia consisted in the acquisition from the Chinese Empire the monopoly of foreign trade with China. In this same context, an attempt to maintain and renew the imperial prohibition of direct Chinese commerce with overseas, and to permit the Portuguese to prohibit the Chinese traders to navigate and trade with foreign countries. In order to negotiate these privileges Jorge Pinto de Azevedo suggests sending a great Portuguese Embassy to the Chinese Emperor (400-500 men in 25 ships), presenting in exchange Portuguese military support for the Ming Emperor against the Manchus. In the case of non-acceptance of these

proposals by the Chinese, Portugal should occupy and control the principal geo-strategic points on the Southern Chinese Coast.

According to Pinto de Azevedo, the Portuguese should never have allowed the Chinese to arm or build large vessels, burning the ones already built. On the other hand, in the Chinese Seas they should prohibit and hinder commerce done directly with Europeans (the Dutch, English and Spanish), between China, Japan, Manila, Jakarta and Formosa.

In this interesting treatise Jorge Pinto de Azevedo, establishes a political strategy, presenting as a priority for the Portuguese Estado da Índia, the consolidation and development of the Portuguese in China. In decreasing order there should come the Cou-lão region and finally the Cuama Rivers. In "Advertencias . . ." fls. 24-29.

60. To carry out research on registered place names on the Southern Chinese Coast, and in particular the identification of the islands at the mouth of Zhujiang Xijiang, we analyzed various old maps and several comparatively new ones:

Hydrographic French maps nos. 1434, 2232, 3519, 4601, 4919, 4923, 4940, 4946, 4971, 5268, 5419, 5599, 5622, 5691.

A hydrographic English map, no. 2562 (at the mouth of the Pearl River).

Japanese hydrographic maps from the Department of Marine Sciences (kindly on loan by Dr. Stephen Chang): no. 415 "Chukiang Delta," based on the British chart, 1936; a map entitled "Tienpak Chian and Macao Harbour" based on the British map dated 1934.

Portuguese sixteenth and seventeenth century maps of the China Coast, identified in our endnotes.

61. One of the meanings of Henan is the river of the South. Consult the map referring to the estuary of the Pearl River and Xijiang written by C.R. Boxer in: *South China in the Sixteenth Century, Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martin de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575)*, Edited by C.R. Boxer, printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1953, P. XXXIV.

62. S.G.L.: 3-G-20: "Carta / De Huma Parte Da China / E das ilha adjacentes / desde as ilhas de Sanchoão até à Pedra Branca e de / Macao, e Cantão; tirado de varios manus / criptos / Por Jozé da Trindade."

63. S.G.L.: 7-F-3. "A CHART OF THE CHINA SEA FROM THE ISLAND OF SENGIAM TO PEDRA BRANCA / WITH THE COURSE OF THE RIVER TIGRES FROM CANTON TO MACAO / from a Portuguese Draught Communicated by CAPTAIN HAYTER. / and Compared with CHINESE CHART of the Macao Pilots. / Appearance of Lantoe Island (from the English pilot)." (1780).

64. Portuguese chart of the southern coast of China, anonymous from the later sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century, parchment (607 x 707 mm), China ink and watercolors. In Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa: D-89-R. In satisfactory form of conservation.

65. The chart of B.N.L.: D-90-R is also a Portuguese chart of the southern coast of China, anonymous from the later sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century, parchment (1,250 x 475 mm), China ink and watercolors. In deficient form of conservation. S.G.L.: 3-J-4, "Carta Chorographica / das / Possessões / Portuguesas ao Sul do Império da China / feita e desenhada / pelo / tenente Ramiro da Roza S.S.G.L. / 1891"; or the "Carta das Possessões Portuguesas do Sul da China," in Junta de Investigação do Ultramar (P.30) 1929.