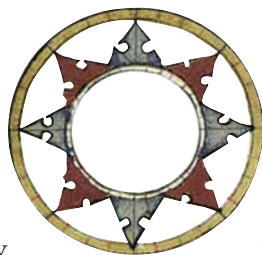


The First Portuguese Maps of China in Francisco Rodrigues' *Book* and *Atlas* (c.1512)

IVO CARNEIRO DE SOUSA*

The arrival of Vasco da Gama's fleet at Calicut on the West coast of India in 1498, helped by Muslim pilots experienced in the Indian Ocean routes and trade, and primarily his safe maritime return to Portugal the following year, opened the gates to the virtually unknown Asian world for the Portuguese. Before 1498, little was known in Portugal about the remote East, represented between fiction and scant reality in travellers' late medieval accounts such as Marco Polo's or John de Mandeville's volumes as well as through the Italian Renaissance curiosity about the Orient fuelled by several intellectual refugees from Constantinople. Much more real and profitable were the expensive Asian spices reaching European markets through Turkey and Egypt and distributed among rich courts, aristocracies, high bourgeoisies or even monasteries by the intermediation of the Italian trade towns, largely headed by Venice.

The maritime exploration of the extensive Asian seas and key trade points was extremely rapid: in 1503, Portuguese ships identified the mouth of the Red Sea; three years later, they reached Ceylon;



in 1509, they cast anchor in Malacca, a strategic commercial city which would be conquered two years later in 1511 under the command of the governor Afonso de Albuquerque; in 1512, expeditions were sent to the Maluku Islands, in Eastern Indonesia, reaching Banda; this same year witnessed the first Portuguese embassies to Siam and Pegu; in 1513, a Portuguese fleet reached the south coast of China commanded by Jorge Álvares; in 1515, the first Portuguese traders arrived in Timor; and in 1516, the banks of the Bengala Gulf were explored. Only eighteen years after Vasco da Gama's famous voyage to Hindustan, Portuguese captains, pilots, traders and humble sailors or soldiers established contacts with the most important commercial Asian maritime regions, identifying established old trade networks connecting for centuries South China, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Mediterranean. The speed with which this initial survey was carried out must be explained by the Portuguese systematic strategy, from the very start, to resort to local alliances, pilots, sailors, traders and ships as much as nautical knowledge or maps. This process is perfectly witnessed by two major manuscript works organised immediately in the aftermath of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca: the *Suma Oriental* by Tomé Pires and the unfinished *Book* and *Atlas* prepared by the pilot Francisco Rodrigues, both dating from the period between 1511 and 1515. Strangely enough, the two documents were preserved in the same manuscript volume, now in the Library

Fig. 1: Map of folio 38 v.

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of the French National Assembly in Paris, and were widely unknown in Portugal where Pires' volume was preserved through a fragmentary Lisbon manuscript copy¹ while Rodrigues' book and maps were ignored.²

An account hand-written by Francisco Rodrigues, in his *Book* and *Atlas* (in fact, an incomplete and mixed book of seamanship) occupies the initial 116 folios of a codex constituted by a total of 178 folios in which the last 62 folios offer the most complete copy of the *Suma Oriental*, an important epochal survey of Asian societies and economies written by the Portuguese apothecary and ambassador to China, Tomé Pires. Francisco Rodrigues' *Book* (as it is simply known and catalogued) presents nautical rules, rutters, 26 maps and 69 unique sketches of panoramic views of the islands from Alor to Java. Unfortunately, 24 of these panoramic drawings are unfinished, only displaying summary outlines of beaches and mountains, mainly from the northwest coast of Java and adjacent islands. It seems clear that these sketches and brief written legends came from previous drawing notes made during the slow journey along the chain of islands of the Lesser Sundas' archipelago when Rodrigues returned to Malacca after the maritime expedition to the Moluccas in 1512 in which he was one of the three Portuguese pilots among several others recruited locally. A traditional thesis, recurrently repeated, suggests that the manuscript was still in revision by his author between 1514-1515, in Cochin, to be then dispatched, unfinished, to the agitated court of King Manuel which anxiously awaited news, maps and rutters, definitively revealing the precious routes towards the extremely fertile and much talked of Eastern Spice Islands whose identification should be controlled by the Portuguese monarch under the famous 1504 rules of secrecy on the new cartographic 'discoveries'.³ There is no documental or logic evidence for this justification.

In fact, the direct information of the 69 panoramic views of the Eastern Indonesian islands from Alor to Java was not inserted in Rodrigues' charts of the same places clearly copied from local, probably Javanese and Chinese, trade maps. At the same time, maps and drawings of our pilot did not influence the following Portuguese charts of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago and the South China seas, which still displayed huge cartographic misunderstandings for the next four decades. Even the cartographic situation

of Malacca itself is clearly wrong in Rodrigues' second-hand charts of Southeast Asia, something that could be revised by simple observation. Since the Portuguese captain of the 1511-1512 expedition to the Moluccas, António de Abreu, tried to return to Portugal, the information requested by the Portuguese King was received through participants of the voyage and not through Rodrigues' *Book* and *Atlas*.⁴ Probably our young pilot died or disappeared during his known participation of the 1519 disastrous Portuguese embassy to China led by Simão Peres de Andrade.

Nevertheless, albeit the lack of direct influences in the 16th century Portuguese cartography of the East, Francisco Rodrigues' *Book* is a paradigm of the paramount appropriation of local knowledge, Asian cartography and maritime information. The rare historiography on Rodrigues' work stressed the importance of the new set of charts on Southeast Asia, but the manuscript was also a major document with the Portuguese first cartographic information on South China and its maritime itineraries. In fact, Rodrigues' manuscript displays the first Portuguese and European rutter of China ('Route to China', fol. 37r.), followed by five maps on the South China seas, mainland and islands (fols. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42). The quest of China was an important political and commercial goal immediately after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, and the very few documents referring to Francisco Rodrigues also credited him with the first attempts to identify the maritime routes towards the middle empire.

FRANCISCO RODRIGUES

Very little is known of Francisco Rodrigues' life, education and epochal works. Other than the information springing from his own *Book*, the most important document on the pilot and cartographer appears in an addendum to a letter from the governor Afonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel, written in Cochin, on 1 April 1512.⁵ In this important official text, one finds the following astonishing remarks:

In this first correspondence I send you a long letter, in which I inform you of all I have done since the departure of the ships of Duarte de Lemos and Gonçalo de Sequeira until my return from Malacca to Cochin; it was started in Malacca and ended in Cochin, and may

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Your Highness forgive me if in this same letter and the manner in which it is written, you find me in these two places that this letter I write to you mentions, for the great work it is to write to You extensively, who all day and all night has to attend to other things. I also send you, Sire, a drawing of the island of Goa, of Diu and the island of the Cambay Canal, which are promised to you for the strength and security of your trading post. I also send you a piece of a chart taken from a large map of a Javanese pilot, containing the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal and the land of Brazil, the Red Sea and the Sea of Persia, the Clove Islands, the navigation of the Chinese and the *Gores*,⁶ with their rhumbs and direct routes followed by the ships, and the hinterland, and how the kingdoms border on each other. It seems to me, Sire, that it was the best thing I have ever seen, and Your Highness will be very pleased to see it; it had the names in Javanese writing, but I had with me a Javanese who could read and write. I send this piece to Your Highness, that Francisco Rodrigues traced from the other, in which Your Highness can truly see where the Chinese and *Gores* come from, and the course your ships must take to the Clove Islands, and where the gold mines lie, and the islands of Java and Banda, of nutmeg and maces, and the land of the King of Siam, and also the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate further. The main map was lost with *Frol de la Mar*. With the pilot and Pêro de Alpoim, I discussed the meaning of this map, in order that they could explain it to Your Highness; you can take this piece of map as very accurate and ascertained thing, because it is the real navigation, whence and whither they return. The archipelago of the islands called *Celates*, which lie between Java and Malacca, is missing.⁷

The maps that Afonso de Albuquerque refers to in this text were lost, but their cartographic information is partially represented in some of the charts Francisco Rodrigues drew in his book. In fact, the express reference to pilot and cartographer ('I send this piece to Your Highness, that Francisco Rodrigues traced from the other, in which Your Highness can truly

see where the Chinese and Gores come from, and the course your ships must take to the Clove Islands, and where the gold mines lie, and the islands of Java and Banda, of nutmeg and maces, and the land of the King of Siam, and also the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate further') allows us to assume that other than the original of a Javanese pilot, Rodrigues made a Portuguese-style cartographic copy aiming to facilitate the king's acknowledgment, and probably other copies were disseminated among Portuguese pilots engaged in the expedition to the Moluccas since Albuquerque discussed it with Pêro de Alpoim, auditor and also captain of the ship *Santa Catarina*, on which António de Abreu embarked as First Captain of the fleet which departed to discover the famous Spice Islands.

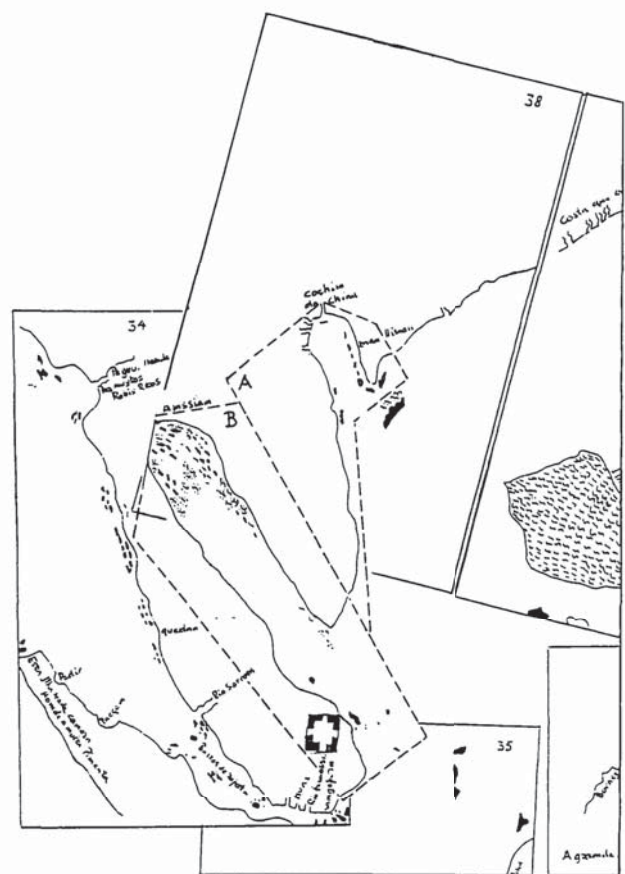


Fig. 2: Correction of the map of folio 34, Gulf of Thailand, and the map of folio 38, Gulf of Tonkin, by interchanging parts of the erroneous cartographic copies (J. Sollewijn Gelpke, 'Afonso de Albuquerque's Pre-Portuguese "Javanese Map"', partially reconstructed from Francisco Rodrigues' *Book*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 151 (1995), no. 1, Leiden, p. 90, fig. 3).

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The letter by Afonso de Albuquerque led to some speculations because of the allusion to Brazil,⁸ but the Portuguese well-known identification in 1500 of the South American territory was surely transmitted to oriental cartographies, pilots and traders as can be witnessed by the famous 1513 map of the Turkish cartographer Piri Reis, displaying Brazil accurately from Portuguese charts.⁹ It was possible that in 1511 in the busy and cosmopolitan trade town of Malacca gathering merchants, sailors and pilots from different Asian regions, from the Middle East to China, had already received cartographic information and concrete maps incorporating the Portuguese 'discoveries' in South America.

A few months later, Afonso de Albuquerque referred to Francisco Rodrigues once more in another letter sent from Cochin, dated 20 August 1512. In this document, the pilot and cartographer is briefly extolled as 'a young man who has been here, with very good knowledge and able to make maps',¹⁰ who stood out from the other pilots who had departed on the expedition sent to the Moluccas. In fact, Rodrigues presents himself on folio 3 of his Book as the 'pilot-major of the first armada to discover Banda and Malucco', reaching, in fact, Amboino, Seram and Banda. Therefore, the most original parts of Rodrigues' Book result from the personal observations he made during this expedition leading to 69 sketches of Eastern Indonesian islands and the cartographic information on Southeast Asia and South China collected from local maps, mainly the referred map of a Javanese pilot but probably also some Chinese epochal charts.

In the month of December 1512, Rodrigues and his companions on the first adventure to the Moluccas had returned to Malacca, where they met Tomé Pires, who had been sent in the middle of that year by Afonso de Albuquerque to occupy the position of registrar and supervisor (*contador*) of the settlement, as well as 'drugs' inspector until January of 1515. In January 1513, Rodrigues departed for India, certainly accompanying António de Abreu and Fernão Peres de Andrade, where they were to meet with Afonso de Albuquerque. The governor was then organising a fleet of some twenty ships to explore the Red Sea and attack Aden. Francisco Rodrigues was among the 1,700 Portuguese who, in February 1513, departed from Cochin with Afonso de Albuquerque and sailed

for the cape of Guardafui, and proceeded onwards to Socotora and Aden, the city he tried to conquer without success on 27 March 1513. Frustrated by this attempt, Albuquerque ordered the exploration of the Red Sea through an expedition that reached the islands of Okban, Kotame and Entufash, after passing Cameroon Island. It was to the latter island that the fleet returned at the beginning of June 1513. In his *Book*, Rodrigues described the voyage made on that occasion to Dalacca and Massua (fls. 5v.-7r.), between June and July of that year, in the caravel sent by Albuquerque to explore the Ethiopian coast,¹¹ and compiled a rutter of the Red Sea included in his *Book* (fls. 5r-5v.)

Nevertheless, albeit the lack of direct influences in the 16th century Portuguese cartography of the East, Francisco Rodrigues' Book is a paradigm of the paramount appropriation of local knowledge, Asian cartography and maritime information.

In 1515 Francisco Rodrigues was most certainly in India when, that year, he copied the *Suma Oriental* with direct access to the original that was still in Tomé Pires' possession at the time. The copy of the *Suma Oriental* included with Rodrigues' manuscript was completed in Cochin that same year, the same date on which Tomé Pires returned to Goa. Among the activities accomplished by the latter in Southeast Asia, worthy of note is his role as factor (*feitor*) of an armada to Japara in Java, commanded by João Lopes de Alvim. This mission, which took place between 14 March and 22 June 1513, is mentioned in the chart of folio 30 of Francisco Rodrigues' *Book*. In 1515, Tomé Pires intended to return to Portugal the following year with his *Suma Oriental*, but his plans were thwarted because, upon orders by the governor Lopo Soares

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de Albergaria, the renowned apothecary was to be commended with a diplomatic mission ordered by King Manuel to the Emperor of China.

Even though we have no documental data between 1516 and 1519 that may contribute to Francisco Rodrigues' biography, we have to consider the hypothesis that, as a pilot specialised in the Southeast Asian region, he also accompanied Tomé Pires and Fernão Peres de Andrade when they departed, perhaps in April 1516, from Cochín to Malacca and from there to China. What we do know is that Rodrigues was in Malacca in 1519, from where he set off as captain of one of the four ships of Simão de Andrade's fleet heading for China, reaching Tamon in August of that year.¹² The fleet stayed there for some months, during which time many Portuguese died,¹³ including quite possibly Francisco Rodrigues, as in fact no further references to the pilot and cartographer are found after 1519.

FRANCISCO RODRIGUES' *ATLAS*

The manuscript *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues offers a very incomplete *Atlas* of the world, gathering in consecutive individual folios 26 maps clearly divided into two different groups which present diverse styles, techniques, scales and geographical details. These two groups merge and even overlap in the chart from Ceylon to West Java (fl. 29), stressing the use of Portuguese charts along with local Southeast Asian cartography. The maps from folio 18 to 30 extend from Scotland to the Sunda straits while the charts from folio 114 to 116 display information on the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions; this collection of charts is from evidently Portuguese cartographic production. In contrast, the charts from folio 33 to 42 are copies of Asian maps, sketched in a complete different style, lacking scales of latitudes and/or a scale of leagues, drawing islands in profile as was usual in Arabic cartography and displaying only panoramically the main continental lands poorly highlighted through scarce legends and lacking any detailed toponymy. In this second group, the maps from folios 38-42 are concentrated in the maritime itineraries, continental and insular identification of China generating a coherent original collection.

This collection of new maps on Southeast Asia, South China Seas and lands are surely copies of

the referred map of a Javanese pilot collected in the aftermaths of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, but it is also possible that the group of five maps concentrated on China received influences from maritime and territorial Chinese charts unknown today.

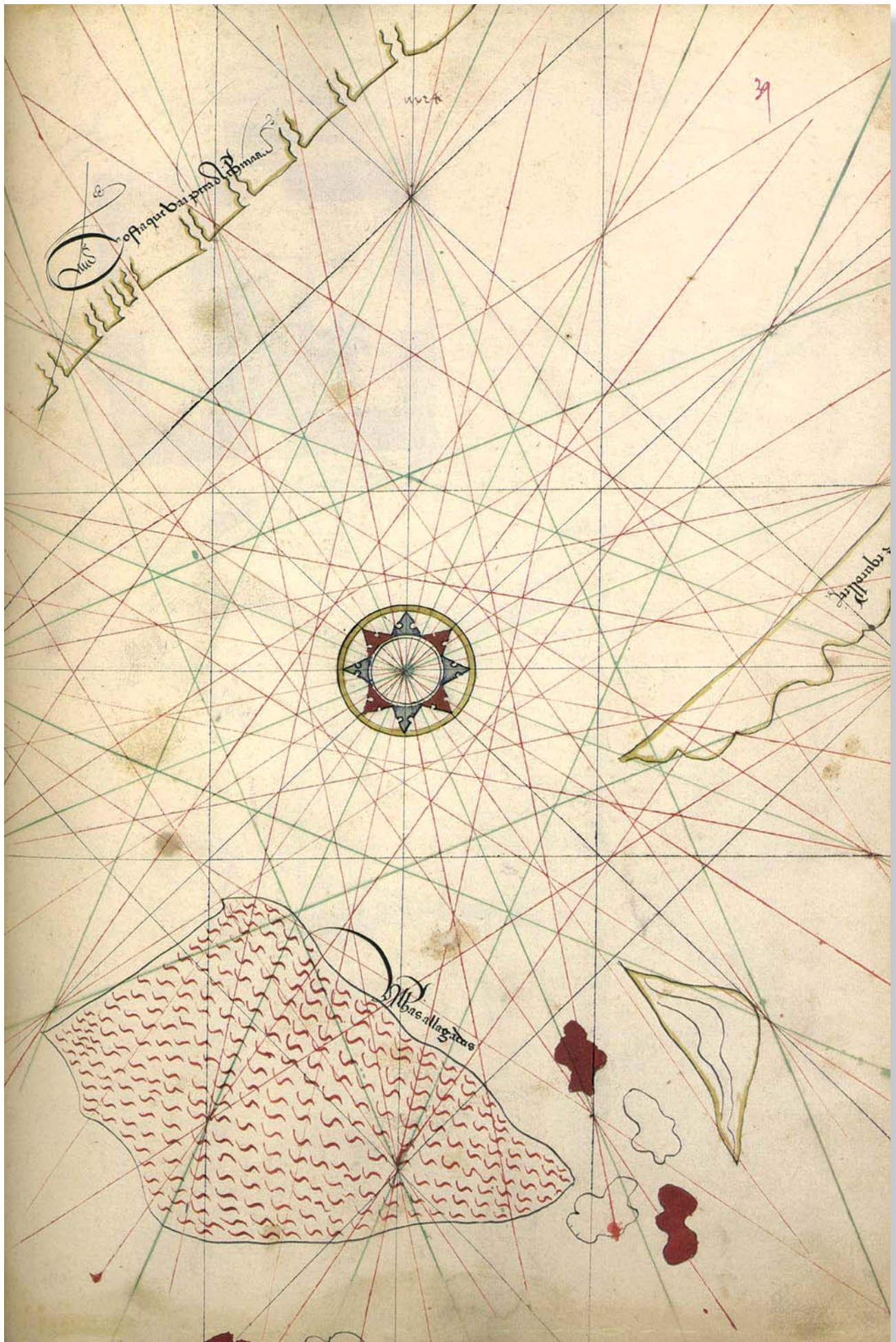
THE RUTTER OF CHINA

The five maps of folios 38-42 are the first Portuguese and European copies of Asian maps on the maritime itinerary from Malacca to Canton defining the general position and some boundaries of China, namely with Korea, according to Albuquerque's description of the grand chart of the Javanese pilot, 'the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate further'. These five maps were introduced by a summary rutter of China, the very first in Portuguese documents, written by Francisco Rodrigues in the verso of folio 37 which contained a chart on Eastern Indonesia, including Maluku and Timor islands. The 'Route to China'—as the rutter is entitled—was probably added to the group of maps on Southeast Asia from nautical information gathered among diverse Asian traders in Malacca. The rutter functions as a brief introduction to the five maps on the South China Sea, islands and continental territories, although these maps are also an illustration of the text, following up the textual framing suggested by the referred 1512 letter of Albuquerque to the Portuguese King.

The China Rutter explains briefly:

'From Malacca to *Pulo Param* it is five *jãos*, and from there to Pisang another five, and from Pulo Pisang to Karimun it is three *jãos*, and from Karimun to Singapore it is five, and from Singapore to Pedra Branca five, and from [Pedra Branca to] Pull Tingi five *jãos* to the north-east, and by this route another five *jãos* to Tioman, and from Pulo Tioman to Pulo Condore it is forty five *jãos* going north and a quarter north-east, and from Pulo Condore to the *Terra de Champara*, *Terra Vermelha*, it is fifteen *jãos* to the north-east, and from this *Terra Vermelha* along the coast to Cape Varela it is fourteen *jãos* to the north-east, and from Varela to Pulo Canton twelve *jãos* along the said route, and from Pulo Canton to Hainan twenty-five *jãos*

Fig. 3: Map of folio 39.



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Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the map of folio 39.

to the north-east, and from here to Pulo Canton twenty *jãos* to the north-east. And to go from Pulo Canton straight to the bar of *Timon* you must go to the north-east and always keep to the east so that the currents do not carry you into the gulf of *Cauchy*.¹⁴

The rutter organises the maritime itinerary in *jãos* (*jauh* is the Malay word for distance) which suggests its local use among Javanese sailors, although following a quite patterned and simple route: from Malacca the ships attended *Pulo Param*, the islands of Pandang and Bangkalis in the east coast of central Sumatra, then sailed in the direction of the Singapore Straits until reaching the islet of *Pedra Branca*, which still keeps this designation. From Singapore, the suggested itinerary reaches *Terra Champara*/*Terra Vermelha*, the Phan Ri bay off the coast of Ainan then sailing up to *Cauchy*,¹⁵ the Tonkin gulf, approaching Hainan to

turn eastwards to the Pearl River Delta islands pointed out in *Timon*, probably Lintin near Macao and Hong Kong. There are in this short rutter three main geographical interconnected structures: the Singapore Straits, the Tonkin gulf and the South China Sea islands from Hainan to the Pearl River Delta. These main structures are also responsible for the panoramic options decided by Francisco Rodrigues for this group of five maps which, in general, are vague and probably incomplete, at least unable to illustrate Albuquerque's excited description of that famous map of the Javanese pilot:

'I also send you a piece of a chart taken from a large map of a Javanese pilot, containing the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal and the land of Brazil, the Red Sea and the Sea of Persia, the Clove Islands, the navigation of the Chinese and the *Gores*, with their rhumbs and direct routes followed by the ships, and the hinterland, and how the kingdoms border on each other.'

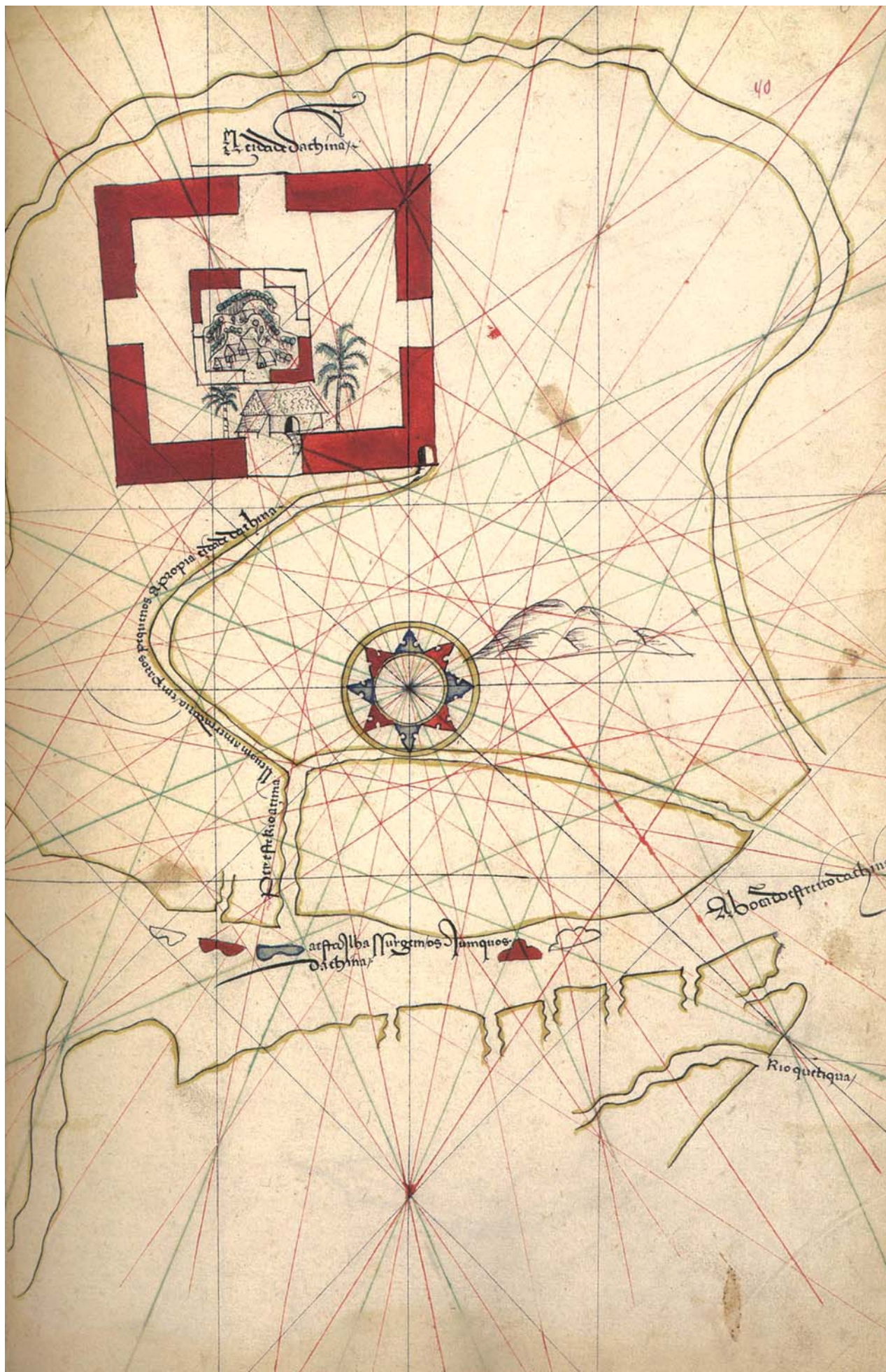
MAP OF FOLIO 38: GULF OF TONKIN

This map (Fig. 1) represents incorrectly an exaggeratedly large Gulf of Tonkin (*Cauchy*) deeply invading the continent and ending up in a myriad of small islets under the legend 'coçhim da china' (Cochin of China). On the north peninsula, near a central wind-rose, the legend 'anam llimon' probably refers to Ha Nam island (Đảo Hà Nam, in Vietnamese) and not to the Chinese large island of Hainan as is normally suggested.¹⁶ In the south of the mainland, the map represents a city in 'Chinese' style, a small red square with four entrances. This suggests that this chart was probably wrongly copied and confused with the map on folio 34 representing also inaccurately the Gulf of Thailand as a brief maritime accident. The maps should probably be revised and interchanged as suggested by Gelpke. (Fig. 2)

MAP OF FOLIO 39: COAST WHICH GOES TO CHINA

This typical maritime map (Fig. 3) shows a short segment of a coastal line labelled 'coast which goes to China', stressing a kind of fluid boundary between North Vietnam (*Cochin of China* or *Cauchy*) and the Chinese large but still unidentified continental

Fig. 5: Map of folio 40.



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empire. The mass of shoals under the legend 'Ilhas Allagadas' (Flooded islands) may represent the Spratly Islands west of Palawan, while *Lequeoller* and the smaller islands southward, drawn in profile, could be Mindoro and/or Luzon as seen from the north-west, a probable general identification of the archipelago that would become the Philippines.¹⁷

MAP OF FOLIO 40: PEARL RIVER DELTA

This is the most important and informative map (Fig. 5) in the collection of five charts on China and its maritime itineraries to Southeast Asia. The chart represents the Pearl River Delta region centred around Guangzhou, displaying coastlines and islets, drawn probably between the Xijiang (*Rio Quitiqua* in the legend) and Pearl rivers. The entry of the large delta, displayed confusedly through the confluence of these and several other unidentified rivers, is assigned with a simple legend: 'The mouth of the Strait of China' (*A boca do estreito de china*). Five islets, two painted in red, frame another legend indicating that 'at this island the junks of China call' (*a esta Ilha ssurgem os Jumquos da china*). The singular suggests the general localisation of the *Timon* on Rodrigues' rutter of China, an island that the Portuguese also identified as *Timon* and, later, *Veniaga*, normally identified as Lintin, located thirty kilometres northeast of Macao.¹⁸

The sinuous river drawn on this chart, reaching up to Guangzhou, presents the largest legend of this group of five maps, stressing that 'by this river the merchandise arrives in small *paraus* at the very city of China' (*Per este Rio açima lleuam a mercadaria em Paros pequenos a propria çidade da china*). This 'city of China' (*a çidade da china*, in the original legend), Guangzhou, is schematically sketched through two squares with four entrances, the large external walls enclosing a primitive house with two palm-trees on either side, while the smaller internal walls defend a set of small houses surrounded by countless miniature trees. The drawing symbols, houses or palm trees, are very similar to the astonishing 69 sketches that Rodrigues produced on the islands between Alor and Java, therefore highlighting his complete visual ignorance of Chinese towns, urbanism and cultures.

This chart poses several problems. It is not linked directly to the precedent (fl. 39) and following (fl. 41) charts and uses a different, much larger scale.

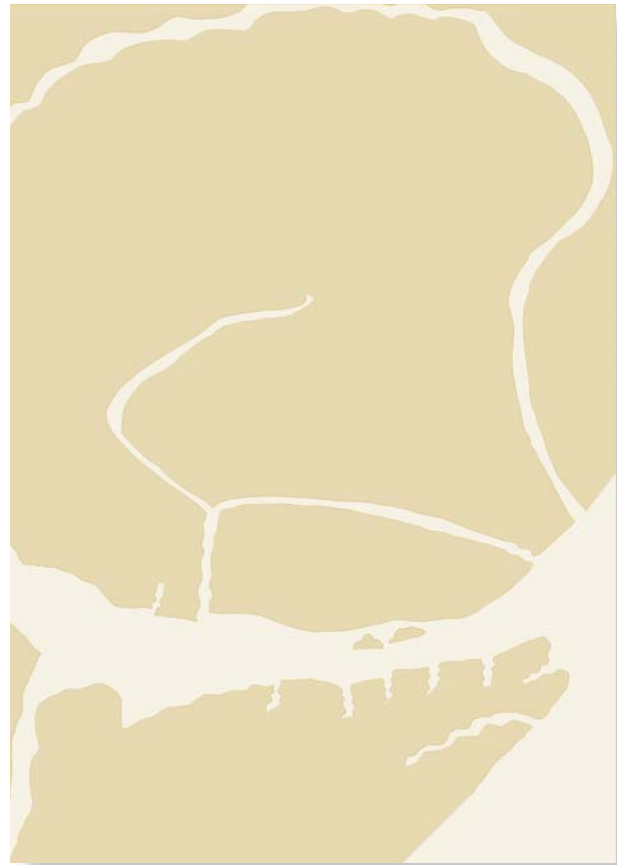
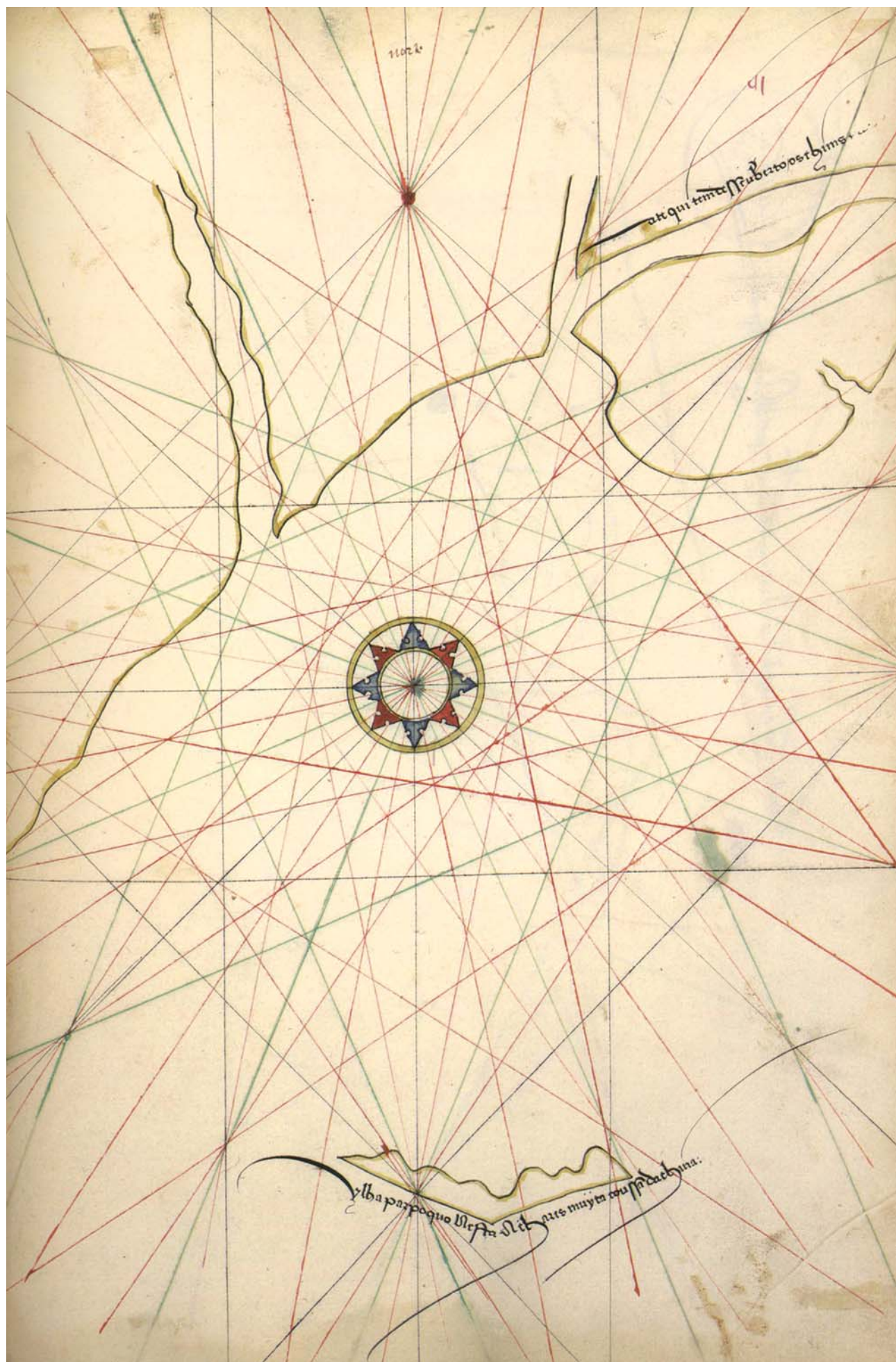


Fig. 6: Reconstruction of the map of folio 40.

At the same time, it has much more informative and detailed legends, being the only continental map of a group widely centred in the identification of the South China Sea and its maritime itineraries. The large, but fictional and primitive, representation of Guangzhou stresses a territorial map that was probably inspired in Chinese provincial charts of the Southern imperial provinces unfortunately unknown or lost. Nevertheless, the amplification of this Southern Chinese region represents the true first Portuguese 'discovery' of China: the commercial wealth of the Pearl River Delta and Canton echoed through maps and traders in the main harbour towns of Southeast Asia. Tomé Pires was able to understand the strategic commercial position of Guangzhou in the Chinese overseas maritime trade, presenting in his *Suma Oriental* the town as 'the largest of all and the trading centre for these parts' and 'where the whole kingdom of China unloads all its merchandise, great quantities from inland as well as from the sea'.¹⁹

Fig. 7: Map of folio 41.



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MAP OF FOLIO 41: NORTHERN COAST OF CHINA

This summary map (Fig. 7) returns to a panoramic style, shorter scale, humble drawing, and offers only two legends. The first, in the north coastal line, states briefly that 'up to here the Chinese have discovered' (*até aqui têm descoberto os chins*). This is information already known from the previously quoted Afonso de Albuquerque 1512 letter to the Portuguese King, explaining that the famous map of the Javanese pilot founded in Malacca showed 'the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate further'. Francisco Rodrigues was summarily copying this map to mark the boundary of the lands navigated and known by the Chinese. A boundary which could only point north to a territory which, sketched confusedly

Fig. 8: Reconstruction of the map of folio 41.



as an island or peninsula, suggests Korea, the land of the Gores.

The second legend in this chart highlights an island, drawn in profile, identified as *Parpoquo* island. You will find in it many aspects of China (*Ilha parpoquo. Nesta achareis muita cousa da China*). Its identification is uncertain and the source of several controversies, although one cannot completely exclude the possibility of it being Japan. In Portuguese sources, Brás de Albuquerque, based on information from his father's time (Afonso de Albuquerque died in 1515) states that the gold brought by the Gores to Malacca 'comes from an island which is close to theirs; it is called Perioco, and in it there is much gold'. A *Parioco Insula* appears also at the end of the *Magnus Golfus Chinnarum Maris* in Lopo Homem's atlas of 1519. If the two legends are able to suggest the territorial and maritime limits of China 'discoveries' (to use Rodrigues' and Albuquerque's concept) in Korea and Japan, any historian would immediately recall the powerful long-term logic of this geographical frontier, nowadays as in the past facing the contradictions of all the areas of fluid and disputed boundaries.

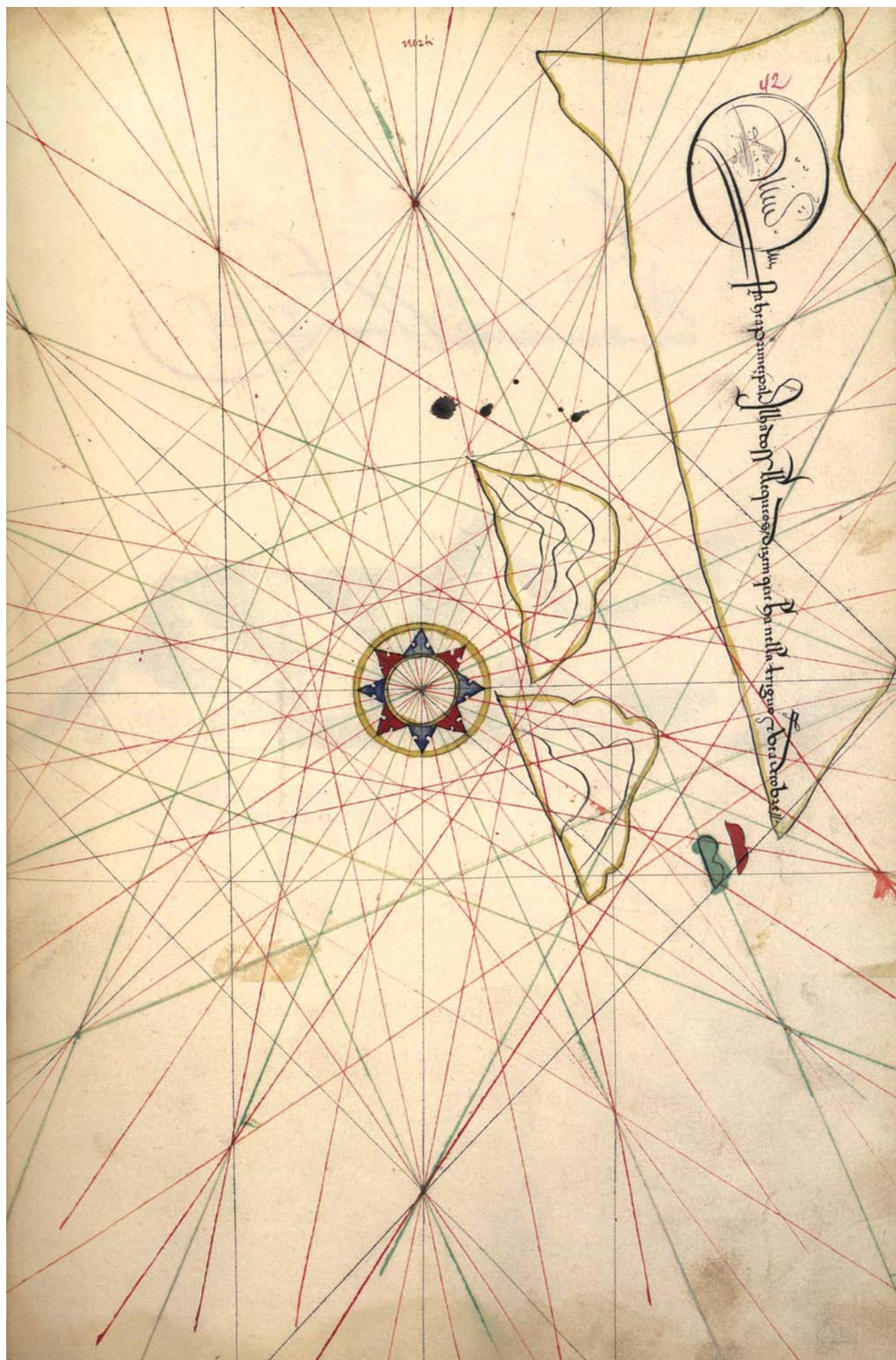
MAP OF FOLIO 42: TAIWAN

This final map (Fig. 9) is the most general and brief in this group of five charts based on the identification of China in Francisco Rodrigues' unfinished manuscript *Book*: three islands and two islets painted in red and blue, as well as some random drops of ink. The legend in the largest island, drawn in profile, explains that 'This is the principal Island of the *Lequeos*. They say that there are wheat and copper works' (*Esta he a principal Ilha dos Llequeos dizem que ha nella trigo e obra de cobre*). The *Suma Oriental* written by Tomé Pires also mentions wheat and copper among the main trade goods brought by the *Lequeos* to Malacca. The island represents Taiwan, while the two other islands and small islets off its south-west coast, drawn again in profile, correspond probably to the 'Pescadores' (Fishermen) group of islands.

CONCLUSION

The group of five maps from folios 38 to 42 in Francisco Rodrigues' *Book* as well as the China rutter in folio 37v. are the first Portuguese cartographic and

Fig. 9: Map of folio 42.



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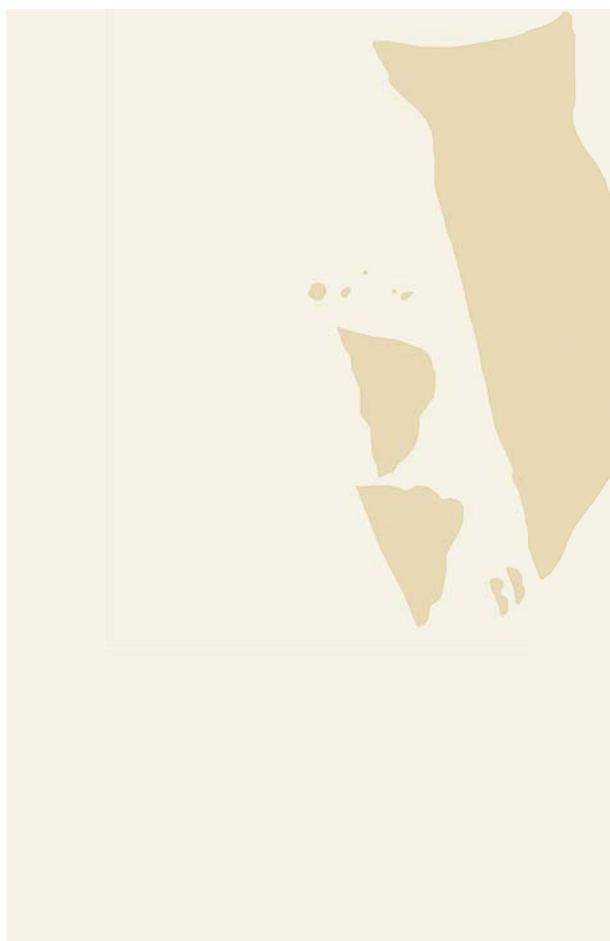


Fig. 10: Reconstruction of the map of folio 42.

that, at least, the map of folio 40 on the Pearl River Delta region was able to convoke information from Chinese pre-European maps, nowadays unknown and lost. In this perspective, Francisco Rodrigues' unfinished manuscript *Book* represents an important bridge for the acknowledgement of the key role of Chinese nautical and cartographic information at the beginnings of the Portuguese maritime circulation in Southeast Asia and South China. Finally, it seems quite clear that this group of five maps is widely accepted in the cartographic amplification of the role of the Pearl River Delta and Guangzhou as the leading external commercial area of China. In 1519, as Rodrigues witnessed himself, the Portuguese attempts to achieve a political and trade agreement with China failed; it took almost four decades to find in South China a small peninsula able to awake the Portuguese trade dreams in the middle Empire: Macao. **RC**

nautical documents on China gathering maritime itineraries and panoramic territorial information. These maps and the rutter were probably produced at the end of 1511 or at the beginning of 1512, in any case prior to the first Portuguese expedition that reached the South China coasts in 1513. Therefore, this collection of charts is not related to any real observation of the geographical regions mapped, coming instead from Asian cartographies, namely that chart of a Javanese pilot collected by the governor Afonso de Albuquerque after the conquest of Malacca, in 1511, and copied by Francisco Rodrigues. The Portuguese young pilot and cartographer made probably several copies of the map, some sent to Portugal and others for the maritime expeditions in Southeast Asia, namely the 1512 first voyage to the Eastern Indonesian Spice Islands. It is not impossible



Malacca and China

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NOTES

- 1 The other two known versions of the *Suma Oriental*, dated from the 1520's (version of the National Library of Lisbon, and which come to be translated and published by Ramusio in 1550), present greatly reduced versions of the original text (Rui Manuel Loureiro, *O Manuscrito de Lisboa da 'Suma Oriental' de Tomé Pires*. Macao: IPOR, 1996, pp. 37-43).
- 2 We follow the edition by Armando Cortesão, *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires. An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515, and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Mapos, written and drawn in the East before 1515*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944, 2 volumes.
- 3 Cortesão, *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires*, I, p. xcv.
- 4 A much more detailed research on this subject can be followed in J. Sollewlín Gelpke, 'Afonso de Albuquerque's Pre-Portuguese "Javanese Map", partially reconstructed from Francisco Rodrigues' Book'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151 (1995), no. 1, Leiden, pp. 76-99.
- 5 Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Corpo Cronológico, parte I, maço 11, no. 50, published in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, edited by Raimundo António Bulhão Pato. Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências de Lisbon, 1884, vol. 1, p. 66.
- 6 In Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*, *Gores* and *Lequios* (Ryukyuan) were synonymous, but the description of the country suggests that *Gores* referred to Korea (Gelpke, 'Afonso de Albuquerque's Pre-Portuguese "Javanese Map"', p. 77, n. 5).
- 7 Cortesão, *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires*, I, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.
- 8 Gabriel Ferrand, 'A propos d'une carte javanaise du XVe siècle'. *Journal Asiatique*, II, Julho-Agosto de 1918, pp. 158-170; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, 'Uma carta marítima do século XV e o descobrimento do Brasil'. *Boletim da Classe de Letras*, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, vol. 13, fasc. 2, Março-Julho 1919 (Coimbra, 1921), pp. 665-673.
- 9 Max Justo Guedes, 'O mapa de Piri Reis (1513): um quebra-cabeças histórico'. *Revista Marítima Brasileira*, vol. 114, 1994, pp. 115-136.
- 10 ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, parte I, block 22, doc. 66, published in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, edited by Raimundo António Bulhão Pato, vol. 1, p. 68.
- 11 ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, parte 1, block 14, doc. 15, published in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, edited by Raimundo António Bulhão Pato, vol. 1, pp. 220-221.
- 12 João de Barros. *Ásia*, Lisboa, 1563, 3, book 5, chap. 1, fol. 155 v.
- 13 Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins: Portugal e a China no Século XVI*. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 248-252.
- 14 Cortesão, *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. 1, pp. 301-302.
- 15 The Portuguese *Cauchy* used both in Rodrigues' *Book* and Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* is probably a direct phonetic transcription of the Cat Hai island at the mouth of the Tonkin Gulf.
- 16 Cortesão, *The Summa Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. 2, p. 523.
- 17 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 523.
- 18 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 523.
- 19 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 119-121.