Near the Greater Bay Area: The Wuzhu Sea 烏豬洋 and Wuzhu Island 烏豬洲 (Pulau Babi) in Chinese and Portuguese Sources (c. 1400–1600)

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ABSTRACT: In the age of sail, Wuzhu Island (烏豬島), to the east of Shangchuan (上川島), was a major point of orientation for ships proceeding back and forth between Southeast Asia and various locations along the shores of central Guangdong. There was no permanent settlement on Wuzhu, but the island provided water and Chinese sailors associated it with a protective deity. One part of the sea in the area around Wuzhu was called Wuzhuyang (烏豬洋). However, its precise extension and limits remain unknown. A third toponym, Wuzhumen (烏豬門), leads to further questions. The article discusses selected references to these places and various nearby islands recorded on maps and in nautical and other texts of the Ming period. It also considers additional spaces mentioned together with the Wuzhuyang. A further focus is on Portuguese sources. In these works, Wuzhu Island appears under a Malay name: Pulau Babi. The analysis of this material confirms the impression provided by Chinese texts and maps, namely that Wuzhu/Pulau Babi was an important landmark in nautical contexts.

KEYWORDS: The islands of central Guangdong; History of navigation; Traditional geography.

1. WUZHU ISLAND: ITS NAMES AND GEOGRAPHY

In the western section of the so-called 'Greater Bay' area one finds the two large islands called Shangchuandao (上川島) and Xiachuandao (下川島). Portuguese sources frequently refer to the first island as the Ilha de São João, while English texts often call it St. John's Island. The place is well-known: Jesuit Father Francisco Xavier died there in 1552 and it also served as a meeting area where Chinese and other merchants went to exchange their goods. Indeed, its commercial functions go back to much earlier times, as we know from Chinese books and maps. However, the present study is not on

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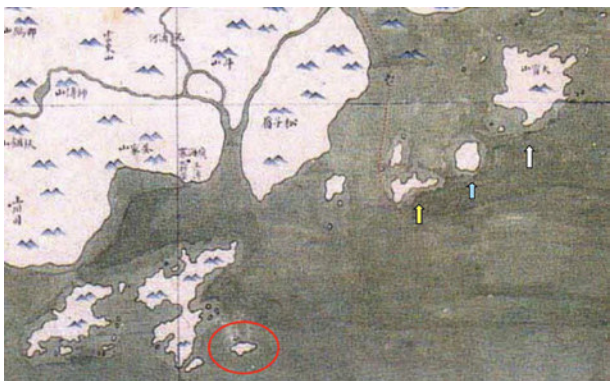

Fig. 1: This section of the *Guangzhoufu zongtu* (《廣州府總圖》), a map of the early nineteenth century, may serve for orientation. One can easily recognise the islands dealt with in the present article, because they are quite accurately drawn. That is particularly true of Shangchuandao, the second large place from the left, and of Wuzhu to its east, here marked in red. Further to the right, i.e., to the east, one sees Hebaodao (yellow arrrow), Gaolandao (blue arrow), and Sanzaodao (white arrow). Macao, to the northeast of the latter, is not on the image. Source: *Aomen lishi ditu jingxuan*, 78 (map 47).

Shangchuan. It looks at a small island located circa 5 km to the east of the former and it also deals with the sea that bears its name.

Currently, the Chinese name of this small island is Wuzhuzhou (烏豬洲), literally 'Black Pig Island'. In former times people also called it Wuzhudao (烏豬島) and Wuzhushan (烏豬山), and the sea adjacent to it Wuzhuyang (烏豬洋).[1] In some traditional sources the second character in these names appears as '瀦' or '猪'. The last form is very common and is now used in short character texts, while the short version for '瀦', namely '潴', seems rare. The *pinyin* transcription of all these characters gives *zhu* (i.e., *chu* in Wade-Giles). In Cantonese they read *zyu* (according to the Jyutping system). The Hokkien versions are less uniform: '豬' and '猪' read *ti(r)*; '瀦' is transcribed as *chu* (Pe'h-ōe-jī system). Both the Hokkien and Cantonese readings may matter, because presumably in the ancient days it was mostly sailors from south Fujian and central Guangdong whose ships came to Wuzhuzhou and passed through the Wuzhuyang.

Although clear evidence for the Hokkien and Cantonese pronunciations of the above characters in earlier periods is difficult to find, we may assume that they were interchangeable to some degree.[2] There are, in fact, several other toponyms, which suggest that all these graphs, including additional ones (for instance, *zhou* 洲, *zhou* 州, *zhu* 竺, and *zhu* 竹), were then used in liberal ways.[3] Nevertheless, as far as I can tell, there is no major study on this phenomenon that may have to do with different local naming traditions then current among the seafaring communities of South China.

Be that as it may, scholars tried to explain the name 'Black Pig Island' by telling readers that its shape would resemble a boar, hence its appellation. However, comparable explanations also appear in connection with other toponyms that contain the element 'pig'.[4] Many of these explanations raise doubts. Moreover, the element 'black' (*wu* 烏) remains a mystery.

Old Portuguese sources do not seem to provide a name for the Wuzhuyang, and they also call Wuzhuzhou differently, namely Pulau Babi (various orthographs). This is a Malay toponym which simply means 'Pig Island'. Although it does not carry the attribute 'black', one must certainly relate the sequence 'Pulau Babi' to the Chinese versions Wuzhuzhou/-dao/-shan. We shall return to the name issue in chapter 8.

Here it may suffice to state that one finds a parallel case near the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. This concerns the island now called Pulau Babi Besar (literally: 'Great Pig Island'). Zhou Yunzhong proposed to link its name to a location which the famous *Zheng He Map* records as Xizhushan (西竹山). He suggested to replace the second character by '猪'. The adjusted Chinese version '西猪山' would then mean 'Western Pig Island'. Semantically this would come close to Pulau Babi Besar, but the issue is quite complicated, as I have shown elsewhere, and not everyone will accept Zhou's suggestion.[5]

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The origin of the Malay name 'Pulau Babi Besar' also raises questions. According to various internet entries and modern works, there were wild pigs on the island, hence its name. As far as I can tell, zoology has not yet confirmed that view. According to a different story the island received its name because an angry fisherman had cursed his wife by calling her a 'pig'. Again, sources of the medieval and early modern periods do not mention such a legend. In short, currently there are no clear explanations for the name 'Pulau Babi Besar', for its assumed Chinese names, and for the name Wuzhuzhou/-dao/-shan near Shangchuan.[6]

For the sake of simplicity, I shall now reduce the modern name Wuzhuzhou to Wuzhu (or Wuzhu Island), besides providing a few more geographical data. The approximate coordinates of that island are 21°36'N and 112°52'E. It has an east–west extension of circa 4 km; its widest north–south extension measures 2.2 km. There are many granite structures. In the eastern section of the island one peak rises to 236 metres. Some segments of the southern shore are steep; along the north side one finds several beaches with stones. Much of the island is covered with shrubs and small trees.[7] Chinese sources suggest that it remained uninhabited for ages, but fishing vessels went there, and itinerant merchants visited the island as well, at least from time to time. The island is also linked to a local deity, which will be discussed in chapter 8.

Furthermore, Wuzhu offered fresh water. Presumably, most visitors went ashore at its northern coast, which is less exposed to the sea. There is, in fact, a work of the Qing period which marks the space near the north side of Wuzhu as a kind of channel, or *men* (門). Its geographical position suggests that ships would often sail along that shore and then proceed to the broad space between Wuzhu and Shangchuandao.[8]

Given the explanations listed above, readers may wonder why one should write an article about a small place like Wuzhu, especially if this was an uninhabited and very unspectacular location in the vicinity of a large island known for its former role in commercial exchange. The reason is simple: both Chinese and Portuguese sources mention Wuzhu in navigational contexts. Typically, Chinese vessels approached or passed the island when proceeding from Fujian or central Guangdong in the general direction of Hainan, present-day Vietnam, and the Malay world. Portuguese sailors sighted Pulau Babi on the way from Melaka or Patani to Shangchuan and when going to the island which they called Lampacau (in Chinese usually Langbaijiao 浪白澳, but there are different orthographs in both Portuguese and Chinese texts). As is well known, besides the large island of Shangchuan, the latter also served as an international trading platform prior to the foundation of the Portuguese settlement on the southern half of the Macao Peninsula. Put differently, Wuzhu Island was an important point of orientation for travellers of various nations.

The above explains why Wuzhu and/or the sea space adjacent to it appear on Chinese maps and in so-called *zhenjing* (針經), or books on navigation, produced in the Ming period, and why one can find Pulau Babi in Portuguese sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is a selection of these Chinese and Portuguese references to both the island and the sea that will be investigated in the present article. This requires no models or theories. On the contrary, I shall limit myself to citing important material that records the relevant toponyms, while also throwing light on the adjacent areas. Where possible, the discussion will follow a rough chronological order. This includes works dated to the period circa 1400 to 1600; it does not include sources of the Qing era; these will only be cited in exceptional cases, for clarity's sake.

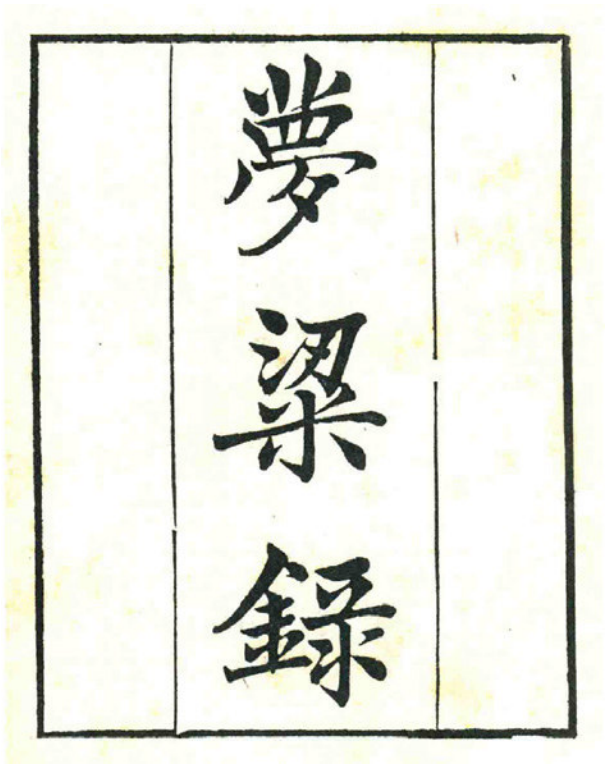

Fig. 2: Title page of *Meng liang lu*, from a Qing print.

Finally, as the discussion will show, the matter sounds simple, but there are many problems, mainly regarding the space then called Wuzhuyang. Not all questions lead to satisfactory answers; indeed, several points remain open. That is especially true for the presentation in chapters 2 and 3.

2. THE WUZHU SEA AND OTHER SPACES IN *MENG LIANG LU*

We shall begin our discussion by looking at *Meng liang lu* (《夢粱錄》) (completed in 1274) by Wu Zimu (吳自牧, fl. 1270). This source precedes the time frame set for the present article, but it is an important text and certainly one of the earliest books with a brief reference to the Wuzhuyang.[9] One of its entries records that people wishing to trade abroad, would leave Quanzhou (泉州) and sail through the Qizhouyang (七洲洋). The name Qizhouyang usually points to the sea adjacent to the so-called Qizhou liedao (七洲列島), a small archipelago near the northeastern tip of Hainan and now under the administration of Wenchang County (文昌縣). There are many studies on these islands which appear in Portuguese sources under the Malay name Pulau Tujuh (different orthographs). Both the Chinese and the Malay versions mean 'Seven Islands'.[10]

According to our text, the depth of the Qizhouyang measured more than 70 *zhang* (丈), i.e. approximately 200 metres, if one follows Han Zhenhua's (1921–1993) suggestion.[11] Unfortunately, the text does not mention the exact location of the measurement. Han argued that besides referring to the area near Hainan's northeastern tip, the name Qizhouyang also designated the sea extending towards the Xisha Islands (西沙群島) (Paracel Islands) in a broader sense. There is some dissent on the issue for various reasons, one being that traditional Chinese texts rarely allow us to precisely delimitate sea spaces.[12] Nevertheless, the depth of circa 200 metres suggests a location at some distance from Hainan.

Meng liang lu then continues by listing four spaces: 'the Kunlun, Shamo, Shelong, and Wuzhu seas' (崑崙、沙漠、蛇龍、烏豬等洋). Their sequence raises questions, as we shall see. Kunlunyang is the only exception. It stands for the sea near Pulau Condore (Con Son, Côn Sơn, Kunlun[dao/shan] 昆侖/崑崙[島/山], etc.). The latter is the main island of a small archipelago about 70 km away from the southeastern shore of present-day Vietnam.

The second toponym, Shamoyang, remains unclear. Huang Chunyan relates it to the name '沙磨洋', also read *shamoyang*, which appears in a work by Fang Hui (方回, usually 1227–1307) where one finds the phrase 'From Kunlunyang going to the Shamoyang…' (自崑崙洋而放沙磨洋……).[13]

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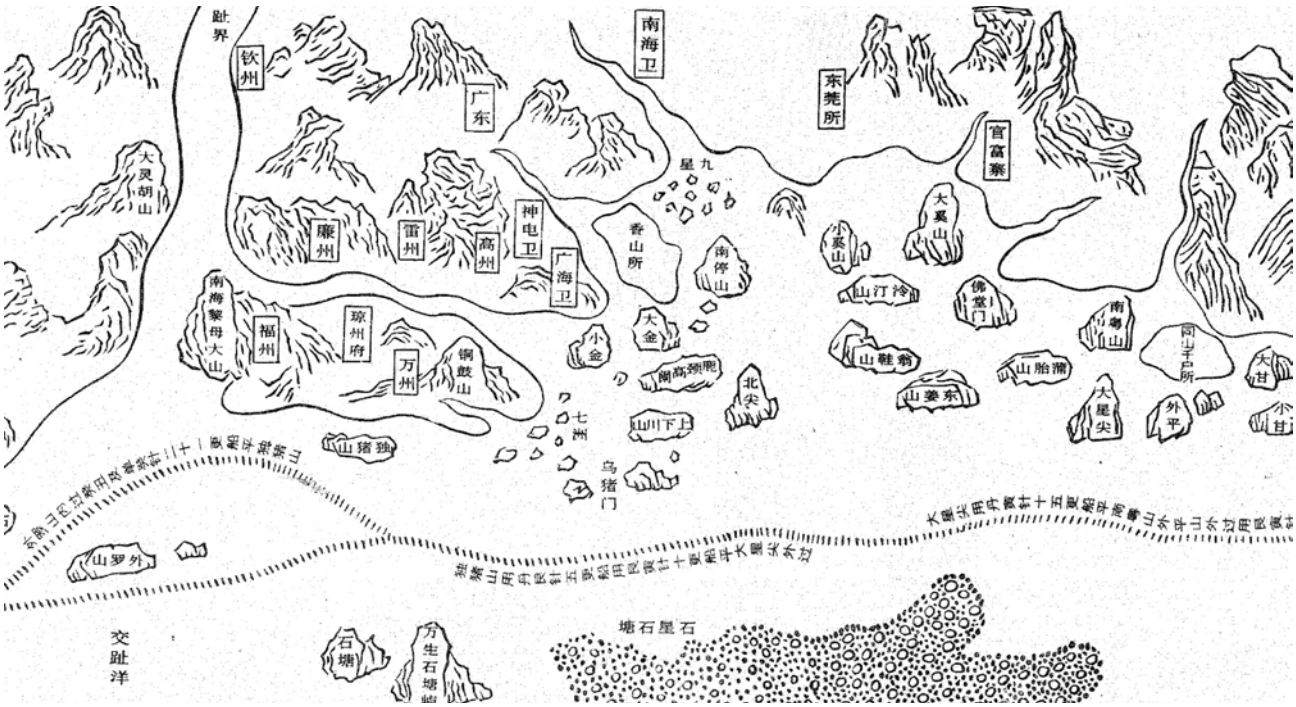

Fig. 3: Section of the *Zheng He hanghai tu*. The map is not drawn to scale. However, one can easily understand its composition. The dotted line shows the principal sailing route along the China coast. Below it, to the south, are various islands in the South China Sea. The large island in the left half is Hainan. To its right: the Qizhou (七洲) or 'Seven Islands'. Further to the right: Wuzhumen (烏猪門). The location called Shangxiachuanshan (上下川山) marks Shangchuan and Xiachuan. The river-like area near the left margin: an allusion to the Gulf of Tongking and the border between China and Annam, here called Jiaozhijie (交趾界). Source: *ZHHHTJ*, p. 40.

A second possibility takes us to the segment on Bintonglong (賓童龍) in the famous book by Wang Dayuan (汪大淵). Bintonglong marks the area of Phanrang, further north along the Vietnam coast. In his description Wang Dayuan lists two names that begin with *sha*; perhaps one of them has to do with the Shamo Sea.[14] A third option is to relate the meaning of *shamo* (desert) to the many reefs and sandbanks in the South China Sea. One may even see a symbolic link between the combination Kunlunyang + Shamoyang and the Kunlun Mountains + the desert areas in West China.[15] As is well known, ancient Chinese texts associate the inland regions with various legends, and perhaps Wu Zimu intended to transfer this image to the sea.

Shelongyang could be the space adjacent to the northwestern section of Borneo and/or the area near some of the Natuna Islands. The combination *shelong* appears in several toponyms of later periods which relate to these zones.[16] However, one may also split up the sequence Shelongyang into two names: Sheyang (蛇洋) and Longyang (龍洋). The first name could then represent the Dasheyang (大蛇洋), but Longyang would remain unexplained.[17] Furthermore, the elements 'snake' + 'dragon' may carry a symbolic dimension that leads to the Wuzhuyang and the next passages of our text.

These passages refer to supernatural forces (*shenwu* 神物), including dragons. The reasons for assuming an intended link between them and the Wuzhu Sea are simple: pigs and the colour black are usually associated with water and the northwest; snakes and dragons align with the southeast. This suggests an antithetical constellation. If that is acceptable, then the geographical sequence of the

names becomes irrelevant. The text would then be a condensed effort to create a new marvel.

However, one may as well argue that the sequence of names in *Meng liang lu* takes readers from north to south. The first name, Qizhouyang, relates to the area near Hainan and/or the Xisha qundao (西沙群島) (Paracel Islands). From there, going south, through the sea near Con Son, the Shamoyang (hidden reefs in the western section of the Nansha qundao?) and Shelongyang (near the Natunas and/or Northwest Kalimantan?), a ship would enter the Laut Natuna, unless it would change direction near Cape Datu and proceed towards the Balabac Strait. Clearly, in these cases, the name Wuzhuyang would not stand for a space adjacent to Wuzhu Island of Guangdong. Rather, one would have to search for it somewhere along the way to Java, or near the route along the north coast of Borneo, or even further to the east/southeast, in the Celebes Sea or the Moluccan zone. Such an arrangement might remind readers of the perilous whirls and waters in the South China Sea and/or the distant eastern spaces described in other sources.[18]

Be that as it may, Wu Zimu concludes his description by alluding to the fact that reefs and flat areas are dangerous zones. Therefore, people have a saying: '[When] you leave [China], be careful with the Qizhou; [when] returning, be careful with Kunlun' (去怕七洲，回怕崑崙). This saying appears in many later sources and is almost regularly quoted in research on China's maritime history. In sum, the reference to the Wuzhuyang in *Meng liang lu* seems to form part of a well-known larger context that mixes geographical details with fantastic elements.

3. WUZHUMEN IN THE *ZHENG HE MAP*

Standard geographies of the Song and Yuan periods do not seem to mention the Wuzhuyang and not the island called Wuzhuzhou/-shan/-dao. Further references only occur in sources associated with the early fifteenth century and later periods. Therefore, in terms of chronology, we may now turn to the so-called *Zheng He hanghai tu* (《鄭和航海圖》), or *Zheng He Map*. The original version of this anonymous work is lost. Most scholars think that it was made during the early fifteenth century, at the time of Zheng He's voyages, and that some parts of it are based on earlier material. The extant copies of the map date to late Ming period. There are two such copies and they only differ in minor points. Nearly all modern studies dealing with the map are based on the version included in the collection *Wu bei zhi* (《武備志》) (1621). Here we shall look at one segment of the map, which shows the coast of central Guangdong and Hainan.[19]

The *Zheng He hanghai tu* is drawn from the mariner's point of view. One follows the principal sailing course, marked by a dotted line along the China coast, either in the direction of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, or in the direction of Nanjing, then Ming-China's capital and the starting point of Zheng He's expeditions. Brief sailing instructions placed near that line provide the compass bearings which tell users how to reach a particular destination. Further instructions give the approximate sailing time/distance (measured in *geng* 更) between two or more locations.[20]

Clearly, the map is not drawn to scale. On the contrary, it is a long horizontal work, probably originally a scroll or a folded piece, that takes readers from one port or island to the next place, indicating the geographical position of important landmarks on starboard and port. The instructions recorded near the dotted lines enable us to identify most toponyms and even some of the unnamed locations.

On the illustration shown here, Xiangshan (香山) appears in the middle of the map, as a separate island, because in those days the area

now called Zhuhai was not yet connected to the Guangdong mainland. Nantingshan (南停山) to the east of Xiangshan points to an island in the Wanshan liedao (萬山列島); now this island bears the name Da Wanshandao (大萬山島).[21] However, for the present study the names (1) Dajin (大金), (2) Xiaojin (小金), (3) Lujing Gaolan (鹿頸高闌), and (4) Shangxiachuanshan (上下川山) are more significant. The current names of the first two are Dajindao (大襟島) and Xiaojindao (小襟島). The third location stands for two islands: Hebaodao (荷包島) and Gaolandao (高欄島); today a reclaimed area connects Gaolandao via Nanshuidao (南水島), formerly an island as well, with the mainland. The fourth name represents Shangchuandao and Xiachuandao . These two and several nearby islands form a separate archipelago known as the Chuanshan qundao (川山群島).[22]

All islands mentioned above (nos. 1 to 4) are to the southwest of old Xiangshan and/or Macao. The one closest to these two is not Dajindao, but Gaolandao. This means that on the map, all four names are somewhat misplaced. The other names in the area now belonging to the so-called Wanshan qundao (萬山群島) (not to be confused with the Wanshan liedao), i.e., to the islands currently administered by Zhuhai, are of no interest here.

The map is also imprecise regarding the position of the space which it calls Wuzhumen (烏猪門), literally 'Black Pig Gate', because that area appears to the south of the compound 'Shangxiachuanshan'. It seems that this 'gate' or *men* refers to a channel near the island of Wuzhu. We had mentioned such a channel in the introduction, but Ming sources rarely list the combination Wuzhumen, which makes it difficult to define its true geographical position. Moreover, Wuzhumen may not necessarily stand for a narrow passage; perhaps it marks a larger space or is even identical with the Wuzhuyang. Thus, the broad zone between Wuzhu Island and Shangchuan is one candidate for its identification.[23]

The map poses further problems. The region near Xiangshan is drawn in a manner that suggests the existence of a 'vertical' north–south corridor along the west coast of that island all the way 'down' to Wuzhumen. This is an inacceptable simplification of the true geographical situation. In Ming times, several channels led from the area north of Xiangshan towards the south. Their exits are known as Yamen (厓門), Hutiaomen (虎跳門), and Modaomen (磨刀門). The first two led to the so-called Huangmaohai (黃茅海) and from there to the sea between Hebaodao and Dajindao. Going further south, one would reach the open ocean.[24] Shangchuan and Wuzhu Island are to the west of that zone; therefore, moving through the space between the latter two implied that a ship had to change direction near Dajindao or Xiaojindao. In short, if one identifies Wuzhumen with the space between Shangchuan and Wuzhu Island, then the conclusion must be that the map provides a very distorted image of the entire region.

Unfortunately, that also applies to other options. A second candidate for the area named Wuzhumen could be the open sea south of Wuzhu. We shall return to that space in the next chapter. A third option is the narrow area between Wuzhu Island and the two islets now called Zhouzai (洲仔) and Yindoupai (銀豆排), both near the north side of Wuzhu. However, whether pilots wished to steer a major vessel through this passage seems doubtful. One can also rule out a fourth possibility, i.e., to identify the toponym Wuzhumen with the so-called Weijiamen shuidao (圍夾門水道), another narrow channel, not near Wuzhu, but between Shangchuandao and the island known as Weijiadao (圍夾島).[25] To repeat the doubts mentioned above: not a single of these options is in line with what we see on the map.

Fig. 4: Section of the *Zheng He hanghai tu*, enlarged. This shows one part of image 3. Under the Ming dynasty, Hainan was a prefecture called Qiongzhou (瓊州府). At the lower (southeastern) rim of the island one sees Duzhushan (獨猪山) (Tinhosa). The position of Wuzhumen seems to be at the outer end of a 'north–south channel' that leads through the islands called Dajin and Xiaojin and passes the Shangchuan–Xiachuan cluster on one side. As explained in the text, this makes little sense.

Finally, the *Zheng He hanghai tu* shows three islands near the name Wuzhumen: one to the left side (west?), one to its right (east?), and a small islet between 'Shangxiachuanshan' and the latter. This raises further questions. Should we identify two of these places with Weijiadao and Zhouzai, and one with Wuzhu? Is the entire set a vague reference to the small islets located between Shangchuandao and Xiachuandao (some of which also carry the character *zhu* 豬 in their current names)?[26] In terms of geographical position, these proposals make no sense. Also, both suggestions might imply that the name Wuzhumen denoted a group of islets, and not a sea space or passage. Certainly, there are further islands whose names end with *-men* (for instance, Jinmen 金門 or Quemoy), but this is a general toponymical problem that would require a separate study.

Another option is to argue that the compound 'Shangxiachuanshan' is placed on Xiachuan, while the large unnamed island below it represents Shangchuan, and the small one points to one or several islets between the two 'Chuans'. In that case Wuzhu would be the island to the left of the name Wuzhumen. Such an arrangement, if turned counterclockwise by ninety degrees, would roughly echo the true geographical setting of the entire group, but not its correct position vis-à-vis the other nearby islands.

Finally, a different 'solution' would be to identify the three unnamed islands with Wuzhu, and with the rocks called Fanzai (帆仔) (also Dongxiaofanshi 東小帆石) and Dafanshi (大帆石) (also Dongdafanshi 東大帆石). The latter two are about 22 km to the southwest of Xiachuandao, in the sea.[27] Such a view might explain the 'proximity' of the entire set to the Hainan area.

Be that as it may, on the map, the dotted line or international sailing corridor connecting the provinces further north with the coast of modern Vietnam is drawn in such a way that it bypasses the island world of the Wanshan qundao and all locations mentioned above at their southern side. In other words, it leads directly from the area south of Wuzhumen, or the islands surrounding that name, to the Qizhou (七洲) near the northeastern section of Hainan. This probably means that Fanzai/Dafanshi appeared on starboard when a ship followed that line towards Qiongzhou (瓊州), as Hainan was then called. Yet, all that does not help us to decipher the geographical layout of the Wuzhu area on the map. Perhaps it is simply wrongly drawn.

Regarding the Qizhou, the map places these islands in a near-to-correct position, i.e., at the eastern edge of Hainan. Not too far from the coast, on the mainland of Hainan, one finds the name Tonggushan (銅鼓山). Normally that name, or Tongguling (銅鼓嶺), marks a small mountainous area near the coast, while Tonggujiao (銅鼓角) stands for a cape, about 3 km further south. The map also shows an inlet without giving its name. Probably this represents Qinglan'gang (清瀾港) and

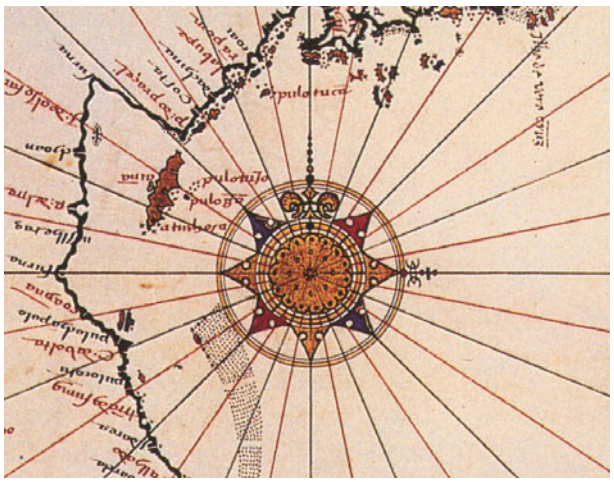

Fig. 5: Section of a map attributed to Gaspar Viegas, shown in many books. The red/brown island is Hainan. The Gulf of Tongking, near it, is drawn as triangular space. The name Hainan appears on the left side of the island, Tinhosa is placed at its lower end, and the 'Seven Islands', here called Pulotujo (for Pulau Tujuh), are to the right-hand side. The dotted zone along the coast of present-day Vietnam is a recurrent feature on early modern maps; it points to the many dangerous shoals and reefs in the South China Sea.

the area now called Bamengang/wan (八門港/灣). The land spit shown on the map would then be the area to the west side of the access channel which leads to the Bamengang or Bamen Bay.[28]

While these details pose no problems, one wonders why the map shows eight islands near the name Qizhou. Certainly, we may associate the one at the lower right end of that group with the Wuzhu region, or perhaps with the twin set of Fanzai/Dafanshi. This would then leave us with the correct number — seven islands. However, there is another possibility that one may think of: the famous map attributed to Gaspar Viegas, usually dated to 1537, shows seven dots next to the toponym Pulo Tujo (Pulau Tujuh). No doubt, this is a correct arrangement, but there is a slightly larger eighth location as well; it appears at the southern end of the 'Seven Islands' and bears the name Puloḡō. Other Iberian maps and Portuguese *roteiros* record similar names. Unfortunately, the identity of the place in question remains unclear because there is no (eighth) island in such a geographical position. To solve the riddle, one may perhaps derive some (or all?) of these names from the Chinese toponym Tonggushan, but this is merely a vague suggestion, which I have discussed elsewhere.[29] At the same time, one may pose a very different question: Is the strange layout of the Wuzhu area on the *Zheng He Map* related to the one shown on the Viegas map? Are both versions rooted in one and the same 'regional model'? — Presently there is no answer to this question.

4. EVENTS IN THE WUZHU SEA AND ITS SPATIAL EXTENSION

The Wuzhuyang appears in early Ming contexts. One event relates to the year 1373. In that year a vessel from Siam (Xianluo 暹羅) was on its way through the Wuzhu Sea. It was badly damaged in a storm but reached Hainan where local authorities assisted the crew. Some of the goods which the crew intended to submit as tribute gifts survived the disaster. This led to internal discussions because the emperor suspected that the men on board were private merchants and not tribute envoys. The details appear in several texts. There are two interesting points: some sources write Wuzhuyang '烏諸洋' in lieu of '烏豬(猪)洋'.[30] Secondly, on its way to China the ship had already entered the Wuzhuyang, i.e., the area east of the Qizhou, but obviously it drifted back to Hainan. This seems to suggest that mariners and scholars perceived the space then called Wuzhuyang as a large area which extended far towards the west. Of course, a different interpretation is possible as well. A literal reading of the sequence '烏諸洋' — 'All Wu/black Seas' or 'the 烏[豬洋] and other seas' — presupposes the existence of several spaces, with the Qizhouyang being one of them. This could mean that the ship met with disaster near the Qizhou, and not in the Wuzhu Sea. Be that as it may, we shall get back to the problem of '諸洋' in a different chapter.

Several other examples are of interest as well. One is a diplomatic mission headed by Shu Tong (舒瞳) and Wu Hui (吳惠). Its purpose was to confirm the status of a new ruler in Champa. The envoys left the Dongguan (東莞[筦]) region (on the east side of the Lingdingyang 伶仃洋) on the 23rd day of the 12th lunar month (3 February 1442), with the winter monsoon. The following day they passed through the Wuzhuyang. On the third day they went through the Qizhouyang (七洲[州]洋) and sighted Tonggushan from afar. The next day they reached Duzhushan (獨豬山) and saw Dazhoushan (大周山), again from a distance. One day later they came to the border of Jiaozhi (Jiaozhijie 交趾界), i.e., they entered the Gulf of Tongking, now called Beibuwan (北部灣).[31] All further details of the voyage by Shu Tong and Wu Hui are of no relevance to us, the main point being that their itinerary followed the principal sailing corridor from South China to the region of modern Vietnam. Furthermore, proceeding through the Wuzhuyang and the Qizhouyang took one day in each case; this seems to confirm our earlier assumption, namely that the Wuzhuyang was a major space.[32]

The third case relates to the year 1459. An official mission, led by Chen Jiayou (陳嘉猷, 1421–1467) and others, was on its way to Melaka with the aim of confirming a new ruler in office: Sultan Mansur Shah. On the way through the Wuzhuyang a storm caused damage to the ship(s) of the Chinese envoy, but Chen survived the disaster and the *Qinglan shouyusuo* (清瀾守御/禦[千户]所) (battalion) stationed on Hainan took care of things. Fortunately, the imperial documents related to the enfeoffment were not lost; only the gifts had to be replaced.[33]

A further case is found in a *Ming shilu* entry dated 1501. It refers to a merchant who went to Java. 'On reaching the Wuzhouyang (烏州洋) he and his crew met strong winds and they were blown to the territory of Dianbai County (電白縣). There he falsely claimed that he was […] a tribute envoy from the country of Java', but local authorities in Guangdong found out the truth and he was punished.[34] Here, the name Wuzhouyang seems to stand for the 'standard' form Wuzhuyang (烏豬洋). Whether this implies that Wuzhu (Island) was at times called Wuzhou or perhaps even Wuzhou (烏洲), literally 'Black Island', remains an open point. Of course, the elements '州' and '諸' in the above names could simply be errors for *zhu* '豬' or '猪'.

Fig. 6: Right half of map showing Hainan. In the upper right corner, one sees the name Tongguling. The round enclosure below it represents the Qinglan battalion, located near Qinglangang. The squared structure in the lower right corner stands for the central location of Wanzhou. Below it, on Hainan's mainland, is Duzhoushan (獨州山). This is the island also known as Tinhosa; it should have been placed in the sea. The map dates from the early sixteenth century. Source: *Zhengde Qiong tai zhi*.

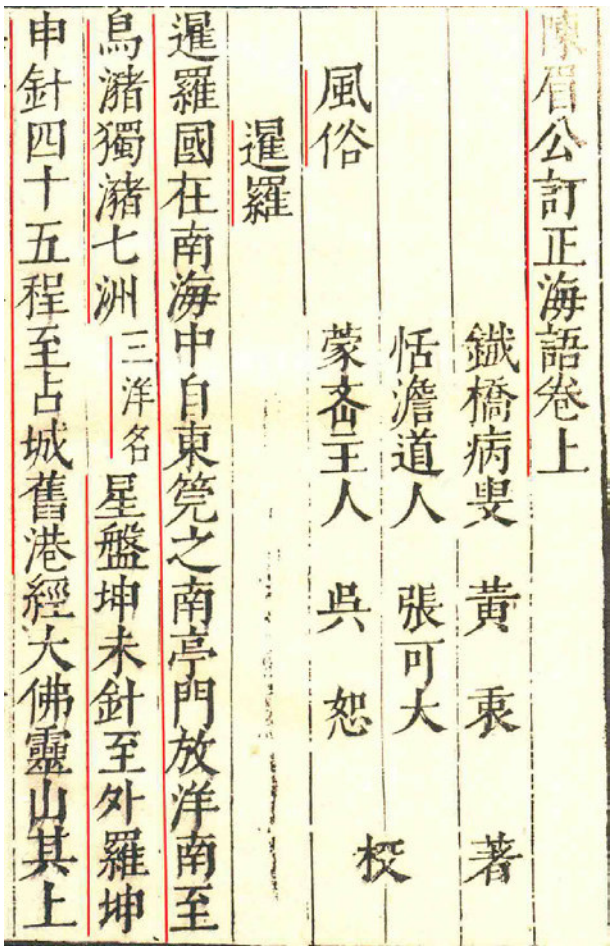
陳眉公訂正海語卷上
鐵橋病叟 黃衷 著
恬澹道人 張可大 校
風俗
蒙舍王人 吳恕
暹羅
暹羅國在南海中自東莞之南亭門放洋南至烏潴獨潴七洲三洋名星盤坤未針至外羅坤申針四十五程至占城舊港經大佛靈山其上

Fig. 7: Text excerpt from *Hai yu*. Chen Meigong/Chen Jiru (陳眉公/陳繼儒, 1558–1639) was a book collector. He contributed a copy of the *Hai yu* to one of several compilations which came out under his name. The image shows the first page of chapter 1 in the *Hai yu*. The parts relevant for our understanding of the sailing route from Nantingmen through several sea spaces towards Siam (and thereby also for the history of the islands in South China Sea) are marked with red lines. Source: *Nanhai zhudao tuji lu (gudai juan)*, 45.

Another aspect related to the entry of 1501 concerns the area to which the ship was blown: Dianbai. This county is far to the west of Shangchuan and Wuzhu Island. As in some of the previous cases, the text seems to suggest that people imagined the Wuzhuyang as a large space which extended over a substantial distance from east to west. Also, strong winds and currents could easily push a vessel from that area towards the Guangdong coast or, alternatively, towards Hainan.

Besides appearing in the context of natural disasters, the Wuzhuyang was an area associated with banditry and violence, especially during the sixteenth century. One example relates to the activities of the 'sea robber' (*haikou* 海寇) Wu Ping (吳平). In the 1560s, troops stationed in Guangdong defeated his group and he fled to Annan (安南), i.e., to the area of North Vietnam. The fighting, we also learn, took place at Yangjiang Wuzhuyang (陽江烏猪洋). It is not clear whether this refers to two hostile encounters, one in/near Yangjiang, the other on/near the Wuzhuyang, or whether we should understand the passage as a reference to just one incidence 'in the Wuzhuyang near/of Yangjiang'.[35] No doubt, the second option would be in line with the above observations, namely that the Wuzhuyang extended far to the west. Yangjiang, one may add, is halfway between Wuzhu Island and Dianbai.

Additional evidence for the spatial extension of the Wuzhuyang comes from a very different source, namely Huang Zhong's (黃衷) *Hai yu* (《海語》) (1536), already mentioned above. This book refers to the islands and coral reefs in the South China Sea. Here are three phrases relevant to the present study:[36]

> ***From Nantingmen in Dongguan [ships] proceed to the [open] ocean, [when going] south they reach Wuzhu, Duzhu and Qizhou.*** 自東莞之南亭門放洋，南至烏潴、獨潴、七洲。

(The Siku quanshu version of the text adds a small comment behind Qizhou: 'Names of three seas', or 三洋名.)

> ***The 'Stone Embankment of Ten Thousand Miles'* (wanli shitang) *extends to the east of the Wuzhu and Duzhu Seas; the humid winds***

> ***and gloomy scenery [make this area] appear different from the human world.***
> 萬里石塘在烏潭、獨潭二洋之東，陰風晦景不類人世。
>
> ***The 'Long Sands of Ten Thousand Miles'*** **(wanli changsha)** ***are to the southeast of the 'Stone Embankment of Ten Thousand Miles'.***
> 萬里長沙在萬里石塘東南。

The quotation starting with Nantingmen poses several questions. First, where was Nantingmen? The name could stand for a channel or sea space near Nantingshan (now: Da Wanshandao). One candidate is the narrow passage presently called Nanpingmen (南屏門), but that is highly debatable, as I have shown elsewhere.[37] Be that as it may, the issue is not important in the context of the present article; suffice it to note that Nantingmen is to the east of the Wuzhu area, somewhere in the island world of the Wanshan qundao. The second puzzle concerns the sequence of the seas: the expected sequence would be Wuzhuyang, thereafter Qizhouyang, and finally Duzhuyang (the sea near Duzhu Island/Tinhosa). So, then, did Huang Zhong commit an error? Furthermore, is the second quotation based on the same assumption, namely that the Wuzhuyang and Duzhuyang were adjacent to each other?[38] At this point, we may think of Han Zhenhua's studies. He suggested that Chinese traditional sources applied the name Qizhouyang to three different areas, one of them being a large zone near the coast of modern Vietnam.[39] This might solve our problem: ships would pass through the Duzhuyang first before entering the waters between Southwest Hainan and the Vietnam coast. However, the *Hai yu* may not be consistent in the use of names; it provides yet another phrase in the context of the area near Vietnam: *qi yu qi gang* (七嶼七港).[40] This makes it difficult to interprete the intended meaning of the three entries cited above.

The position and limits of the Wuzhuyang may matter for a different reason: the *Hai yu* places the *wanli shitang* to the east of both the Duzhu and Wuzhu seas. This suggests that these islands may stand for the Dongsha qundao (東沙群島) (Pratas Islands). The latter are to the southeast of Hong Kong and thereby to the east of the Wuzhuyang. Whether the sequence *wanli shitang* should also include the Zhongsha qundao (中沙群島) (Macclesfield Bank and Reefs) and/or other groups, is less easy to decide. It may depend on the extension of the reference areas, i.e., on the size of the three seas in question.[41]

What can we say in conclusion? From the disasters listed above and the entries in *Hai yu* we learn that scholars perceived the Wuzhuyang as a broad and dangerous zone. Probably some authors even thought that it was larger than the Qizhouyang near the 'Seven Islands', or they mixed up about both spaces. The version Wuzhuyang (烏諸洋) mentioned in the beginning of this chapter could be an argument for that. Han Zhenhua also referred the name Qizhouyang to an extended space in front of present-day Vietnam, or to the sea surrounding some of the island clusters and reefs in the Nanhai.[42] Finally, so far, the focus of our discussion was on the Wuzhuyang. The next chapter will be different in that regard; it will mostly deal with sources that mention the island.

5. NAVIGATIONAL TEXTS: *SHUNFENG XIANGSONG* AND *SIYI GUANGJI*

Our first source is the anonymous *Shunfeng xiangsong* (《順風相送》). Some entries in this book seem to date back to the early Ming period, others are of later origin. The first reference to consider here comes from a list of important locations along the western trade axis. The list records the water

depth near certain places, their physical appearance, and other features relevant for navigation. Such texts form a subcategory of the *zhenjing* genre, and they usually have long titles which contain the characters *shanxing shuishi* (山形水勢).[43] Here we shall consider the entries on Nantingmen (南亭門), Wuzhushan (烏猪山), Qizhoushan (七州山), Qizhouyang (七州洋) and Duzhushan (獨猪山). No doubt, this sequence of names meets most readers' expectations. Although the text leaves out the name Wuzhuyang, that space seems implicitly present in the list; simply put, ships passed through the Wuzhu Sea first, only then would they reach the 'Seven Islands' and Hainan.[44]

Regarding the entry on Wuzhushan, three textual elements require brief comments. The first point concerns the phrase that directly follows the island's name. It starts with the remark '[i]n the sea where one measures a depth of 80 *tuo* …' (洋中，打水八十托 ……). One *tuo* is the length of both arms outstretched, i.e., circa 5 *chi* (尺) (1.7 metres or more), as we know from other sources.[45] Therefore, we are looking at a depth of circa 140 metres. Although the *Shunfeng xiangsong* does not specify the exact location of the measurement, one can offer some general suggestions. About 2 km north of Wuzhu the water depth measures circa 20 metres, and about 3 km near its southern shore, the floor of the sea descends to levels below 30 or 35 metres. Hence, the measurement recorded in the text must point to a distant area in the open ocean. However, on most modern maps the isobath which marks a depth of circa 100 metres runs so far south of mainland Guangdong that it would have been impossible to see Wuzhu from such a distant point. This leads to three possible explanations: (1) The text records a wrong measurement. (2) Or we must reduce the length of the *tuo* and thus the depth. (3) Or we should disassociate the beginning of the phrase ('in the sea') from Wuzhu Island, especially

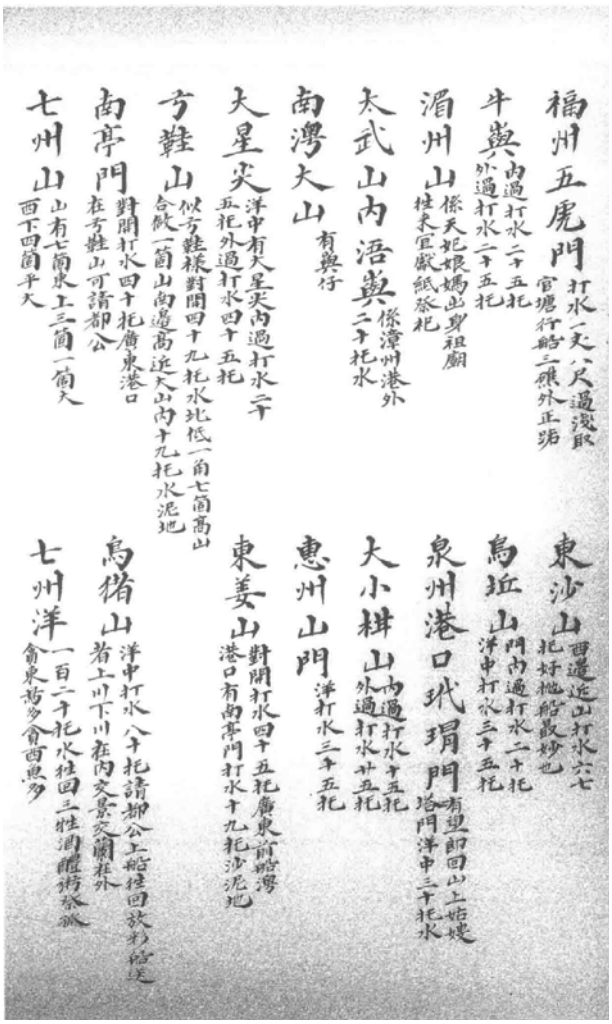

Fig. 8: Page from the *Shunfeng xiangsong* with entries on Nantingmen, Wuzhushan, Qizhoushan, Qizhouyang, etc. Source: *"Shunfeng"*, 411.

because the text only has *yang* (洋), not Wuzhuyang. As we shall see below, in the last chapter, the third option is the most likely one. It clearly implies that the measurement was taken in a location far away from the island.[46]

The second point concerns a brief reference to a protective spirit or deity called Dugong. This spirit also appears in other contexts, and we shall return to it below, in chapter 8. Here it may suffice to state that religious rituals were performed in the area where the depth measured 80 *tuo*.

Finally, the entry on Wuzhushan ends with an ambiguous sentence: 'Shangchuan [and] Xiachuan are inside, Jiaojing and Jiaolan are outside.' (上川、下川在內，交景、交蘭在外。) Zhou Yunzhong suggested to identify Jiaojing with Lujing (鹿景). This seems to be the same location as Lujing (鹿頸) on the *Zheng He Map*.[47] In terms of phonetical analogy, we may then equate Jiaolan with Gaolan. Yet, both names cannot be found elsewhere in the *Shunfeng xiangsong* and I was also unable to locate them in other nautical texts of the Ming period. The expressions *zai nei* and *zai wai* (inner and outer [side]) pose further problems. They frequently appear in nautical literature. Here, one may be inclined to argue that they define the positions of all four islands relative to the position of Wuzhu, or the position of a ship passing through the area — in other words, that they would shed light on the ship's route.[48] However, the extraordinary depth of the sea suggests that we are looking at a sailing course that bypassed all islands on their southern side; therefore the difference between *nei* and *wai* is questionable. A way out of this dilemma might be to relate the above phrase to the rituals in honour of Dugong. Perhaps the implicit idea is that Shangchuan and Xiachuan are within the area of Dugong's protective services, while Lujing and Gaolan do not belong to that sphere.

Wuzhushan appears in four additional entries of the *Shunfeng xiangsong*. They describe two types of sailing courses. For convenience, I shall mark these entries with small letters. From the ones called (a) 'Compass Route from Fujian to Jiaozhi' (福建往交趾針路) and (b) 'Compass Route from Taiwu [in Fujian] to Pahang' (太武往彭坊針路), we learn that a ship would approach Wuzhushan from Dongjiangshan (東姜山). Dongjiangshan could be a place in the Dan'gan liedao (擔杆列島) or Jiapeng liedao (佳蓬列島), south of Hong Kong. The compass bearing for the itinerary from Dongjiangshan to Wuzhushan is *kunwei* (坤未) (217.5°) in (a), and *dankun* (單坤) (225°) in (b). The distance/time is identical in both entries: 5 *geng* in each case. In (a) the onward journey leads to the Qizhoushan (七州山) and then to Limushan (黎母山). The latter stands for the mountainous area of Hainan. In clear weather this was an important point of orientation. One also finds the name, extended to Limu dashan (黎母大山), on the *Zheng He Map*. In (b), the ship proceeds to the Qizhouyang (七州洋) and thereafter to Duzhushan (獨猪山) (usually Tinhosa). Regarding the compass bearings and distances recorded for these onward journeys, there are only minor variations between (a) and (b).[49]

In the remaining entries — (c) 'From Wuyu [near Xiamen] to Patani [and] Kelantan' (浯嶼往大泥、吉蘭丹) and (d) 'Compass Route from Guangdong to Melaka' (廣東往磨六甲針路) — Nantingmen is the location from which ships would sail towards Wuzhushan. They would then continue their voyage to the Qizhouyang and Duzhushan (same orthographs as in [a] and [b]). The distances and directions are nearly identical and pose no problems.[50]

Our next source is the *Siyi guangji* of the early seventeenth century. It contains six entries which record the toponym Wuzhushan (烏猪山); four additional entries mention the Wuzhuyang. Two of these additional entries were quoted in the notes above: one in the context of a tribute mission to Champa, the other in the context of a textual passage taken from *Hai yu*. The latter, it will be remembered, provides the unusual name sequence 'Wuzhu, Duzhu, Qizhou'.[51]

The remaining two entries in *Siyi guangji* with references to the Wuzhuyang bear the titles (e) 'Compass Route from Guangzhou to Java' (廣州往爪哇針位) and (f) 'From Java back to Guangdong' (爪哇回廣東). They contain

the expected sequence of names: Nantingmen (南亭門), Wuzhuyang (烏猪洋), Qizhouyang (七洲洋), Wailuoshan (外羅山) (for the outbound voyage); and Wailuoshan, Duzhuyang, Qizhouyang (七州洋), Wuzhuyang (烏豬洋) (for the return trip).[52] Wailuoshan represents Culao Ré (now Lý Sơn or Lishan 李山) near the coast of central Vietnam. The distance from Nantingmen to the Wuzhuyang is calculated at 5 *geng*; the itinerary back to Nantingmen takes 7 *geng*. The difference of two *geng* seems acceptable; it may be due to weather conditions and currents, or perhaps it stems from the unclear spatial extension of the Wuzhuyang. The other segments of the total itineraries — Wuzhuyang to Qizhouyang to Wailuoshan, in (e); Wailuoshan to Duzhuyang to Qizhouyang to Wuzhuyang, in (f) — sum up to 40 *geng* in each direction.

We shall now look at the six entries in *Siyi guangji* which mention the island Wuzhushan. The text of the entry labelled (g) 'Compass Course from Fujian to Annam' (福建往安南國針路) is almost identical with text (a) in *Shunfeng xiangsong*. In each case the distance from Dongjiangshan to Wuzhushan amounts to 5 *geng* and the compass direction is *kunwei* (217.5°). There are minor variations for the onward voyage. According to entry (g), when sailing from Wuzhushan to the Qizhou (七洲), one must follow the direction *danshen* (單申) (240°), then one reaches these islands after 15 *geng*. In entry (a), the direction is *dankun* (225°) and the distance amounts to 13 *geng*. Finally, from Qizhou to the Limushan, the compass bearing is *danshen* in both entries. The title of the entry describing the return trip is incorrect: (h) 'Compass Route from Annam back to Siam' (安南國回暹羅針路). Moreover, the text is condensed to a few notes. The part relevant for us is the segment from Limushan to Wuzhushan; following the direction *chougen* (丑艮) (37.5°), it takes 20 *geng* to reach that island. This seems to be a very fast trip; so, probably the figure is wrong.[53]

Fig. 9: Segment of a map in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, code D-90-r. The island in the lower left corner: Ilha dos Veados (Lujing/Niujiao/Hebaodao). From there towards the northeast: [Ilha] Meru (Ilha de Meros/Gaolandao), then Samecão (Sanzaodao), and the two Hengqin islands. To the north of Meru: Lampacao (Langbaijiao/ao). Source of this frequently published map: https://purl.pt/34512/2/

The entry with the title (i) 'Compass Directions [for the Itinerary] from Fujian to Champa' (福建往占城針位) provides the 'usual' data for the segment Dongjiangshan to Wuzhushan (*kunwei*; 5 *geng*). From there, steering the same course, one reaches the Qizhoushan (七州山) after 13 *geng*. The onward journey, again in the same direction, leads to Duzhushan, and the distance is given as 7 *geng*.[54]

Entries (j) 'Compass Route from Guangdong to Siam' (廣東往暹羅針路), (k) 'Compass Route from Siam back to Guangdong' (暹羅回廣東針路), and (l) 'Compass Route from Anminzhen of Fujian to the Country Melaka' (福建安民鎮往滿喇咖國針路) all provide data that are roughly compatible with the compass directions and distances recorded in the other entries. Some details are even the same. There is only one important addition in entry (j): when a ship proceeds from Nantingmen in the *kunwei* direction for 5 *geng*, Wuzhushan will appear on starboard (*mahubian* 馬戶邊).[55] Implicitly, that should also apply to the other entries which provide identical data for the itinerary from an eastern location to Wuzhushan. Simply put, ships passed the island on its southern side.[56]

We may now summarise the findings extracted from the entries listed above. First, whether a ship started its voyage to Wuzhushan from Dongjiangshan or Nantingmen made no difference; the compass directions and duration of that itinerary were nearly the same.[57] Second, the picture regarding the onward voyage seems less uniform. The same is true for the return voyage towards Wuzhushan. In some cases, one encounters unexpected variations. Third, the Wuzhuyang is no longer as important as it seems to have been in material pertaining to earlier periods. The *Siyi guangji* mentions this sea, but perhaps these references derive from sources of the past. Hence, we may pose two interesting questions, which, nevertheless, will remain unanswered: Was there a conceptual shift from the Wuzhu Sea to Wuzhu Island? Did the Wuzhu Sea lose its former position as a large space in favour of other entities?

6. PORTUGUESE SOURCES

In chapter 3, we had encountered several Chinese toponyms for locations along the Guangdong shore to the south and southwest of Xiangshan. For some of these toponyms one can find Portuguese equivalents on maps and in texts. A convenient starting point for our discussion is a map kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. It bears no name and no date, and scholars usually refer to it under its code D-90-r. Probably it is a product of the early seventeenth century, but it could be of a later date as well.[58]

Here, the following names on this Portuguese map are of interest: (1) Ilha dos Veados (also Viados). This name, literally 'Deer Island', derives from the Chinese version Lujing (鹿頸) ('Deer Neck', on the *Zheng He Map*), also written '鹿脛' (for example, in the *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi* 《嘉靖香山縣志》). A different name is Niujiaoshan (牛角山) ('Oxhorn Island'). The island's w-shaped form was compared to the horns of an ox or the antlers of a deer; this explains its traditional Chinese names. Now it is called Hebaodao. (2) The Ilha (de) Meru, also Meros, is identical with the place called Gaolan (高闌) on the *Zheng He Map*. There are several Chinese name versions such as Gaolan (皋蘭) (again in the *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi*). Today the island is connected to the mainland. One may add, its Chinese name has nothing to do with the element *meros*/*meru*. The latter (usually 'antelope', 'deer', 'musk deer') seems to have a Sanskrit root, but why the Portuguese decided to use such an appellation, remains unclear. Perhaps initially they confused both places, Veados and Meru(s), and to keep them apart, they invented these toponyms.[59] (3) We had already mentioned Lampacau. The map locates 'Lampacao' to the north of the Ilha Meru. It also shows several islands further to the east/northeast, most of which can be identified without difficulties. This includes the Hengqin islands, Coloane, Taipa, etc.

Turning from the Ilha dos Veados to the west and north, we find more names. (4) One island is called 'Vasco (de) Faria' (the first element also 'Vasquo' in other sources); it seems to represent Dajindao (大襟島) (Dajin 大金 on the *Zheng He hanghai tu*).[60] (5) The Ilha do Diabo ('Devil Island') is more difficult to identify. Perhaps the name comes from the small island known as Fanguizhou (番貴洲), or Fanguizhou (番鬼洲). The last version means 'Foreign Devil Island'.[61] However, on the Portuguese map 'Devil Island' is a large place to the east of Dajindao/Vasco Faria, and not to its south. This could point to Damangdao (大杧島). In other words, perhaps the cartographer erroneously transferred the name 'Devil Island' to the latter. (6) The islands between the Ilha do Diabo and Lampacao should stand for some of the small places between Nanshuidao (i.e., the Lampacau area) and Damangdao or Dajindao. One may add, today Nanshuidao forms part of the mainland. In

the olden days, there were two islands in this region: Lianwan (連灣) in the north, and Wenwan (文灣) in the south. The narrow corridor between them, along a diagonal line from present-day Xia Jinlong (下金龍) to Nanshuizhen (南水鎮), formed a flat anchorage.[62]

To the south of Vasco Faria, the Portuguese map shows (7) several islets arranged in three groups. These could represent, from north to south, Fanguizhou, Xiaojindao, and the cluster now called Sanbeijiudao (三杯酒島). (8) At a considerable distance from the latter, towards the southwest, there is Pulau Babi (Wuzhu), with an unnamed islet at its northeastern end. Probably the latter stands for Zhouzai near the northernmost point of Wuzhu. We had encountered that name above, in chapter 3. (9) To the southwest of Pulau Babi one sees a place called Sam João Verdadeyra, i.e., Shangchuan. Probably the addendum 'Verdadeyra' ('true') is to distinguish it either from Sanzaodao (三竈島) (to the east of Gaolan and now also part of the mainland) whose name certainly sounded similar in Portuguese ears, or from a nearby area.[63] (10) In the neighbourhood of 'True Shangchuan' one sees another major island; it appears to the north/northwest of Pulau Babi. The first part of its name is unclear, the second part must be 'SamCo', which could be a further transcription of the name Shangchuan. Probably in those days, the northern and southern halfs of Shangchuan were still separated by the sea (which would explain two locations with a similar name element). Indeed, Shangchuan's central section is flat and has a width of only 1.5 to 3 km from east to west.[64] However, such topographical details are irrelevant to the present study.

Having embedded Pulau Babi into a larger panorama of islands, we may now turn to Portuguese *roteiros*. Most of the extant material dates from the seventeenth century, but many descriptions in the relevant sections are certainly valid for the sixteenth century as well. Nevertheless, I shall limit my remarks to two examples. One passage comes from a *roteiro* that describes the route from Macassar on South Sulawesi to Macao in 1652. Here is a shortened version of the relevant parts:[65]

> *[…] It (=Shangchuan) is a very long island, and there are five inlets in its middle […] And from here, when running along the island towards the northeast, you will see a thick headland that protrudes into the sea. […] When running along this island, you will see many crevices and white barriers. From here you will [also] see a round island called Pulau Babi […] and the distance from Pulau Babi [back] to Shangchuan is 3 leagues. […] This island is round, [but] one tip faces the southeast, the other the northeast, and there is one white barrier. Looking towards the north, you will see the island of Shangchuan, resembling a sail. And from here, one runs along Shangchuan Island towards the island [called] Vasco Faria. And when you get there, throw the plumb line, and [stay in areas] with 15 or 16 fathoms* (braças), *until you reach the islands near the bay between Vasco Faria and the Ilha de Viados.*

The 'five inlets' (*boqueirões*) in the middle of Shangchuan could refer to the flat and then still flooded (?) area between the different sections of the island. On the east side of Shangchuan are several so-called *zui* (嘴/咀) or small capes, as well as beaches and rocky segments, some in bright colours. The terms 'thick headland', 'crevices' and 'white barriers' (*ponta grossa, quebradas, barreiras brancas*) point to these parts. Regarding Pulau Babi, this is not a 'round' island, but it has two pointed ends. Looking northward, one sees one part of Shangchuan, then probably still a separate island, as was mentioned

Fig. 10: Segment of an anonymous map in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, code D-90-r. Island in the lower left corner: Sam João (Shangchuan). In the middle: Pulau Babi (Wuzhudao).

earlier. The space between Vasco Faria and the Ilha de Viados should be the Huangmaohai area. In sum, by and large the description is in line with the setting provided by the old map discussed above.

There are many more references to Shangchuan in Portuguese *roteiros*. Here is a brief extract from another description:[66]

> ***Shangchuan Island is large and high […] and to its southeast, three leagues away, is an island called Pulau Babi. Its length [measures] one league, and it has an islet to its northeast, and it is not very high, with only short shrubs.***

The text continues by referring to several islets further to the northeast, probably Sanbeijiudao and/or Xiaojindao, and by stating that Shangchuan would be at a little more than 21 degrees northern latitude. This is correct.[67] Moreover, the small island adjacent to Pulau Babi should be Zhouzai near its northernmost section.

Perhaps the most important message that one can derive from the entries cited above relates to the fact that Portuguese ships often sailed from Shangchuan via Wuzhu towards Dajindao, whence they proceeded through the complicated island world north of Hebaodao, Gaolandao, and Sanzaodao in the direction of Macao. This means it was possible to reach Macao through a labyrinth of narrow channels from the west side. Indeed, prior to settling on the peninsula, Portuguese merchants would stay on Shangchuan or Lampacau, which was one of several locations along the intra-island route(s). When going to these islands became obsolete, captains often opted to follow a more direct route from Wuzhu to Macao; this was the corridor along the southern side of the island chain stretching from Hebaodao to Sanzaodao. In other words, Wuzhu or Pulau Babi was the starting point of several access routes leading to locations further east/northeast and thus an important landmark.

Chinese navigational texts provide a partly modified picture. There is a simple reason for that: much of the extant material echoes the sailing traditions of Hokkien merchants. Their ships often went directly from Southeast Asia to the ports of Fujian without coming close to the island belt of central Guangdong. That also applies to sailing in the other direction. Crew members on board of Fujianese vessels may not even have noticed Wuzhu and Shangchuan on a voyage from and to Southeast Asia. Certainly, pilots working for Hokkien merchants knew the importance of Wuzhu, but their ship usually remained at a respectable distance from that island.

7. SELECTED CHINESE MAPS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Some Chinese coastal maps of the Ming period are wonderful tools for the study of islands, inlets, and channels in the Greater Bay Area; other maps contain many inaccuracies and have led to misunderstandings. Above we already discussed the relevant segments of the *Zheng He hanghai tu*. Here we shall look at selected works of the

sixteenth century. The *Chou hai tu bian* and *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu* may serve as starting points. They contain several maps. One map, included in both works, bears the name *Guangdong yanhai shansha (tu)* (《廣東沿海山沙[圖]》). Regarding the central Guangdong area, it raises many questions. For instance, Xiachuan appears to the northeast of Shangchuan and there is a small island called Yashan (厓山) in a position where one would expect to find Wuzhu, whose name is missing. South of Yashan is Qishishan (奇石山), and to the southwest of Shangchuan one sees an island called Wanhushan (萬斛山). Furthermore, Xiangshan is the next island east of Xiachuan. Finally, the name Sanzaoshan (三竈山) is placed far to the east of Xiangshan, and there also is a location called Wuzhoushan (烏洲山) on the mainland, to the west of the Fenliuhai (分流海) (one of the spaces adjacent to the Shiqihai 石岐海), i.e., north of Xiangshan Island.[68]

A second map in the *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu*, which carries the title *Wanli haifang tu* (《萬里海防圖》), provides an equally confused panorama. Qizhushan (奇住山) (not Qishishan), Wanhushan and Yashan are in positions reminiscent of those found on the first map. Shangchuan and Xiachuan are absent. To the south of Xiangshan are the two Hengqin (橫琴) islands, which is correct, but Sanzao (三灶) (second character: short form) is again far to the east. Wuzhoushan, now written '烏州山', appears near Shundexian (順德縣).[69]

The names Yashan, Qishi(zhu)shan, Wanhushan, and Wuzhoushan pose problems. To begin with, some modern maps show the name Yazhou (崖洲) near the southwestern tip of Wuzhu; this Yazhou seems to be a small reef.[70] One may be tempted to connect it to the name Yashan on the *Guangdong yanhai shansha (tu)*, arguing that it represented Wuzhu Island as a whole, but other sources do not support such a possibility. Nor would

Fig. 11: Segment from the *Guangdong yanhai shansha (tu)* in the *Chou hai tu bian*. It shows Wanhushan, Yashan, Qishishan, Shangchuan, Xiachuan, etc. Source: see note 68.

it make sense to assume that Yashan (厓山) was confused with Yashan (崖山) in the 崖門 area. The name Wuzhoushan to the north of Xiangshan has nothing to do with Wuzhu Island. Indeed, as was mentioned above, very often (quasi-)identical names refer to very different locations. Qishi(zhu)shan is another mystery. There is no major island south of Wuzhu/Shangchuan/Xiachuan; one only finds the rocky structures called Fanzai and Dafanshi (see chapter 3) at some distance in the sea. The sequence 'Wanhushan' appears in the text of the *Chou hai tu bian*, but little else can be said on it.[71]

Here we can turn to two other late Ming maps, which are much more informative. One of

them is in *Yue da ji* (《粵大記》); a very similar one called *Quan hai tu zhu* (《全海圖註》) exists separately. I shall look at the second piece which is of much better quality.[72] The *Quan hai tu zhu* shows Wuzhushan (烏猪山) in a correct position. To its west is Shangchuan. The latter seems to consist of several parts, but forms one entity, which suggests that the flat zone in its middle had then already become a connective element between the different island sections.

The *Quan hai tu zhu* records various names on Shangchuan, and a colophon tells us that ships could go there seeking shelter against storms. At the upper part (or southern section) of the island are Gaoguan (高冠) and Shisun (石笋); both stand for locations near the east coast of Shangchuan. In fact, even today there exist several toponyms with the sequence Gaoguan — a village, a mini-islet, a bay, and a cape.[73] Near the northern section, we see a block with five names: Sanzhoushan (三洲山), Nianyuwei (鮎魚尾), Xikengcun (西坑村), Beikengcun (北坑村), and Chawan (茶灣). To the left (east) of this block are Tudiwan (土地灣) and Qinglantou (青瀾頭), and in the sea, north of Shangchuan, is Sanzhou'ao (三洲澳). Most of these names are easily identified. Here are some examples: Sanzhou'ao, the last toponym, points to Sanzhouwan (三洲灣) (or Sanzhougang 三洲港), a major bay along the northwest side of Shangchuan. The combination Sanzhoushan represents a set of three small islets in that bay.[74] Xikengcun is a village near the modern reservoir called Xikeng shuiku (西坑水庫). To its west one finds several names with the element Nianyu. Chawan marks a bay on the east side of Shangchuan, and there also exists a village of that name. Qinglantou (now written 青欄頭) refers to the northeastern tip of Shangchuan. There are also two reefs: Qinglan shangpai (青欄上排) and Qinglan xiapai (青欄下排).[75]

Fig. 12: Section of the *Quan hai tu zhu* showing Wuzhushan and Shangchuan. Source: *"Quan hai tu zhu" yanjiu*. Separate addendum with folded maps.

To the east of Wuzhushan, the map shows Zhushilu (猪屎轆, literally 'Pig Excrement Pulley'). To the northwest of the latter and thus to the northeast of Wuzhushan, one finds Dajinshan (大金山) (i.e., 大襟山). The position of the latter is correct, but Zhushilu remains unclear. It could point to one of the islets south of Dajinshan (for example, Sanbeijiu). At the same time, its strange name makes one think of the rocky structure called Shuaizhou (甩洲), which is near Wuzhu's southern coast and thus in a different position.[76] Nevertheless, the meaning of the sequence Shuaizhou — 'Discarded Island' — seems to be in line with the meaning of Zhushilu.

To the east of Zhushilu and thereby to the east of Wuzhushan the map records an island with two peaks and the names of two bays: Niujiaowan (牛角灣) and Hebaowan (荷包灣) (both *wan* in

Fig. 13: Section of the *Quan hai tu zhu* showing Hebaowan, Niujiaowan, Dajinshan, Yamen, and Zhushilu.

short form). These bays are on the north side of the island. A short text vaguely suggests that ships sailing with or still waiting for a southwestern breeze would moor there (泊西南風). Interestingly, the bay called Hebaowan is placed along the eastern section of the island's north coast. Today that name still exists, but people use it for the western part of the northern shore. As was mentioned, the island itself now bears the name Hebaodao.

The name Niujiaowan reminds of the older island name Niujiaoshan, which we had encountered as well. Furthermore, the *Quan hai tu zhu* records another, even earlier appellation: Lujing. However, it places the latter near the county called Shunde, i.e., much further to the north. This could suggest a shift of toponyms during the mid or late sixteenth century: the version Lujing was transferred to a new place, therefore it became necessary to call the island differently: Niujiaoshan. Also, perhaps the last form derived from the name of a bay. One may add, several such toponymical shifts have been identified in the literature.[77] Be that as it may, the Portuguese kept the old version 'Ilha dos Veados', based on the sequence Lujing. The invention of the Portuguese toponym may thus go back to the mid-sixteenth century or to an even earlier period.

The *Quan hai tu zhu* also shows Gaolanshan (高欄山) and next to it one finds Sanzao Island. On the west side of that island, one sees the name '烏沙頭'. The map in *Yue da ji* provides identical information. Although the topography of Sanzao underwent dramatic changes, one can still find the sequence Wusha on modern maps. Presumably, it is related to another toponym: Wushahai (烏沙海) (also Wushayang 烏沙洋). According to some Ming sources, the name Wushahai marked the sea near Sanzao Island.[78] Without doubt, the Wushahai was close to the Wuzhuyang and perhaps both spaces shared an imagined border. Indeed, the fact that the first character in their names is identical leads to several questions: Did all authors make a sharp distinction between these two entities? Are there cases where the Wushahai or Wushayang replaced the Wuzhuyang?[79] Also, above we had encountered the name (or sequence) Wuzhuyang (烏諸洋). Could it be that this rare combination comprised several seas, including the two spaces starting with *wu*? — Unfortunately, these questions, as so many others, must be left open for lack of evidence.

8. THE DUGONG SPIRIT

The final chapter leads to a religious phenomenon. Several texts mention a local deity called Dugong (都公). One source is the *Dongxiyang kao* (《東西洋考》) (prefaces 1617, 1618). It presents short entries on important islands and other locations along the route leading to Hainan and Southeast Asia. These entries include brief notes on Nantingmen (南亭門), Wuzhushan

(烏猪山) and Qizhoushan (七州山)/Qizhouyang (七州洋) — in that order. The one on Nantingmen refers to a depth of 47 *tuo* in an unspecified location. Moreover, following the *dankun* direction (225°) one would reach Wuzhushan. The entry on that island says a temple on it would be dedicated to Dugong. It then continues:[80]

> ***(1) When ships enter the [open] sea, [sailors] bow [to the deity] from afar and perform rituals; they [politely] ask this deity [for assistance], offering sacrifice. (2) Upon returning, they [gratefully] send coloured boats to the deity. (3) In the sea one measures a depth of 80*** **tuo**. ***(4) Steering 240° for 13*** **geng**, ***one reaches the Qizhou Islands.***
> 舶過海中，具儀遙拜，請其神祀之。回，用彩船送神。洋中打水八十托。用單申針十三更，取七州山。

This text is important for several reasons. First, it seems to suggest that, during the outbound voyage, religious ceremonies in honour of Dugong were performed in a location at quite some distance from Wuzhu Island. Second, most likely phrase (3), starting with *yang zhong* (in the sea), must be linked to the preceding sentence (phrase 2). In that case the boat ceremony was conducted in an area where the depth measured 80 *tuo*. By contrast, a version combining (3) and (4) — '[From/near the area] where the depth is 80 *tuo*, one reaches the Qizhou Islands after 13 *geng*…' — would make no sense. The reason is simple: phrase (3) cannot refer to the outbound voyage because several other entries cited above, in chapter 5, define the total distance from Wuzhu to the 'Seven Islands' as 13 *geng,* just as our text. Clearly, a water depth of 80 *tuo* would only be encountered after travelling for some time through the open sea; consequently, the remaining

Fig. 14: Section of the *Quan hai tu zhu* showing Gaolan, Sanzao with Wushatou, etc. At the lower margin: Guangzhou, the provincial capital. In the lower left corner: Shunde. Near it Lujing.

distance from the point of measurement to the Qizhou would be less than 13 *geng*. Third, if (2) and (3) form one element, then the ceremony arranged during the return voyage, just as the rituals performed during the outbound itinerary, took place in a zone with deep water, possibly in an area that was much closer to the Qizhou or Hainan than to Wuzhu. Fourth, that said, the impression prevails that the *shanxing shuishi* entry in *Shunfeng xiangsong* (quoted above, in chapter 5) might be incomplete and misleading.

However, the *Shunfeng xiangsong* contains a second entry, which we had not yet discussed. This is the entry on Nantingmen. The explanatory text suggests that it was possible to call the Dugong spirit

Fig. 15: Section of a map drawn in the late nineteenth century. The layout imitates traditional shapes and forms. Wuzhudao (烏猪島) appears near the lower margin. The position of Shangchuan and Xiachuan (both classified as a *shan* [山]/island), to the left of Wuzhudao, is correct. Niujiaoshan (牛角山) (now Hebaodao) is wrongly placed; it should be directly to the northeast of Xiaojin (小金) (now Xiaojindao), not to its south. Among the many other toponyms recorded on the map, one finds the name Langbai (浪白) (for Lampacau). Source: *Aomen lishi ditu jingxuan*, 89 (map 54).

for help while sailing near (?) the island then called Gongxieshan (弓鞋山), in the Wanshan qundao. Furthermore, the *Shunfeng xiangsong* entry on Wuzhushan can be read in such a way that coloured boats were released during both the outbound and the return journey (往回放彩船……).[81]

Several other entries in our texts provide information on religious ceremonies held on board Chinese vessels travelling back and forth between Fujian and Hainan, but the relevant details refer to other deities and not to Dugong. There is only one exception. According to a further note in *Dongxiyang kao*, the 'name' Dugong originally referred to a Chinese man in the service of Zheng zhonggui (鄭中貴), i.e., eunuch Zheng He (鄭和). The unknown man 'died in (on/near?) Nantingmen and later turned into a water spirit' (卒于南亭門，後爲水神). People would worship him on board their vessels and from afar. This suggests that the man called Dugong had been travelling through the Nanhai in the early fifteenth century. Although there are no biographical details, it was proposed to derive his 'name' from the title *duzhihui* '都指揮' (regional military commander). The well-known Changle (長樂) inscription recording Zheng He's voyages refers to other persons with the same title. Perhaps one of them had something to do with the temple mentioned in the above entry.[82]

Two further possibilities come to mind. First, the characters for Dugong appear in the name Nadugong (拿都公) (拿督公 etc.; Datuk Kong/Datok Kong), a deity mostly worshipped in the Malay world and even in Singapore. However, this seems to be a more recent cult. Second, one may be tempted to establish a link between the Dugong spirit and the animal called that name, and one may even think of a relation between the Malay term *babi duyung* ('mermaid pig') and the toponym Pulau Babi, but early sources do not support such proposals. Also, the marine mammal is grey and brown in colour, and not black (!).[83]

What else can one say in conclusion? Most likely, the descriptions in *Dongxiyang kao* and *Shunfeng xiangsong* go back to one and the same source, but their authors treated the relevant information differently, which makes it difficult to establish the intended meaning. Furthermore, the internet provides several 'popular' entries with legends related to the Dugong cult, the Wuzhu temple, and Zheng He's fleet. Wuzhu Island also appears in articles discussing the 'Maritime Silk Road' and in the context of the pirate leader Zhang Baozai (Cheung Po Tsai) (張保仔, 1783–1822) and his activities in and around Shangchuan Island.[84] However, Zhang Baozai belongs to a later age, beyond the scope of the present notes.

9. FINAL REMARK

As mentioned in the introductory note, the aim of the present article was to analyse references to Wuzhu Island/Pulau Babi and the Wuzhu Sea in texts and maps. Chinese works provide some

details, but these details leave many questions open. This mainly concerns the spatial extension of the Wuzhuyang and the geographical position of a related toponym, Wuzhumen. Nevertheless, it became clear that both the Wuzhu Sea and Wuzhu Island were important entities in navigational contexts. Evidently both the Chinese and Portuguese considered the island as an important landmark. In the age of sail at least three possible routes led from that area towards Lampacau and/or early Macao. By contrast, most Chinese vessels departing from locations in the Wanshan qundao must have bypassed the island on its southern side, possibly even at some distance. Apparently, that was also the case when ships travelled back in the other direction, especially towards Fujian.

Of course, the role of Wuzhu Island in navigational contexts only becomes clear when one looks at data related to the insular world into which the 'Black Pig Island' was embedded. Both Chinese and Portuguese sources suggest that. Therefore, it was necessary to briefly deal with such places as Shangchuan, Hebaodao, Gaolandao, etc. Another issue is possible name shifts. Essentially, the Chinese name of Pulau Babi remained unaltered, while certain nearby locations went through toponymical changes. In view of these circumstances, one may perhaps argue that 'toponymical continuity' serves as an indicator for a stable perception of a location and its principal functions, in this case of Pulau Babi's role as a point of orientation. If that is acceptable, then we may say that Wuzhu's role was a *longue durée* phenomenon. However, regarding the name sequence *wuzhu* as such, its origin remains in the dark. Furthermore, the Malay name used by the Portuguese seems to derive from the Chinese version, but a thorough analysis of toponyms with graphs now pronounced *zhu*/*zhou* — that includes different versions of the toponym Wu*zhu*yang — remains to be done.

Finally, sources from the mid-seventeenth century and later periods provide further information, although not necessarily of a different type and quality. This concerns nautical works such as the *Zhinan zhengfa*, as well as dozens of other texts and maps, both in Chinese and European languages. However, that should be the topic of a different study. RC

NOTES

1 There is a second Wuzhudao near the Fujian coast. It is to the northwest of the large island known as Pingtandao (平潭島). According to some sources, the sea near this Wuzhudao was also called Wuzhuyang. See, for example, Du Zhen, *Yue Min xunshi jilüe* (Siku quanshu ed.), *j*. 5, 44b.

2 See Roderich Ptak, "Possible and Confirmed References to Pulau Aur and the Seribuat Islands in Chinese Sources (c. 1150–1550)," to appear in *Journal of Asian History* (2024), ch. 7.

3 See Roderich Ptak, "A Note on Dazhoudao 大洲島 / Tinhosa (c. 1000–1550)," *Journal of Asian History* 56, no. 1/2 (2022): esp. 62–63.

4 See, for example, Guangdongsheng diming weiyuanhui bangongshi, ed., *Guangdongsheng haiyu dimingzhi* (Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng ditu chubanshe, 1989; henceforth *GDSHYDMZ*), 52 (Shanzhuwan 山豬灣), 171 (Shanzhuzhou 山豬洲 and Shanzhuweidao 山豬尾島).

5 Zhou Yunzhong, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), 181; Ptak, "Possible and Confirmed References to Pulau Aur," chap. 7 and n. 69 there.

6 Ptak, "Possible and Confirmed References to Pulau Aur," chap. 7 and n. 69 there.

7 For a brief description of the island, see *GDSHYDMZ*, 166.

8 Chen Jiarong, Zhu Jianqiu et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai hailu zhenjing*, 2 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong keji chubanshe, 2016; henceforth *LDHL*), I, 596, text and illustration. However, the text is difficult to understand and the combination Xiacun (下村) in it remains unidentified.

9 Wu Zimu, *Meng liang lu* (Xuejin Taoyuan ed., in Baibu congshu jicheng), *j*. 12, 15a–b. There are different translations of the book title: the character *liang* '粱' (sorghum) is similar to *liang* '梁' in the name of the former Song capital Bianliang (汴梁). Hence, 'Dreaming of the Former Capital' is one suggestion, 'Dreaming of Sorghum' is another version. Many modern works quote Wu Zimu's book. For citations and discussions see, for example, *LDHL*, I, 90; Li Caixia, *Nanhai zhudao: Lishi shijian biannian* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2017), 88; Guojia tushuguan Zhongguo bianjiang wenxian yanjiu zhongxin, ed., *Nanhai zhudao tuji lu*, 3 vols. (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016), *Gudai juan* 古代卷, 30–31; Liu Yijie, *"Shunfeng xiangsong" yanjiu* (Dalian: Dalian haishi daxue chubanshe, 2017), 33, 342. Some more details are, for example, in Wang Dayuan, *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi*, ed. Su Jiqing (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 218, 221–222 n. 4 and 5 (comments by Su). For a Japanese translation of *Meng liang lu*, see Umehara Kaoru, ed., *Muryōroku: Nansō Rin'an hanjōki*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000).

10 Shimao Minoru, "Nana su yōni kansuru oboegaki," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 46 (2015): 402–414.

11 Han Zhenhua, "Qizhouyang kao," in *Nanhai zhudao shidi lunzheng*, ed. Xie Fang, Qian Jiang and Chen Jiarong (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, 2003; henceforth *NHZD*), 100, 107 (table with references to the depth of the sea in different contexts and sources), 108 and 111.

12 For a critical article, see Xu Panqing, An Junli, and Cao Shuji, "Hangxian yu licheng: Wenchang Qizhouyang yu Xisha Qizhouyang de dili weizhi," *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong*, no. 1 (2022), 15–28, 43 (also http://iqh.ruc.edu.cn/zglsdlyj/lsdl_dmxyd/dmyj/e71f511523fc4a18bc1b367e6bb5f079.htm; accessed 15 May 2024).

13 Fang Hui, *Tongjiang ji* (Siku quanshu), *j*. 5, 18a (entry "Ping Guawa lu bu" 平瓜哇露布); Huang Chunyan, "Song Yuan haiyang zhishi zhong de 'hai' yu 'yang'," *Academic Monthly* 52, no. 3 (2020): 184.

14 For the unidentified names, see Wang, *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi*, 64 (text), 67–68 n. 9 and 11 (proposals by Su Jiqing).

15 This would be in line with some of the arguments presented, for example, by Han Zhenhua. See the following of his articles in *NHZD*: "Nansha qundao shidi yanjiu zhaji," esp. 208–209; "Songdai de Xisha qundao yu Nansha qundao," esp. 298–300; "Song Yuan shiqi youguan Nansha qundao de shidi yanjiu," esp. 306. For the concept of *shamo* (and the Gobi) in Chinese geography, recently also Elke Papelitzky, "Sand, Water, and Stars: Chinese Mapping of the Gobi and Taklamakan Deserts," *T'oung Pao* 107, no. 3–4 (2021): 376–416.

16 Details in Roderich Ptak, "Sailing near the Natuna Islands and West Kalimantan: Notes on the 'Zheng He Map' and Some Ming 'Rutters'," *Archipel* 101 (2021): 85–129. See also Han, "Songdai de Xisha qundao yu Nansha qundao," 300.

17 Huang, "Song Yuan," quoting from Hong Gua (Kuo/Shi), *Panzhou wenji* 盤洲文集. See the Sibu congkan chubian ed. of this twelfth-century work, *j*. 66, 431(upper block; entry "She fan zhi yu" 設蕃致語).

18 See esp. Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai dai da jiaozhu*, ed. Yang Wuquan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), *j*. 1, 36–37; *j*. 2, 74–76; *j*. 3, 111–113; Wang, *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi*, 318–321.

19 See Haijun haiyang cehui yanjiusuo, and Dalian haiyun xueyuan hanghaishi yanjiushi, eds., *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tuji* (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 1988; henceforth *ZHHHTJ*), 40–43 (segment of map, and explanation of toponyms). This modern edition is based on the map in *Wu bei zhi*.

20 Several authors discuss the *geng* concept. One recent example is in Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, see esp. 317–331.

21 See Roderich Ptak, "Chinese Navigation near the Coast of Central Guangdong: Nantingshan and Nantingmen in Ming Times," *Monumenta Serica* 68, no. 2 (2020): esp. 341. In some texts, the second character in Nantingshan appears as *ting* (亭).

22 For additional details, see Zhou Yunzhong, "'Zheng He hanghai tu' Min Yue bufen xin kao," *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 75 (2010): 97–108, and his *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao*, 138–140. Zhou correctly remarks that some sources write Gaolan (皋蘭), while Lujing appears as Lujing (鹿脛). See, for example, Deng Qian (prep.), *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi*, ed. Huang Zuo (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), *j*. 1, 17b (p. 302). Zhou also mentions a late Ming map which gives the name Lujiaozhou (鹿角洲), literally 'Deer Horn Island'; on the map the island is indeed drawn that way. The map is in *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*. For a modern edition of that work, see Ying Jia, *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*, rev. Ling Yunyi and Liu Yaohui, ed. Zhao Kesheng and Li Ran (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2015). We shall return to this island below, in the context of Portuguese sources. Finally, one must be careful with the name Lujing in the Xiangshan chronicle; see Wang Ting, "Mingdai Xiangshan lu hai xingshi yu Aomen kaifu," *Zhongguo lishi dili yanjiu* 1 (2005): 212 (map), 216. Wang identifies Lujing(zhou) (鹿脛[洲]) with a location near the northern rim of Xiangshan County. See also Yang Xunling, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen ji qi yi xi bufen diming kao," in "*Quan hai tu zhu" yanjiu*, ed. Jin Guoping and Yang Xunling (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2020), 238. Yang refers to Lujing (鹿脛) on the late Ming map called *Quan hai tu zhu* (《全海圖註》); this seems to be the same location. On that

map one also finds the name Niujiaowan (牛角湾) (last character: short form). As will be explained later, a name with the sequence Niujiao became another appellation for Lujing near Gaolan.

23 *ZHHHTJ*, 40–41, 43. More details in Roderich Ptak, "References to the Coral Islands in Huang Zhong's *Hai yu* 海語," *Ming Qing yanjiu* 23 (2019): 43–44 and n. 6. Han Zhenhua also suggested that Wuzhumen (and Wuzhuyang) would be the space between Wuzhu and Shangchuan; see his "Songdai de Xisha qundao yu Nansha qundao," 299.

24 For a useful sketch of the assumed topography of this area in earlier times, see Zhou Zhenhe and Lin Hong, "Zaoqi Xifang ditu zhong Aomen diming yu biaozhu fangwei de mituan," *Journal of Macau Studies* 82, no. 3 (2016): 66.

25 For brief descriptions of Weizhoudao, Zhouzai, and Yindoupai, see, for example, *GDSHYDMZ*, 166–167.

26 See *GDSHYDMZ*, 171 (Shanzhuzhou 山豬洲 and Shanzhuweidao 山豬尾島). Another place, Shanzhuwan (山豬灣) ('Mountain Pig Bay'), is on the west side of Mangzhou (漭洲); see 52, 172. For all these locations on a modern map, see there, 478–479, C1+C3.

27 Both structures should not be confused with Da/Xiaoxifanshi (大/小西帆石), to the southeast of Hailingdao (海陵島). See *GDSHYDMZ*, 173, 175 (texts), 478 F 8, 483 D 6 (maps).

28 See, for example, Zhou Yunzhong, "Lianjie Nanhai zhudao de Hainan yao gang shi kao," *Zhongguo gangkou bowuguan guankan zhuanji* 4, suppl. 1 (2017): 42–44. Also see Zhou's *Zheng He xia Xiyang xukao* (New Taipei City: Huamulan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2019), 124–129. Typical entries on Tonggushan are in Tang Zhou, comp., *Zhengde Qiong tai zhi*, ed. Peng Jingzhong, 2 vols. (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2006), I, *j*. 5, 101–102 (with references to earlier material), and Dai Jing, *Guangdong tongzhi chugao*, comp. Zhang Yue, *j*. 2, 25a (unspecified copy).

29 See Roderich Ptak, "Questions Related to Selected Malay, Chinese and Portuguese Names of Islands along the Sailing Corridor from Johor to Macau (15th to 17th Centuries)," conference paper, La Sapienza, Rome, July 2024. See also Han, "Qizhouyang kao," 118–120. Han refers to another Tonggushan/Tonggujiao in the Yongle qundao (永樂群島); this island group forms part of the Xisha qundao. Furthermore, there is a possible link between this place and the location called 'Paxo' in some Portuguese sources. For Paxo, see, for example, Han Zhenhua, "Shiliu shiji qianqi Putaoya jizai shang youguan Xisha qundao guishu Zhongguo de ji tiao ziliao kaoding," in *NHZD*, esp. 359–360.

30 See, for example, *Ming shilu* (《明實錄》), 133 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1961–1966; henceforth *MSL*), Taizu, *j*. 88, 4b–5a (IV, 1564–1565); Geoff Wade's translation on https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hong-wu/year-7-month-3-day-27 (9 May 1374). This entry refers to the disaster of 1373; it contains the sequence '烏諸洋'. The same version appears in Huang Zuo, *Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi*, 4 vols. (Hong Kong: Dadong tushu gongsi, 1977), IV, *j*. 66, 46b (p. 1771). For a brief discussion see, for example, Zhou Xin, "14–15 shiji Guangzhou 'bokou' zhidu yanjin yu Nanhai haiyang wangluo bianqian," in *Xue hai yang fan yijiazi: Guangdongsheng shehui kexue yuan lishi yu Sun Zhongshan yanjiusuo (Haiyangshi yanjiu zhongxin) chengli liushi zhounian jinian wenji*, ed. Li Qingxin (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2019), 275–276.

31 See *LDHL*, I, 205–206, 324, referring to two Ming texts. See Yan Congjian, *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, ed. Yu Sili (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), *j*. 7, 253–255, and Shen Maoshang, *Siyi guangji*, 16 vols. (Nanjing: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1947; henceforth *SYGJ*), *ce* 100, 815b. On the *SYGJ* (shortly after 1600), see Elke Papelitzky, "An Introduction to the *Siyi guangji* 四夷廣記," *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 11 (2015): 85–95. More on this work and the *Shuyu zhouzi lu* (1574) is in Elke Papelitzky, *Writing World History in Late Ming China and the Perception of Maritime Asia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020), esp. 25–27, 30–31, 41–42, 44–45. We know the name of the chief ambassador, Shu Tong, from an entry in *MSL* (Yingzong), *j*. 81, 5b–6a (XXV, 1618–1619). See Wade's translation under www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/zheng-tong/year-6-month-7-day-12 (29 July 1441). Later sources also refer to the mission by Shu and Wu. One example is found in Gu Zuyu, *Du shi fangyu jiyao*, ed. He Cijun and Shi Hejin, 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), IX, *j*. 101, 4605. For discussions, see Zhou, "14–15 shiji Guangzhou 'bokou' zhidu," 284–286; Li Woteng (pseudonym), *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi: Ershi shiji qian de Nan Zhongguo hai* (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gufen youxian gongsi, 2016), 122–126 (however, this study is tendentious); Ptak, "A Note on Dazhoudao," 66–67. As explained in my article, the name Duzhushan normally stands for Tinhosa near the Hainan coast, but in the case presented here it could point to the small island called Bai'andao (白鞍島); Dazhoushan might then be Tinhosa.

32 Ming sources provide no details regarding the precise extension of the Wuzhuyang. Han Zhenhua frequently refers to that space, but he cannot solve this problem and other questions related to it.

33 Zhang Tingyu et al., *Ming shi*, 28 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *j*. 325, 8418; *MSL* (Yingzong), *j*. 304, 2a; *j*. 306, 5a–b; *j*. 326, 4a–b (XXXVII, 6425, 6451–6452, 6729–6730), and Wade's translations on https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/tian-shun/year-3-month-6-day-8, https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/tian-shun/year-3-month-8-day-17 and

https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/tian-shun/year-5-month-3-day-17 (entries for 7 July 1459, 13 September 1459, 27 April 1461). Many modern works deal with diplomatic exchange between China and Melaka; see, for example, Geoff Wade, "Melaka in Ming Dynasty Texts," in *Southeast Asia-China Interactions. Reprint of Articles from the Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, ed. Geoff Wade (Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2007), 360 (the article originally appeared in vol. 70.1 [1997] of the journal).

34 *MSL* (Xiaozong), *j*. 172, 3a–b (LVIII, 3127–3128), and translation quoted from Wade https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hong-zhi/year-14-month-3-day-4 (22 March 1501).

35 *Ming shi, j*. 212, 5610; *MSL* (Shizong), *j*. 557, 1a (XCI, 8953), and Wade, https://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/jia-jing/year-45-month-4-day-1 (20 April 1566). For a study on Wu Ping, see Chen Chunsheng, "16 shiji Min Yue jiaojie diyu haishang huodong renqun de tezhi — yi Wu Ping de yanjiu wei zhongxin," *Haiyangshi yanjiu* 1 (2010): esp. 145.

36 Ptak, "References to the Coral Islands," 41, 42, 46. The first quotation appears verbatim in later sources. One example is found in *Wanli Guangdong tongzhi* (《萬歷廣東通志》), *j*. 70. See Yang, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen," 233 and n. 1 there.

37 Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," esp. 345, 348. The article also refers to the administrative panorama involving Dongguan and Xiangshan. Further details are in Yang, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen," 233–234.

38 In another edition of the *Hai yu*, one finds the sequence '烏潭二洋', i.e., '獨潭' is left out. See *Liu Yijie*, "Nanhai haidao chutan," *Nanhai xuekan* 5, no. 4 (2019): 79–80. Liu bases his discussion on the text without Duzhu. This leads to different results. See also Ptak, "References to the Coral Islands," 41. For different editions of the *Hai yu*, one may consult Elke Papelitzky, "Editing, Circulating, and Reading Huang Zhong's *Hai yu* 海語: A Case Study in the History of Reading and the Circulation of Knowledge in Ming and Qing China," *Ming Qing yanjiu* 23 (2019): 1–38.

39 Han, for example, "Qizhouyang kao," esp. 106–107. Han also comments on the *Hai yu* and analyses the compass directions given in various sources that refer to sailing via the Wuzhu area to the 'Seven Islands' and beyond. See esp. 125–126 (table) in his article. See also Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 348–349 and n. 21 there. In an entry called "From Dongguan in Guangdong to Siam" (廣東東莞縣至暹羅鍼路), the *SYGJ* describes a sailing route with the same sequence of names that one finds in *Hai yu* (Wuzhu, Duzhu, Qizhou). See *SYGJ*, *ce* 101, 839b; *LDHL*, I, 325; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun, *Zheng He xia Xiyang ziliao huibian*, vol. 1 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980; henceforth *ZHZLHB*), 321. For discussions, see Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 350–351 and n. 32–33 there, as well as Li, *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi*, esp. 159, 161, 163. However, Li arrives at different conclusions.

40 For the sequence of seas in the *Hai yu* and the difficulty of interpreting them correctly, see also Ptak, "References to the Coral Islands," esp. 41–42, 43–47, 49–50.Furthermore, see, for example, Chen Hongyu, "Zaoqi Nanhai hanglu yu daojiao zhi faxian," *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 39 (2013): esp. 64, 70. However, Chen does not solve the 'philological' problems of the textual passages in question.

41 A further toponym, Shitanghai (石塘海), refers to the sea which extends from Wanzhou (萬州) to the east. See, for example, Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao*, ed. Xie Fang (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), *j*. 9, 172. This source (prefaces 1617/1618) quotes from an earlier chronicle. Several authors discussed or cited the relevant passage. See, for example, Han, "Qizhouyang kao," 121. Also, the term/name *shitang* (石堂/塘) appears in many works. One source is the *Zheng He Map*. See *ZHHHTJ*, 40. For references to earlier periods, one may consult the *Song huiyao jigao* (《宋會要輯稿》) and other texts. See Guo Shengbo, ed., *Song huiyao jigao*. *Fanyi dao shi* (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2014), *fanyi* 蕃夷 part 3, 219–220, 268. See also Guojia tushuguan, *Nanhai zhudao tuji lu* (*gudai juan*), 32–35. In most cases, this term/name stands for the Xisha qundao. However, there are different interpretations as well, depending on the relevant contexts. Scholars like Han Zhenhua and Li Woteng discussed all the details, but their opinions vary substantially.

42 Han Zhenhua also summarised the typical features of that sea. One section looks at the risks associated with travelling through the area. See his "Qizhouyang kao," 111–114.

43 For a broad discussion of the *shanxing shuishi* category (this includes illustrated manuals showing the essential features of specific islands), see Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, ch. 3.4.

44 For the relevant parts in *Shunfeng xiangsong*, see Xiang Da, ed., *Liang zhong haidao zhenjing* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000; henceforth *SFXS*), 32–33; *LDHL*, I, 285; Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 280, 411, 522.

45 For the length of a *tuo*, see, for example, Michel Didier (ed., trans., notes), *Mémoire sur les royaumes indigènes des terres d'Occident* 西域番國志, *Mémoire sur les royaumes indigènes des mers d'Occident* 西洋番國志 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2022), 160.

46 Han, "Qizhouyang kao," also discusses measurements. See esp. 124. Indirectly, his findings confirm that a depth of 80 *tuo* takes us to a location far away from Guangdong's coastal belt.

47 Zhou, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao*, 139. Xiang Da, in *SFXS*, 33, provides no explanations. The same applies to Li, *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi*, 153.

48 Luís Jorge Rodrigues Semedo de Matos, *Roteiros e Rotas Portuguesas do Oriente nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Fundação Jorge Álvares, 2018), 166, uses a map of Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (18th century) to reconstruct three possible sailing corridors between Macao and Shangchuan. The shortest course from there (or from an island in the southern sections of the Wanshan qundao) to the Wuzhu area is the one marked as route 3 in his book.

49 *SFXS*, 49, 54; *LDHL*, I, 291, 293; Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 196–197, 210, 424, 435, 530, 532. For the Limushan (now called Wuzhishan 五指山), see, for example, *ZHHHTJ*, 40, 43; Zhou, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao*, 140. The location of Dongjiangshan remains unclear. In some cases, it may even stand for an island in the Po Toi group south of Hong Kong Island. See the discussion in Roderich Ptak, "The Dan'gan and Jiapeng Archipelagos (South of Hong Kong) in Chinese Maps and Nautical Works of the Ming Period," to appear in the proceedings of an international conference held in the Academia de Marinha, Lisbon, 2023. A very similar itinerary appears in Deng Zhong's (鄧鍾) *Annan tuzhi* (《安南圖志》) (after 1592). See *LDHL*, I, 279, and again Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 197. The *Annan tuzhi* relies on earlier material drawn from *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu* (《鄭開陽雜著》) and *Chou hai tu bian* (《籌海圖編》) (we shall return to these two below). The *SFXS* also describes the return voyage from Jiaozhi to Fujian. See there, 49. This entry mentions Duzhushan, but not Wuzhushan. Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 198–199, argues that the text would be wrong; we should replace Duzhushan by Wuzhushan.

50 *SFXS*, 53, 55; *LDHL*, I, 293, 294; Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 207–208, 212, 432, 436–437, 532, 533. The *SFXS* also contains an entry for the return voyage from Patani to China. This entry mentions the names Dongjiangshan and Nantingmen, in that sequence, which leads to various questions. See Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 350.

51 See notes 31 and 39 above.

52 *SYGJ*, *ce* 101, 881a, 882b; *LDHL*, I, 328, 329; *ZHZLHB*, 314, 315.

53 *SYGJ*, *ce* 100, 787a and 788a; *LDHL*, I, 323; *ZHZLHB*, 310. See also, for example, Li, *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi*, 160.

54 *SYGJ*, *ce* 100, 832a; *LDHL*, I, 324; *ZHZLHB*, 313. See also, for example, Li, *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi*, 160–161.

55 *SYGJ*, *ce* 101, 849a, 850b, 899a; *LDHL*, I, 325, 326, 331; *ZHZLHB*, 317, 321–322. See also Li, *Bei niuqu de Nanhai shi*, 161–162.

56 As stated above, in note 48, Matos explained that different coastal sailing routes led towards the area of Wuzhu and Shangchuan.

57 Certain other sources confirm this as well. One example is found in Zhang, *Dongxiyang kao, j*. 9, 172, under Nantingmen.

58 For this map, see https://purl.pt/34512/2/ (accessed 24 April 2024). A related map (code D-89-r), kept in the same collection, also records several names, but many of them are difficult to decipher. Moreover, regarding the area in question, this map provides little that goes beyond the information one can extract from the other map. For further information (and/or related maps, mostly of later origin), see Shi Cunlong, "Pu ren chulai di 'Maoyidao' huo 'Tunmendao' ying shi Nantoudao zai kao," *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 54 (2005): 187; Matos, *Roteiros*, 166; Zhou and Lin, "Zaoqi Xifang ditu zhong Aomen diming," 89 (map by Pierre Duval, 1672: Pula Babe); Yang, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen," 221–222.

59 For Hebaodao and Gaolan, see, for example, Zhao Lilin, "Hebaodao de lishi gaikuang," *Zhuhai wenshi* 11 (1999?): 84–85; Zhou, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao*, 138–140; Yang, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen," 237. For the sources, see *ZHHHTJ*, 40, 43; *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi, j*. 1, 17b (p. 302). For *meros*, see Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1919–1921), II, 50.

60 Matos, *Roteiros*, 169 n. 404, also identified Vasco Faria with Dajindao.

61 *GDSHYDMZ*, 163, 477 (map).

62 Many authors discussed this and the position of Lampacau. Examples are in Wang, "Mingdai Xiangshan," esp. 212 (map), 214; Stephen Tseng-Hsin Chang, *Ming ji dongnan Zhongguo de haishang huodong* (Taipei: Zhongguo xueshu zhuzuo jiangzhu weiyuanhui, 1988), 305–313; and his "From Malabar to Macau: The Portuguese in China during the Sixteenth Century. A Synthesis of Early Luso-Chinese Sources" (PhD diss., University of Reading, 2002), 281–285, and maps in the appendix. An early source recording Lianwan and Wenwan is the *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi*. See there, *j*. 1, 17b (p. 302).

63 For an early article on Sanzao Island, see Liang Zhenxing and Wen Liping, "Sanzaodao jianshi," *Zhuhai wenshi* 5 (1987): 63–73.

64 For a simple modern map showing topographical changes in the Shangchuan area, see https://zh-cn.topographic-map.com/map-9v7t5k/%E4%B8%8A%E5%B7%9D%E5%B2%9B/ (accessed 9 May 2024). The map suggests that, originally, Shangchuan consisted of three major components. The third part, at its western side, could be the unnamed island to the northwest of 'True Shangchuan'. Later European maps are different. They show Shangchuan as one 'integrated' area. See the references above, in note 58.

65 Matos, *Roteiros*, 452–453 (fol. 139v of the *Códice Castelo Melhor*).

66 Matos, *Roteiros*, 299–300 (fol. 95v of the *Códice do Cadaval*).

67 Several old texts refer to the latitude of Shangchuan and to distances involving that island, the Ilha dos Veados, and other nearby places. See, for example, Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Việt-nam et du Campā. Étude sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d'après les sources portugaises (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1972), esp. 77, 78, 260, 261.

68 Hu Zongxian, *Chou hai tu bian* (Siku quanshu), Guangdong part 6 of the map, i.e. 7b, and part 7, i.e. 8a (p. 584.8); Zheng Ruozeng, *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu* (Siku quanshu; henceforth *ZKYZZ*), Guangdong part 7; i.e. *j*. 1, 7a–b (p. 584.447). In later sources, some toponyms are written differently. For instance, the famous coastal map in *Aomen jilüe* (《澳門記略》) has Mazhushan (馬猪山) in lieu of Wuzhoushan. Until today, the element 'Shiqi' survived in several names. See Guangdongsheng jingu diming cidian bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdongsheng jingu diming cidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1991; henceforth *GDSJGDMCD*), 379–383. The *Guangdong yanhai shansha (tu)* is also in Mao Yuanyi, *Wu bei zhi*, 22 vols. (Taipei: Huashi chubanshe, 1984), *j*. 210, 3b–14a, here esp. 9a–b. It was reprinted in several modern books. See, for example, Fang Kun, Wang Ying, and Liang Chunhui, eds., *Zhongguo yanhai jiangyu lishi tulu: Nanhai juan* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2016), 74–109.

69 *ZKYZZ, j*. 8, 2a–b (p. 584.622).

70 *GDSHYDMZ*, 310 (text), 479 (map).

71 Many Ming maps show Yamen and Yashan (崖山). One example is the *Quan Guang haitu* (《全廣海圖》) in *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*, *j*. 5. Several authors mention this map. See, for instance, Chang, *Ming ji*, 314, and *From Malabar to Macau*, 295. For Wanhushan, see Hu, *Chou hai tu bian, j*. 3, 23a (p. 584.88), and Tang Kaijian, "Zhong Pu guanxi de qidian: Shang, Xiachuan dao Tamão xin kao," in *Aomen kaifu chuqishi yanjiu*, by the same author (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 10. However, the pair Yashan (厓山)/Qishi(zhu)shan also appears in texts. See, for example, *Guangdong tongzhi chugao*, *j*. 1, 19b.

72 There are several editions of the *Yue da ji*. Here I only mention one edition: Guo Fei, *Yue da ji* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990; Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan). The relevant sections of the map appear in many articles. See, for example, Guo Yanbing, "Langbai'ao diaocha yu kaozheng," *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 101 (2017): esp. 54, map 4. There are two near-to-identical versions of the *Quan hai tu zhu*. Both are available in the form of a separate addendum to the magnificent collection by Jin Guoping and Yang Xunling, eds., *"Quan hai tu zhu" yanjiu* (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2020).

73 *GDSHYDMZ*, 479 B + C 5; *GDSJGDMCD*, 413 (map), 422.

74 *GDSHYDMZ*, 48, 479 B 5. See also under Sanzhouxu (三洲圩), *GDSJGDMCD*, 422.

75 *GDSHYDMZ*, 479 A 6, B 5, and relevant textual entries.

76 *GDSHYDMZ*, 166, 479 C 6.

77 For toponymical shifts, see, for example, the relevant sections in Lu Yanzhao, *Ming Qing Lingdingyang quyu haifang dili yanjiu* (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2014). For Niujiaowan and Hebaowan, see also Yang, "'Quan hai tu zhu' Aomen," 237.

78 For the *Yue da ji* map, see, for example, Chang, *Ming ji*, 289, and *From Malabar to Macau*, 297. The *Jiajing Xiangshan xianzhi, j*. 1, 18b (p. 302), and *Jiajing Guangdong tongzhi*, I, *j*. 13, 28b (p. 328), place the Wushahai to the *east* of Sanzao. Later chronicles also mention the Wushahai. See, for example, Hao Yulin et al., *Yongzheng Guangdong tongzhi* (Siku quanshu), *j*. 10, 34a. Several modern authors quote the relevant passage from the Xiangshan chronicle, but they rarely discuss the geographical setting. See, for example, Huang Xiaodong, *Zhuhai jianshi* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2011), 94. Both the *Guangdong yanhai shansha (tu)* and the *Wanli haifang tu* locate the name Wushayang to the *west* of Sanzao (for these maps, see notes 68 and 69 above). Moreover, on these maps, the position of the 'Sanzao/Wushayang' duo appears very far to the east of Xiangshan, which makes no sense.

79 On a map in *Cangwu zongdu junmen zhi*, one sees the name Wuzhushan (烏猪山) and much further to the east, south of Dajinshan, there is the Wuzhuyang (烏猪洋). See Chang, *Ming ji*, 287. Gu, *Du shi fangyu jiyao*, IX, *j*. 101, 4605 and 4611, mentions both the Wushahai and the Wuzhuyang, but in different contexts. In each case the relevant passage goes back to earlier information. See also note 31 above (mission of Shu Tong and Wu Hui).

80 For the entries on Nantingmen, Wuzhushan and Qizhoushan/Qizhouyang, see, for example, Zhang, *Dongxiyang kao, j*. 9, 172; *LDHL*, I, 348. Several authors cite these entries. However, they rarely looked at the details.

81 *SFXS*, 32–33; Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 356–357. See also the discussion of Gongxie in Ptak, "The Dan'gan and Jiapeng Archipelagos". Interestingly, the entry on Nantingmen in *SFXS* starts with a measurement of 40 *tuo*, the one on Wuzhushan begins with 80 *tuo*. Do the numbers bear a symbolic meaning in association with Dugong? By contrast, the *Dongxiyang kao* entry on Nantingmen gives 47 *tuo* and omits a reference to Dugong. The anonymous *Zhinan zhengfa* (《指南正法》) of the Qing period records

45 *tuo* and refers to Dugong in its entry on Nantingmen; its entry on Wuzhushan repeats the phrase starting with '洋中', but Dugong is not mentioned. See Xiang, *Liang zhong haidao zhenjing*, 116–117. A song, quoted in *SFXS*, 47, also refers to a boat ceremony near a location along the shore of Vietnam.

82 For some of this, see Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 357. The inscription appears in many modern works; see, for example, *ZHZLHB*, 44. See also Li Yukun and Li Xiumei, "Lüe lun Bo (zhou) ren de zongjiao huodong," in *Ren hai xiang yi: Zhongguo ren de haiyang shijie*, ed. Shanghai Zhongguo hanghai bowuguan etc. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), 67, 71; Liu, *"Shunfeng"*, 316. For additional information on protective deities and ceremonies held during voyages through the Nanhai, see Li Qingxin, "Hainan Xiongdi xinyang ji qi zai Dongnanya de chuanbo," *Haiyangshi yanjiu* 10 (2017): 459–505. See also Chen Qingmao, "Ju yang han yu man zheng fan, dao an chu chun zhuo xia shan — Dashan heshang ji qi 'Haiwai jishi' zhi hanghai shu xie," *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3, no. 8 (2019): esp. 87–88 and notes there. Chen deals with Dashan's (大汕) travels; this relates to the Qing period.

83 See, for example, Ptak, "Chinese Navigation," 357. Also Ptak, "Questions Related to Selected Names".

84 See, for example, Ma Guohua 馬國華, "Shangchuandao yingkeshi de laili 上川島迎客石的來歷," 2017, https://www.cdaaaa.com/Mobile/News/Info-2647.html; Shen Peng 申鵬, "Taishan bowuguan li jianzheng 'haisi wenhua' 台山博物館裏見證'海絲文化'," http://www.cnts.gov.cn/zfgzbm/swhgdlytyj/zwgk/zfxxgkml/gzdt/content/post_708348.html (both accessed on 15 May 2024, but not listed in the bibliography). Regarding Zhang Baozai, he appears in many studies on piracy, notably in several works by Robert J. Antony, again not listed here.

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