

戴龙基 杨迅凌 / 主编

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# GLOBAL MAPPING

## 全球地图中的澳门

(第二卷)

OF

# MACAO



社会科学文献出版社  
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

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## 全球地图中的澳门 (第二卷)

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# 序 一

在世界地图上，澳门是一个小得不能再小的点；在中国地图上，澳门也似乎显得微不足道。然而，澳门并没有因为小而被忽视，相反，她在国际国内的影响力、知名度和能见度远远超出其面积、人口和城市规模不知凡几，而东来西往的旅行家、神学者和文人骚客为她留下的笔墨更是汗牛充栋，所构建的澳门形象令人神往、摄人心魂。

澳门的影响力，始于其在中西交通史上所扮演的独一无二的角色；澳门的知名度，源于其为中西经贸文化交流所作出的特殊贡献；澳门的能见度，在于其古今相融、中西并举的独特人文风景线。正是她的角色、贡献及其在历史长河中形成的这道别致的人文风景线，独领人类不同文明共生共存的风骚，闪烁着人性朴素而伟大的光辉。

澳门像是一个神话，但她不是虚构的故事，而是历史的客观存在。散见世界各地的千万文献，以不同的语言、从不同角度记述和有力证明了此一客观存在。一代又一代学者的不懈努力，以科学的方法不断地求证其历史渊源，摸索其历史规律，彰显其历史意义，弘扬其历史传统，期望找到人类文明和睦相处、不断前行的道路。

感谢中外几代学者的锲而不舍，澳门历史的原貌得以逐渐重现，尤其近年来学界将关注点转向更加直观的图像文献研究，且硕果累累。本书所收录的成果，便是又一明证。澳门基金会非常荣幸与澳门科技大学合作，对古今中外的澳门地图资料进行全面的搜集、整理、研究，并取得显著的成绩。众多学者在不同时期的古地图中寻找澳门这个点，然后再将这个点放大，让她闪光发热，凸显澳门在世界和中国近代史上、在人类文明发展进程中的重要价值，令人感动。我们更要感谢所有参与此一项目的学者，没有他们长期持续的专业研究，便没有本书的出版，便没有澳门研究今天

的成就。澳门基金会将一如既往，继续推动、组织和支持所有与澳门相关的研究，以期早日完成澳门本土知识体系的构建，为当今世界文明的共同进步再献新猷。

是为序。

吴志良

澳门基金会行政委员会主席

2016年3月17日



## 序 二

我很高兴看到“全球地图中的澳门”项目不断推进，不仅枝繁叶茂，还结出了繁盛的成果，其中就包括这本论文集。

该项目是澳门科技大学特聘教授、著名历史学家钱乘旦教授倡议下设立的“全球史与澳门”基础研究重大项目的子项目之一。历史的任务，是根据各种史料与合乎逻辑的推理，尽可能全面地逼近和还原历史的真实面貌，寻找其中的规律和智能。澳门研究经过学者们近三十年的坚持不懈，已经整理了大量的文字史料，学术成果丰硕。但仅凭文字史料一个层面还不够。古地图通过直观的描绘和记录，能清晰准确地还原当时的人们对自身和其他各个地区的认识和理解，能表达出文字记述所难以表达的内容，让阅读地图的研究者能够跨越时空、窥探生动立体的历史原貌。因此，古地图作为历史研究中一类特殊而重要的史料倍受青睐。

中国自古就有“左图右史”的传统，舆图的测绘在中国古代科技史上占据了重要的地位；西方更是早在古希腊罗马时期就已经提出地球是个球体，应用数学原理把人们所掌握的地理、水文以及天文知识和观测结果通过特定的投影法绘制到平面的地图上。所以，古地图研究是科技和历史研究的一个很好的结合。澳门科技大学在澳门研究的史料整理工作中另辟蹊径，收集、整理澳门研究相关的古地图，并组织学者开展研究，是一件恰得其所的好事。

这次的展览和国际研讨会就为来自各国各地的与会学者提供了丰富的史料，同时也是一个绝好的研究交流平台。我们欣喜地看到，学者们围绕会议主题，分享了他们对相关古地图研究的心得和进展，很好地诠释了澳门在中西文化交流史上的重要地位，展现了澳门在世界的全球化、现代化进程中的特殊贡献，探究历史上澳门兴衰起落的原因和经验。我们常说，

历史是活着的历史——在思考中加入时间的维度，能够让我们更清楚地审视自己，从而对未来作出正确的判断。在“一国两制”的基本架构下，用更广阔的国际视野和胸怀来拥抱全球化，发挥澳门的桥梁作用，保持澳门的繁荣昌盛，历史其实已经给出了很好的答案。这也正是澳门科技大学在致力于格物致知、重点培养应用型人才的同时，鼓励和提倡历史研究，诚意正心、持之以恒地发展通识教育的意义所在。

我很高兴看到，这个项目不仅组织学者进行研究，同时还举办了多个展览，并通过在线平台开放给学者研究和公众查阅，让更多的澳门市民和学者从这个项目受惠。

最后，衷心祝愿“全球地图中的澳门”项目能够不断发展壮大，继续产出更多的优秀成果。

周礼杲

澳门科技大学校董会主席

2016年3月18日

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# East Asia and China in Western Manuscript Planispheres and Nautical Maps (14th-16th Centuries)

—— a Study of Maps from Vatican Library's  
Manuscript Collections

Clara YU Dong \*

## I Introduction<sup>①</sup>

For more than three thousand years, the ancient world was linked by trading routes that connected the Mediterranean World with the far off lands of Asia. Along with the pursuit by the Greeks of maritime exploration, commerce and colonization developed an outstanding body of geographic knowledge. Hecataeus (c. 550-c. 490 BC), a geographer in Miletus at the end of the 6th century BC, already had some knowledge of India.<sup>②</sup> Ktesias (400 BC-?), Greek

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\* Clara YU Dong, a research staff member of the Vatican Library since 1992; serving as the Researcher, the Librarian and the Curator of the Far Eastern collections.

① Many bibliographic sources are consulted for this paper, of which two in particular are important: R. Almagià, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal secoli XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1944 (Monumenta cartographica vaticana; 1); *Cartographic Images*, website at: [cartographic-images.net](http://cartographic-images.net).

② In a book by Hecataeus, the shape of the world is described as a flat circle, with a continuous ocean forming the rim. The circular land mass is divided into two parts by an almost unbroken stretch of water linked with the ocean on the west at the straits of Gibraltar, then running east the length of the Mediterranean, through the Black Sea and (after a short land bridge) into the Caspian Sea, which joins the ocean on the east. The semicircle of land above this belt of water is Europe, while the semicircle below is Asia. The part west of the Nile has the subsidiary name of Libya, representing Africa.

physician and historian, uses the term “Seres” to indicate people of China in his work *Indica*, the first Greek book to be wholly devoted to the exotic land of India. ①

Following Zhang Qian's embassies, ② commercial relations between China and Central as well as Western Asia flourished, as many Chinese missions were sent throughout the end of the 2nd and the 1st century BC, initiating the development of the Silk Road. The Roman historian Lucius Annaeus Florus (c. 74 AD-c. 130 AD) describes the visit of numerous envoys, including *Seres*, to the first Roman Emperor Augustus (reigned 27 BC-14 AD). ③

The term *Seres* and *Serica* were mentioned in Roman literature, such as Virgil in his *Georgics* (37 BC); ④ Pliny the Elder (23-79) in his *Naturalis Historiæ*; ⑤

---

① “Of the *Seres*, and the remoter Indians, it is said that they are of gigantic stature, some of them being thirteen cubits high”, in Ktesias, *Indica*, XV. Cfr. H. H. Wilson, *Notes on the Ktesias*. Oxford 1836, pp. 10-11, 28.

② During the Han Dynasty, China made its early exchanges with other people to the West. This is when the Chinese and Western civilizations began to meet and intermingle. Under the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (141-87 BC), Zhang Qian was sent twice to guide diplomatic missions to visit the countries of Xiyu. The first mission, begun in 138 BC bore no fruit, but the second mission, begun in 119 BC, with over 300 people, ten thousand oxen and goats, and a large quantity of goods, was a big success. The beginning of these exchanges between the Han and Xiyu, subsequently lead to Han Dynasty settled in what is now the Xinjiang, a Protectorate of Xiyu which reported directly to the central government. Zhang Qian's missions had promoted exchanges between China and Western countries, and the “Silk Road” was thus opened. The Silk Road took its starting point in Chang'an, and headed west to arrive on the east coast of the Mediterranean and thus in the Roman Empire. The Han caravans of silk exchanged goods with the Persian, Indian and Greek, and introduced in China new plant species: nuts, raisins, carrots, etc. For several centuries, trading dominated by silk commerce between China and the West were mainly made through the Silk Road.

③ “Even the rest of the nations of the world which were not subject to the imperial sway were sensible of its grandeur, and looked with reverence to the Roman people, the great conqueror of nations. Thus even Scythians and Sarmatians sent envoys to seek the friendship of Rome. Nay, the *Seres* came likewise, and the Indians who dwelt beneath the vertical sun, bringing presents of precious stones and pearls and elephants, but thinking all of less moment than the vastness of the journey which they had undertaken, and which they said had occupied four years. In truth it needed but to look at their complexion to see that they were people of another world than ours.” Cfr. H. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither; being a collection of medieval notices of China*, London 1866, v. 1, p. xlii n. 3.

④ He reports enigmatically that the *Seres* “comb off” a fine down from the leaves of Ethiopian trees: “Why mention the Ethiopian trees white with cotton, or how the people of *Serica* obtain silk from their leaves?”, in Virgil, *The Georgics*, Book II, version 109-135, The Effects of Climate and Location.

⑤ Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, Chap XX “The *Seres*.”

*Pomponius Mela* (1st century) in his *Cosmographia, sive De situ orbis*.<sup>①</sup> Europeans began to use “Sinae” to indicate China in mid-1st century.<sup>②</sup> Sinae was an ancient Greek and Roman name for the people who dwelt south of the Seres in the eastern extremity of the inhabitable world. References to the Sinae include mention of a city that the Romans called *Sera Metropolis*, which is modern Chang’an or Luoyang. Serica and Sinae were two different terms used by Europeans to refer to China through the ancient time. Meanwhile, Ptolemy describes in his *Geographia* (150 AD) both Serica and Sinae<sup>③</sup>, and also talks about “Sera, the Capital of the Seres.”

European progress during the early Middle Ages was slight, while Islamic and Chinese cartography made considerable progress. The Arabs translated Ptolemy’s treatises and carried on his tradition.

The end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries marks the beginning of modern cartography, with its glorious tradition developed over the following centuries. Modern cartography is represented primarily by a category of cartographic documents, which are closely related to their origin and to their subsequent evolution in nautical maps or portolan charts (or both kinds more simply but not exactly, referred to as portolans). These maps are of exceptional interest, both for multiple, complex issues inherent in the maps themselves and for their relation to the history of the discoveries and for the process of accruing general geographical knowledge. These nautical maps consist sometimes in single or loose charts, at other times in collections of maps, i. e., atlases.

The Western manuscript maps of 14th to 16th centuries in the Vatican Library include late Medieval planispheres, modern world maps and Nautical charts of the Age of Discovery. Most of these maps were displayed in “Pearls in Paradise: Exhibition of Precious Maps and Archives from the Vatican

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① He describes the location of the Seres, and attributes the same process to a remote, wild, and savage people known as the Seres who reside vaguely beyond the distant desert lands of the Scythians: “In the furthest east of Asia are the Indians, Seres, and Scythians. The Indians and Scythians occupy the two extremities, the Seres are in the middle,” Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, I, 2, see also *De Situ Orbis*, III, 7.

② It appears to be first used in *Periplus Maris Erythraei* by Flavius Arrianus (ca. 95-ca. 175).

③ “The inhabited part of our earth is bounded on the east by the Unknown Land which lies along the region occupied by the easternmost nations of Asia Major, the Sinae and the nations of Serice.”

Apostolic Library, " Macau July-August 2015. We will see through these maps how the Western knowledge on East Asia and China developed over three centuries.

Among its outstanding antiquities and precious codices, the Vatican Library proudly holds several important maps: a circular planisphere annexed to Fra Paolino Minotita's essay *De Mapa Mundi*, the most ancient map with modern elements which has survived to the present; maps of Pietro Vesconte, the first author of nautical maps whose name is well-known; a map produced probably in Fra Mauro's famous workshop in S. Michele in Murano; Diogo Ribeiro's well known planisphere; the planisphere called *Borgiano*, etc. , and maps originally accompanying codices of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, of which the Vatican Library is known to hold some of the oldest and authoritative copies.<sup>①</sup>

## II Western knowledge on East Asia and China in late Medieval maps

At the end of the 13th century, nautical maps appeared as a new artifact, without relationship to previous cartographic products. Because these charts were primarily for navigational purposes, they are characterized by the fact that, they are essentially limited to the representation of the coasts, which are notable for very high precision, and to the abundant notes relating to the coasts, while the inner regions are neglected.

However there are also cartographic representations of the entire known world, named planispheres, which can be considered modern. These modern planispheres, while reconnecting in various ways to previous maps and other works, also introduce, in the second half of the 13th century, entirely new elements, especially for the interior of Asia. These came from contemporary travelers, for example, the first missionaries sent to the Mongol Emperor, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine

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① Cfr. *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex urbinas graecus 82, phototypice depictus consilio et operacuratorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae...* Lugduni Batavorum, Lipsiae 1932 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti; 19), work dedicated to Ptolemy's maps.



(c. 1180-1252)<sup>①</sup> and Guglielmo di Rubruk (ca. 1210-ca. 1270)<sup>②</sup>, later also the Polos.<sup>③</sup> It seems that the first planisphere with modern elements is the one annexed with Ruggero Bacone's *Opus majus* in which the results of Rubruk's travels were used, but it is lost. After this, the most ancient one to survive today is a planisphere contained in a Vatican codex, the circle planisphere annexed to Fra Paolino Minorita's essay *De Mapa Mundi* (ca. 1320).

In their next evolution, these planispheres are associated, sometimes even combined with nautical maps or become part of nautical atlases.<sup>④</sup>

Marco Polo and other Western travelers introduced China and Chinese civilization to Europe. Countries such as Cathay, Mangi, were unknown by Europeans. Marco Polo describes the Yuan capital Cambaluc (汗八里, today Beijing) that had a large population, thriving commerce; Quinsay (行在, today Hangzhou) in south China that was the most sumptuous "celestial city" in the world; other places as Kauli (Korea), Zipangu (Japan), the large province called Thebeth (Tibet). Most of the toponyms given by 13th century travelers in their travel accounts, continued to be used in Western cartography until the 16th century, after new sea routes from Lisbon to China were forged by the Portuguese.

With this context, let's now turn our attention to the maps from the Vatican Library.

In its various manuscript collections (*fondi*), besides the medieval maps, which are often found in codices of works by Isidore, Macrobius, Mela, Plinius etc., the Vatican Library preserves a remarkable group of modern cartographic documents, which variously consist of single pieces, atlases, or sometimes on

① Franciscan friar, first noteworthy European traveler in the Mongol Empire, to which he was sent on a formal mission by Pope Innocent IV. He wrote the earliest important Western work on Central Asia, *Historia Mongalorum*.

② Franciscan friar, a Flemish missionary who traveled through the lands that the Mongols had conquered in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Asia Minor between 1253 and 1255. Apart from references in the *Opus majus* of his fellow-Franciscan Ruggero Bacone, his report to the French king Louis IX, entitled simply the *Itinerarium* by scholars for the sake of reference, is our only source for his travels.

③ Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324), Venetian merchant and adventurer, who at age of 17 started to travel together with his father and uncle, from Europe to Asia in 1271-1295, remaining in China for 17 of those years. His *Il milione* ("The Million") is a classic of travel literature.

④ Almagià, *Planisferi*, cit., pp. VII - XI.

sheets inserted inside codices.

1. Circular planisphere annexed to Fra Paolino Minorita's essay *De Mapa Mundi*( ca. 1320) .



**Figure 1** Circular planisphere annexed to Fra Paolino Minorita's essay *De Mapa Mundi*( ca. 1320) . *Vat. lat. 1960, f. 264v*

This is the most ancient planisphere with modern elements survived today.

Fra Paolino ( c. 1275-c. 1344 ) was a Franciscan friar. After holding various positions in the Curia, he was created Bishop of Pozzuoli ( 1324 ) . In Naples he was an adviser to King Roberto and entered the circle of literati to the court, knowing among others Boccaccio. He is author of historical chronologies and the important *Provinciale Ordinis Minorum*.

The codex in-folio, of 271 sheets written in two columns, mainly contains ( ff. 49r-264r ) Fra Paolino's historical work known as *Satyrical Historia* or *Speculum*, accompanied by marginal drawings and preceded by an index ( ff. 28r-46v; ff. 47-48 blank ) of names and things contained in the main work. The first

sheets (1r-28r) include some writings independent from (although tenuously connected to) the main work, i. e., a *Tabula Rerum gestarum ab origine mundi usque ad Benedictum XII pontificem*, then the essay *De mapa mundi cum trifaria Orbis divisione*, that is of particular interest, along with some other treatises. In the last sheets (ff. 264v-270v) of the codex, along with other designs, there are some maps including this Planisphere. According to Almagià, they are drawn by the same hand that copied the codex, a hand that was not very expert in map drawing.

The planisphere has a diameter of 24.8cm oriented to the South, with coasts in black, water green, mountains in small strips of reddish-brown; inhabited places by a small sign M and names in black. The colors are very faded; some writings can no longer be read with certainty. There are traces of abrasions.

Fra Paolino's essay *De Mapa mundi* is a short but interesting description of the whole known world. The planisphere represents the Old Continent surrounded by the Ocean. The center is about half way between Jerusalem and the northern end of the Persian Gulf.

In the planisphere East Asia is represented at the upper left. The city of Seres, which is located at the ocean outside, on a large inlet filled with islands, corresponds with Isidore.<sup>①</sup> As in the chapter "*De altera divisione Scythiae*" (f. 17r) of the text of *De Mapa mundi*, Paolino describes "*Moderni Scythiam aliter dividunt ac nominant propter divisionem Tartarorum. Primo enim ponunt regnum Cathay, quod ab oriente habet oceanum, a meridie insulas oceani, ab occidente regnum Tarsae, a septentrione desertum debeliam[?]*", while on the planisphere, among the legends dedicated to this group of indications relevant to "*moderni*" there are legends as: "*incipit regnum cathay*" (the Kingdom of Cathay begins); "*hic stat magnus canis*" (here stands the Great Khan); "*India posterior Iohannis presbyteri*" (lower India of Prester John).

## 2. Pietro Vesconte's Circular Planisphere(1320 o 1321).

Pietro Vesconte is one of the earliest creators of nautical maps, the first professional cartographer to sign and date his works regularly. This is one of the many contemporary planispheres made by the European Church Fathers. They continue a legacy adopted from the ancient world, and were gradually expanded and adapted in accordance with the texts which they accompanied. The

① Isidorus, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, XIV, 9, 29.





Figure 2 Pietro Vesconte's Circular Planisphere (1320 o 1321).  
*Pal. lat. 1362, pt. A, ff. 1v – 2r*

commentaries and learned notes added to the texts formed the basis of further alterations to the maps.

This planisphere is currently bound together with 4 other maps, part of which are nautical, and one of them signed by Pietro Vesconte. All of the 5 maps are on parchment sheets folded in half, which measure, about 30. 3x47. 6cm laying flat.

The planisphere has a diameter of about 27cm oriented with East to the top, showing Jerusalem at the center of the World. The ocean surrounds the known landmass of the world, while the outer parts are largely conjectural. Colors are fairly typical of the medieval period: the oceans, seas and rivers are in green, the saw-tooth mountains in brown, the major cities represented by crowns and castles in red, the landmasses in white. Of the long legends at the four corners of the planisphere, the two at the top regard Asia; the one at the bottom on left, Europe;