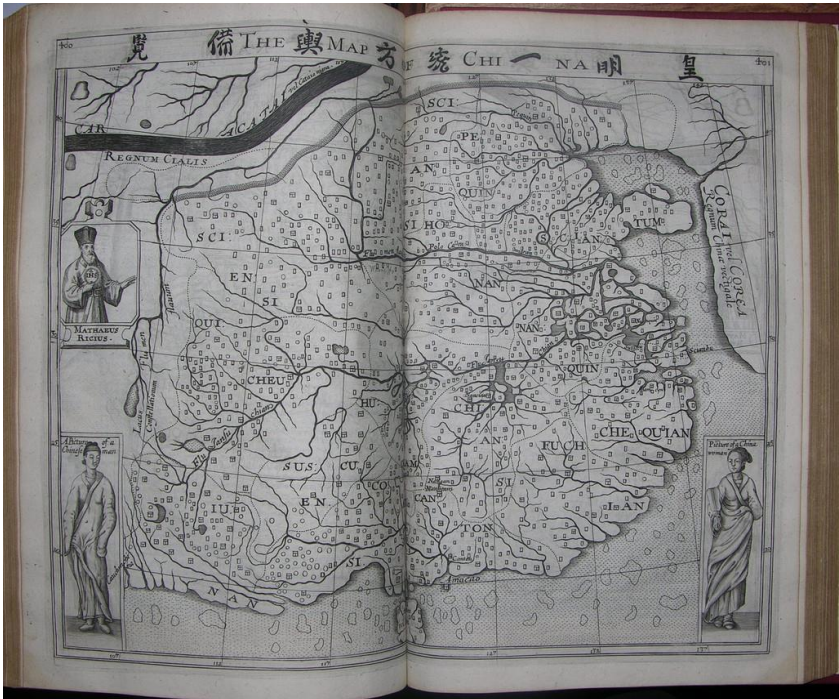


# “Since Ancient Times.” China’s Maritime Claims vs. History Books and Ancient Maps

Juan Mendoza, Matteo Ricci, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde et al.—*Is it time to burn their books?*

Tri H. Pham



*Summary*

"Since antiquity, no oceanic islands have ever entered into the imperial domain."

—Court Officials advising Emperor Kangxi to abandon the Island of Taiwan after the defeat of Koxinga's forces in 1683

Central to China's current maritime claims in the East and South China seas is its narrative that for millennia those uninhabitable features (islets, rocks, reefs, etc.) have been its "indisputable" territories. This precludes any possible claims from other nations or the application of modern international laws relating to territorial disputes including, inter alia, UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea).

This paper aims to look at China's core argument of "since ancient times" relying on available historical resources, both from Chinese and Western literature, dating back to the twelfth century. The data presented here support the conclusions that (a) prior to the twentieth century, China had no territorial claims anywhere past Hainan and Taiwan islands; (b) Taiwan itself was judged not worth incorporating into the Chinese empire in the seventeenth century, and meriting abandonment in the nineteenth century; (c) since Western records began with Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, there was not a single recorded instance of China voicing such territorial claims; (d) historical Chinese records similarly do not support the "since ancient times" narrative, which is devoid of any supporting historical data; and (e) China's current maritime claims are similar in nature, tone and breadth to the ruthless, forceful and imperialistic expansionism undertaken by the Qing Dynasty to conquer Tibet, Manchuria and Xinjiang in the eighteenth century.

Evidentiary claims from all other claimants were not used, in order to remove any perceived bias against China's position.

Moreover, the analysis is focused squarely on China's "since ancient times" assertion, and the voluminous data available from Chinese and Western sources is more than sufficient.

### *Introduction*

"Lies could not change the rights and wrongs with regard to the South China Sea."

—[People's Republic of China \(PRC\)](#), December 2015

Anyone following the news on whatever platform in the last few years would be hard pressed not to notice the growing coverage of China's actions in the Far Western Pacific, namely the South China Sea (SCS)<sup>1</sup> and the East China Sea (ECS). Major news outlets, e.g., [The NY Times](#), [The LA Times](#), [The BBC](#), and [CNN](#) have a dedicated thread on the SCS disputes. A prescient 1994 article anticipated stormy seas ahead when China awarded [Crestone Company](#) an oil exploration block situated 807 miles (1,300 km) from its closest undisputed island, Hainan. A Google Scholar search on "China island disputes" returned [42,100 hits](#) covering a 20-year period (1996-2016).

Many commentators are [repeating](#) unsubstantiated Chinese assertions, inter alia, that it has "[maps dating back to the Han Dynasty](#)" justifying its "[superior](#)" current claims, while remaining silent on (in addition to being unable and unwilling to provide) any historical data to support these assertions. China's claims on the sovereignty of SCS islands and reefs rest on the basis of "historical rights" of ancient Chinese allegedly traversing the waters since "[times immemorial](#)" or more specifically, in the Han Dynasty "[more than 2,000 years ago](#)"; and therefore carrying an in-built "[indisputable](#)" sovereignty right

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<sup>1</sup> The term South China Sea (SCS) is hereby used in the same meaning as it was devised by the Portuguese sailors some five centuries ago to better delineate the vast seas previously known as [Ptolemaic Sinus Magnus \(1478\)](#), Arabic [Sea of Sanji](#) or even [Oriental Indian Ocean](#). It has no sovereignty or territorial implication as [China is now claiming](#). To China herself, SCS has *always* been [Nan Hai](#) (South Sea) as opposed to [Tung Hai](#) (East Sea) as part of their Four Seas worldview.

unchallenged by modern concepts of maritime sovereignty either post Westphalia or post UNCLOS.<sup>2</sup>

Central to China's arguments is the contention that it has "absolute control" of the SCS waters, islands and reefs—confusingly—since either "[Han Dynasty \(200 BC - 200 AD\)](#)" or "[Northern Song Dynasty \(960 AD - 1126 AD\)](#)", with "[countless maps](#)" allegedly attesting to these assertions. Since 1975, Deng Xiaoping's preferred phrase "[since ancient times](#)" has been repeated verbatim, elevating China's "control" of SCS to its "lost" sovereignty over [Hong Kong](#), Taiwan and the [territories of Tibet and Xinjiang](#). One of the first acts done by Xi Jinping on becoming the Communist Party chief in 2012 was to organise and head a "[Maritime Rights Protection Leading Group](#)" with the in-built categorical assertion of China's control over disputed areas. This is consistent with a commentator's bland [assertion](#) that "The Chinese government **in different eras** always treated these islands as China's own . . . [It was] unchallenged until the arrival of invading powers." He maintained further that all statements to the contrary displayed "the lack of knowledge of the truth."<sup>3</sup> (Emphasis added.)

The [infamous 11 \(then revised down to 9\) dash map—first raised in 1935](#) by Republic of China's (ROC) Land and Water Maps Inspection Committee and reissued later by the victorious People's Republic of China (PRC), encompassing a huge swath of the SCS covering some 80% of the surface area—remains the only recognisable map from China justifying its SCS territorial claims. However, this U-shaped map has been [without any defined geographical coordinates, nor any official explanation of a legal basis](#) underlying such claims despite the passage of some 70 years since the map appeared and particularly since China's "presentation" of the map in a [Note Verbale to the UN in 2009](#). Once again there were no legal explanations for what it contained—a highly unusual situation for

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<sup>2</sup> [China signed in 1982](#) and [ratified in 1996](#).

<sup>3</sup> [Jianming Shen](#), "China's Sovereignty over the South China Sea Islands: A Historical Perspective," *Chinese J Int Law* 1, no. 1 (2002): 97-98.

a sovereign state that vouched to adhere to the international maritime rules (UNCLOS).<sup>4</sup> In other words, China has chosen to maintain a position of [strategic ambiguity](#)<sup>5</sup>—most likely to reserve an optimal space for manoeuvring without being bound by legal certainties or definitions and hoping that its [modern Navy transformations](#) including the aircraft carrier-killer [assassin's mace](#) over the "[100-year marathon](#) master plan" would render that ambiguity to its advantage in due time.

Curiously enough, there is currently no official presentation from China containing any such "countless maps" anywhere in its numerous announcements on the subject<sup>6</sup>—despite the establishment of the Hainan Research Institute of the South China Sea (1996), which became the National Institute for South China Sea Studies (2004). Therefore, it is high time to look at what maps and texts are available from historical archives both from China and elsewhere to see whether there is any evidence supporting China's daily assertion of SCS control "[since ancient times](#)." One is reminded of the standing legal principles relating to the value, if any, of maps in international territorial disputes:<sup>7</sup>

"In international territorial conflicts, maps merely constitute information . . . of themselves and by virtue solely of their existence, **they cannot constitute a territorial title** . . . for the purpose of establishing territorial rights . . . except when maps are annexed to an official text of which they form

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<sup>4</sup> China's terms in the 2009 Note Verbale "*relevant waters*" and "*adjacent waters*" were not UNCLOS-defined terminology. As of June 2016, China has yet to define what those terms refer to.

<sup>5</sup> Chris Chung, "[Since Time Immemorial](#): China's Historical Claim in the South China Sea" (MA diss., University of Calgary, 2013) 77-82; Major General [Yao Yunzhu](#), "Nine-Dash Line's ambiguity a good thing, argues Chinese military academic," *Wall Street Journal*, June 5, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> [Fu Ying and Wu Shicun](#), "South China Sea: How We Got to This Stage," *National Interest*, May 9, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Frontier Dispute, [Burkina Faso v Mali](#), Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 1986, 554.

an integral part . . ." (paragraph 54, emphasis added).

"Other considerations which determine the weight of maps as evidence relate to the neutrality of their sources towards the dispute . . . and the parties in that dispute . . . [Maps] **cannot in themselves alone be treated as evidence of frontier** . . . The only value they possess is as evidence of an auxiliary or confirmatory kind . . . They cannot [be allowed] to effect a reversal of the onus of proof." (Paragraph 56, emphasis added.)

In other words, Chinese maps per se, should they exist, do not and cannot—under current international laws—constitute a valid territorial title to the islands or features under dispute.<sup>8</sup> Conversely, the presence of maps showing defined territorial limits of the Chinese empire would render hollow the bland assertion "since ancient times" given the known Chinese obsession with cartography since antiquity and its place in the Sons of Heaven's imperial mindset.

#### *China Sources*

"China has indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the South China Sea . . . supported by abundant historical and legal evidence . . ."

—[PRC statement](#) to the United Nations, 14 April 2011

#### *Chinese ancient maps and texts*

It should be acknowledged from the outset that China—as a mature civilisation in East Asia—has had a long and distinguished [history of map making](#)<sup>9</sup> dating back to some [2,000 years B.C.](#) and that since the Han Dynasty (200 BC - 220 AD), successive dynasties have

<sup>8</sup> Erik Franckx and Marco Benatar, "Dots and Lines in the South China Sea," *Asian Journal of International Law* 2 (2012): 99-100.

<sup>9</sup> Leo Bagrow and Raleigh A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (London: Transactions Publisher, 1985), 197.

had a dedicated mapping bureau to supply the central government with up to date maps of the empire, often to "[the minute details](#)." For example, "[Kwangtung Tung Chi](#)"—A Historical and Statistical Account of Kwangtung—consisted of 182 volumes. Therefore, the presence or absence of maps showing the SCS and ECS features within China's sovereign borders is a relatively straightforward issue for investigation.

Two scholarly papers have looked at this issue independently—one by [Ulises Granados](#)<sup>10</sup> and one by [Chris Chung](#).<sup>11</sup> In addition, a [well-researched book](#) by Bill Hayton<sup>12</sup> has also shed light—with documentary evidence—on the same subject. Granados and Chung adopted a similar approach analysing Chinese original sources (texts, maps, etc.), looking for evidence which may support China's ongoing claims of sovereignty over the SCS features or waters "[since ancient times](#)"; whereas Bill Hayton relied on Western as well as Chinese sources. The conclusions from all three scholars—with supporting documents—were that while China may have been aware of the SCS islands from the late Ming and Qing eras onwards,<sup>13</sup> they were noted more as navigational hazards to be avoided, sandbanks that could lead to shipwrecks, etc. At no stage during their research were they able to find incontrovertible evidence that China had claimed those SCS islands, reefs, etc., as part of its empire; or that China ever had regular maritime "[patrols](#)" in the SCS as is currently claimed:

"The discussion should be framed in terms of events that have occurred since the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Examining events

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<sup>10</sup> [Ulises Granados](#), "The South China Sea and its Coral Reefs during the Ming and Qing Dynasties: Levels of Geographical Knowledge and Control," *East Asian History* 32-33 (2006): 109-128.

<sup>11</sup> Chung, "[Since Time Immemorial](#)," 77-82.

<sup>12</sup> Bill Hayton, *The South China Sea - The Struggle for Power in Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> This period coincided with the maritime arrival of the Portuguese and Dutch traders [from 1516 onwards](#).

further into the past has the potential to enter the **realm of myth** . . ." ([Granados, p. 127](#), emphasis added)

"Before [1902], the Chinese historical record does not support assertions for longstanding and continuous control [of the SCS] . . . Other forms of occupation such as maritime patrols are not evident among Qing documents . . ." ([Chung, p. 43](#))

"From primary school to politburo, the 'U-shaped line' has become a secular religion. This **myth**, with its origins in China's confused transition from empire to republic, will be difficult to dispel." ([Hayton, p. 267](#), emphasis added)

However, it is well known that China had established significant trading contacts with the rest of the world. These were both from the overland route (Silk Road) and more importantly from [its maritime route](#) on the Eastern seaboard, with locals (Malays, Filipinos, Japanese, etc.) and [distant Indian and Arabic traders](#)<sup>14</sup> with [Canton being the main trading emporium](#). The academic consensus is that [China did not possess sea-going capability until after the first millennium](#)<sup>15</sup> with its envoys and scholars being required to travel on foreign ships for overseas destinations before 1,000 AD<sup>16</sup> and its [early trade](#) in the hands of the Indian and Arabic traders<sup>17</sup> who probably

<sup>14</sup> Arabic traders arrived in China as early as the third or fourth century A.D. and definitely in the eighth century. D.A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 11.

<sup>15</sup> See also [Angela Schottenhammer](#), "The 'China Seas' in World History," *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 1 (2012): 67-68.

<sup>16</sup> Michael [Flecker](#), "Early Voyaging in the South China Sea: Implications on Territorial Claims," Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper No 19 (Singapore, ISEAS-Jusof Ishak Institute, Aug 2015): 20-21.

<sup>17</sup> John K. Fairbank, "Maritime and Continental in China's History" in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Cambridge History of China, Vol 12, Part 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 14; Marwyn Samuels, *Contest for the South China Sea* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 11; Jane Kate Leonard, "China and the Nan-Yang" in *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1984), 38.



[taught the Chinese](#) how to navigate to "Indian Islands."<sup>18</sup> Further, due to the navigational hazards of mostly submerged reefs and sandbanks, almost all Chinese navigation from the time of Marco Polo to the mid-nineteenth century was within [sight of the coasts](#):<sup>19</sup>

"Sailing from Southern China [to Thailand], Marco Polo [followed the coast](#) of Southern Vietnam to the Island of Condor in [1291](#)."<sup>20</sup>

". . . without the aid of charts, or any other helps, except the compass; it is [mere coasting](#) [along the coast]. . ." (going to China with a Chinese pilot)<sup>21</sup>

"The present system of [Chinese navigation](#) is to keep as near the shore as possible."<sup>22</sup>

"Emperor Kublai's fleet sent to conquer Borneo (Java) . . . like Marco Polo and his fleet . . . sailed [along the shores](#) of Tonquin and Cochin China."<sup>23</sup>

The claim that the Chinese were "[the first to discover](#)"<sup>24</sup> those SCS maritime features is dubious, given that the Indian and Arabic [trading routes existed well before China](#)<sup>25</sup> was capable or allowed by its rulers to participate in trans-oceanic navigation from 1,000 AD onwards. It is more likely, therefore, that the early Chinese

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<sup>18</sup> Indian Islands = East Indies = Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, East Timor.

<sup>19</sup> Granados, "*The South China Sea and its Coral Reefs*," 124; Samuels, *Contest for the South China Sea*, 23.

<sup>20</sup> [William Marsden](#), *Travels of Marco Polo, A Venetian in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1818), xiii, [note 61](#), 33, [583](#).

<sup>21</sup> Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff, *The Journal of Two Voyages Along the Coast of China* (New York: J.P. Haven, 1833), 47.

<sup>22</sup> John Barrow, *Travels in China* (London: Cadel and Davies, 1804), 39.

<sup>23</sup> John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol III (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), 164.

<sup>24</sup> [Shen](#), "China's Sovereignty over the South China Sea Islands," 102 (fn. 3).

<sup>25</sup> [Belitung shipwreck](#) confirmed robust Tang Dynasty ceramic trading with Arabia in 960 AD using Arabic— not Chinese—ships and there was [no archaeological record](#) of any Chinese shipwreck dating back to before 1,000 AD along the [shipwreck graveyard](#) that is the coast of Vietnam.

information on the SCS features was "second-hand"<sup>26</sup> information gathered from its maritime trading contacts prior to 1,000 AD when it did not have the capability or inclination to venture out to open seas. Further, the presence of Paracel (Pracel) Islands was noted by the Portuguese quite early on from the 1500s with the notation present even on numerous [world maps](#)<sup>27</sup> as early as 1502, let alone multiple regional maps from [early 1500s](#)<sup>28</sup> onwards—with every instance bearing a Western name and never carrying any attribution to China. (See also the geographical reference for 1502 in Table II). Significantly, none of the Chinese maps in this era (1000s - 1600s AD, until Verbiest's Kun Yu Quan Tu in 1674 - Fig. 24) had any inkling of the presence of the SCS and ECS features currently claimed as "sacred" since "[time immemorial](#)." This is not surprising, as even Taiwan was not then charted on Chinese maps (figs. 4, 5 and 6). Moreover, all extant Chinese maps dating back to the earliest surviving one—[Hua Yi Tu, 1136 AD](#)—were consistent in documenting that (a) the southernmost territory of the Chinese empire was Hainan Island and (b) China was not aware of, interested in, or making a claim for Taiwan or any ECS features (e.g., [Mongol Atlas 1320s](#)<sup>29</sup>, [Guang Yu Tu 1579](#)).

It has been suggested that China saw itself as a continental nation with well-defined land-based borders where the seas represented the unknown, the dangers, and were the natural boundaries between the Middle Kingdom and the "barbarians." The

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<sup>26</sup> Samuels, *Contest for the South China Sea*, 11.

<sup>27</sup> [1502 Cantino \(Baixos\)](#), [1569 Mercator](#) - section 12 (Baixos), [1587 Mercator](#), [1595 Hondius](#), [1600 Hakluyt](#), [1600 Arnoldi](#), [1606 Blaeu](#), [1607 Kaerius](#), [1619 Kaerius](#), [1619 Le Maire](#), [1630 Ekebrecht-Keppler](#), [1630 Hondius](#)

<sup>28</sup> [1513 Waldeseemuller \(Baixos\)](#), [1595 Mercator\(Baixos\)](#); [1567 Ortelius](#) (first to name "Pracel"), [1594 Plancius](#), [1595 Linschoten](#), [1599 Dutch portolan](#), [1600 East Indies Portulan map](#), [1600 Duchesse de Berry](#), [1606 Hondius](#), [1608 Visscher](#), [1614 Kaerius](#), [1646 Dudley](#)

<sup>29</sup> [The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Series 2, Vol. 9 \(1832\)](#), 165: "This [Mongol Atlas] has been the basis of all the maps which have appeared in China till the reign of Kangxi who caused a map of his empire to be prepared by the Jesuits . . ." and its author had travelled "[the whole empire](#)" in 1311 and 1312 to gather accurate information for his map. In particular, its author—Chu Ssu-Pen—s known to have [explicitly excluded](#) non-Chinese geographical areas from his map as evidenced by the absence of Taiwan and anything past Hainan Island.

notion of "beyond the seas" (haiwai) was a powerful element in the Chinese conception of their kingdom's place in the world.<sup>30</sup> That concept—China as a continental nation<sup>31</sup>—was acknowledged by Western geography texts well into the [nineteenth](#) and even [twentieth](#) century.

"Since antiquity, no oceanic islands have ever entered into the imperial domain."<sup>32</sup>

—Court Officials advising Emperor Kangxi to abandon Taiwan after the defeat of Koxinga's forces in 1683

*Chinese maps arranged by Dynasties — some examples:*

Tang	618 - 907 AD
Song	960 - 1279 AD
Yuan	1279 - 1368 AD
Ming	1368 - 1644 AD
Qing	1644-1911 AD

*TANG DYNASTY (618 - 907 AD)*

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<sup>30</sup> Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 36-37.

<sup>31</sup> Fairbank, "Maritime and Continental in China's History," 16-18: "Maritime China remained a subordinate and even marginal appendage of Continental China . . . With the final establishment of the Qing rule in China, the continental anti-seafaring view was reconfirmed."

<sup>32</sup> Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 38.



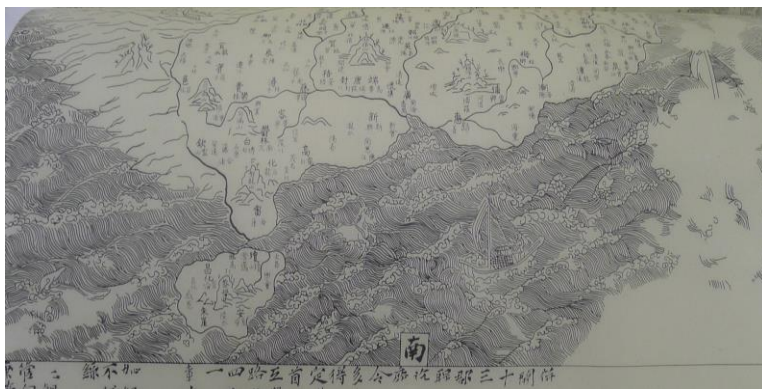
**Fig. 1** Tang Yi Xing Shan He Liang Jie Tu. Mountains and Rivers map by Yi Xing of the Tang Dynasty.<sup>33</sup>

SONG DYNASTY (960 1279 AD)

<sup>33</sup> Cao Wanru et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China - from the Warring States Period to the Yuan Dynasty (476 B.C. - A.D. 1368)*, (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1990), map 98.



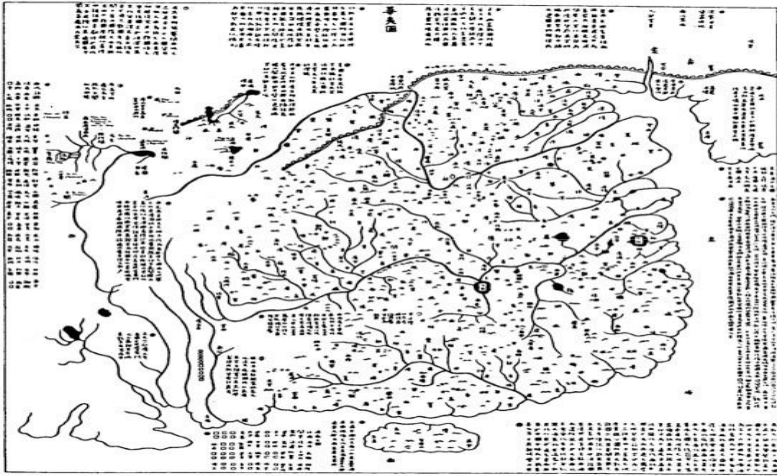
**Fig. 2** Sheng Chao Yuan Feng Jiu Yu Tu. Geographic Map of the reign of Yuan Feng (1078-1085).<sup>34</sup> Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.



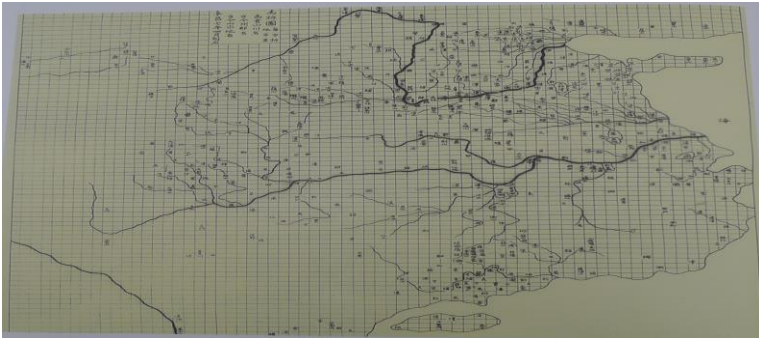
**Fig. 3** Jiu Yu Shou Ling Tu (1121 AD—Northern Song).<sup>35</sup> Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

<sup>34</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China ... to the Yuan Dynasty*, map 99.

<sup>35</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China ... to the Yuan Dynasty*, map 65.



**Fig. 4** [Hua Yi Tu](#) (1136 AD - Southern Song)<sup>36</sup>Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.



**Fig. 5** [Yu Di Tu](#) (1136 AD—Southern Song)—Track of Yu.<sup>37</sup> Considered to be the "Map of China" as compared to [Hua Yi Tu](#) being a "world" map.<sup>38</sup> Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

<sup>36</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China ... to the Yuan Dynasty*, map 62.

<sup>37</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China ... to the Yuan Dynasty*, map 59.

<sup>38</sup> Qizhi Zhang, "Reflection on Ancient Chinese Science and Technology" in Qizhi Zhang, ed., *An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture* (Heidelberg; New York: Springer, 2015), 390.



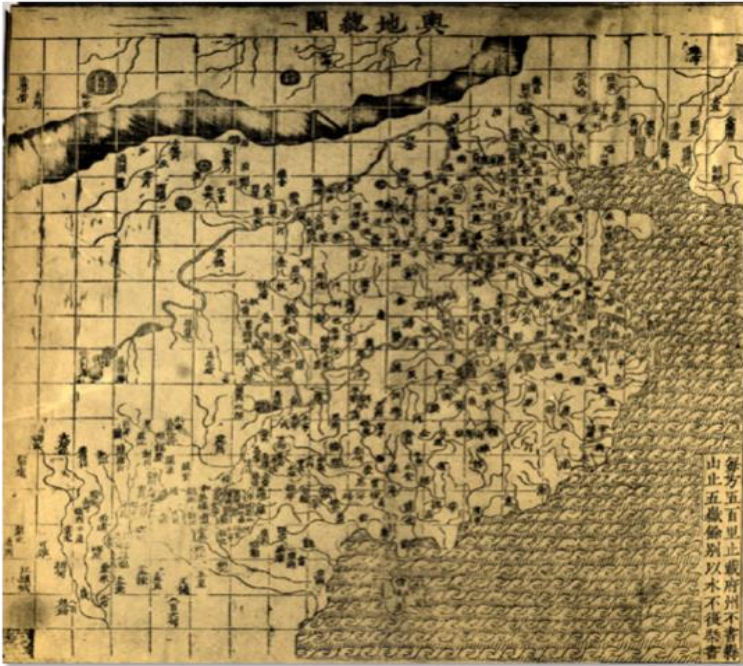
**Fig. 6** Di Li Tu (1190 AD—Southern Song), Geographical Map of China.<sup>39</sup> Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire. Taiwan was not charted.

#### *YUAN DYNASTY (1279 - 1368 AD)*

The author of the Mongol Atlas, [Chu Ssu-Pen](#), had this to say about China's South Sea in 1320: "Regarding the foreign countries of the barbarians southeast of the South Sea . . . there are no means of investigating them because of their great distance . . . Those who speak of them are unable to say anything definite, while those who say something definite cannot be trusted." Depending on what versions of history China offers today, that remark was written approximately [1,000 years](#) (or [400 years](#)) after China had "[regularly patrolled](#)" the SCS to assert its sovereignty over the vast ocean.

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<sup>39</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China ... to the Yuan Dynasty*, maps 70 and 72.



**Fig. 7** General Map of China—Mongol Atlas—[Kuang Yu Tu](#) (1320, revised 1555). SCS was not even mentioned, nor were any features therein. Taiwan was not charted, nor Senkaku islets. Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

*MING DYNASTY (1368 - 1644 AD)*

"The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) exercised jurisdiction over the islands, and since then, China's official maps have included the Nansha Islands."<sup>40</sup>

— Fu Ying, Chairperson of the National People's Congress Foreign Affairs Committee, and Wu Shicun, President of the National Institute of the South China Sea Studies

<sup>40</sup> [Fu and Wu](#), "South China Sea: How We Got To This Stage," Endnote [i].





**Fig. 8a** [Atlas of the Ming Empire](#)—Da Ming Yu Di Tu (1547).<sup>41</sup> SCS was not mentioned, nor were any features therein. Taiwan was not charted, nor the Senkaku islets, Paracels, or Spratlys.

<sup>41</sup> Note the absence of SCS and ECS islands and features from all extant Ming-era Chinese maps, e.g., [Atlas of the Ming Empire](#) - Da Ming Yu Di Tu (1547), Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas - [Guang Yu Tu](#) (1579), [Tian Xia Yu Di Tu](#) (1594), Atlas of the Realm - [Fen Ye Yu Tu](#) (1601), Atlas of Heaven and Earth [Tian Di Tu](#) (1601), [Xia Lan Zhi Zhang](#) (1647).



**Fig. 8b** Guangdong Province—Kuang-Tung Yi Tu. [Da Ming Yu Di Tu](#)—Atlas of the Ming Empire (1547). Hainan was the southernmost part of Ming Dynasty's territorial reach.

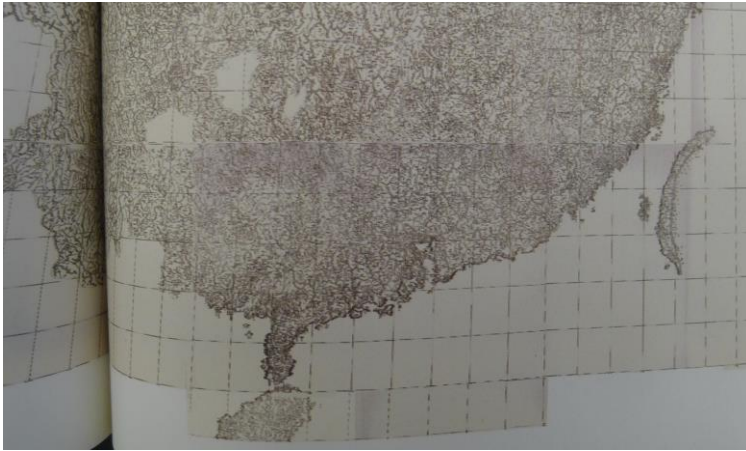


**Fig. 9** Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas—[Guang Yu Tu](#) (1579)—Ming Dynasty. SCS was not even mentioned, nor were any features therein. Hainan was the southernmost part of Ming Dynasty's territorial reach. Another [Ming-era map](#) (1630s?), *Guang Yu Tu* supplement, was similar.

#### *QING DYNASTY (1644 - 1911 AD)*

The same pattern, with Hainan Island as the southernmost point, remained all the way in traditional Chinese cartography to the

definitive Emperor Kangxi's authorised [map atlas](#) carried out by the [Jesuit Priests](#)<sup>42</sup> under his authority over nearly a decade of scientific surveying (1708-1718)—Huang Yu Quan Tu. This 1720s Kangxi Atlas and its 1737 European version, *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine* by [Jean-Baptiste D'Anville](#), were recognised to be "not only the best map which had ever been made in Asia, but better and more accurate than any European map of its time."<sup>43</sup>



**Fig. 10** Huang Yu Quan Lan Tu—Southern half (surveying completed in 1718).<sup>44</sup> Map of Complete View of Imperial Territory—Kangxi Atlas, Chinese version. This was called the "National Map of China."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> [Matteo Ripa](#), *Memoirs of Father Ripa*, Translated by Fortunato Prandi (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846) 77-78, 99, 101, 157. Father Ripa was responsible for [engraving the Kangxi atlas](#) from the Jesuit missionaries' surveying data.

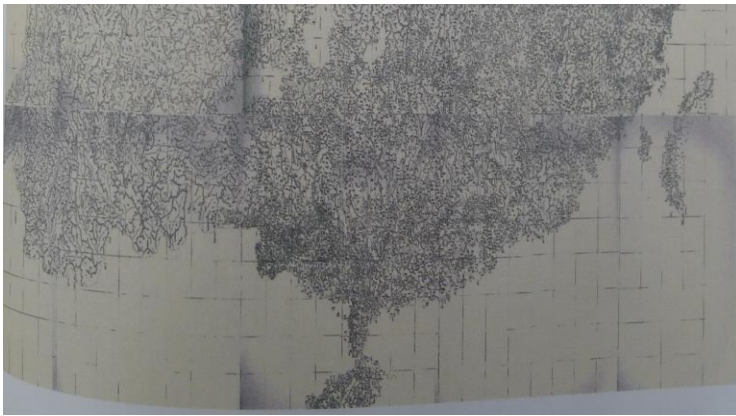
<sup>43</sup> Joseph Needham, "Geography and Cartography" in *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 585. Similarly, [Sir John F. Davis](#) stated in *The Chinese* (London, 1836), 125 that "with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China [due to] the scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries . . . **so admirably correct** as to admit little improvement . . ." (emphasis added).

<sup>44</sup> Yan Ping, *Treasures of Maps: A Collection of Maps in Ancient China* (Harbin, China: Harbin Cartographic Publishing House, 1998), map 48.

<sup>45</sup> Qizhi Zhang, "Reflection on Ancient Chinese Science and Technology," 390: "Qing Dynasty led the world in mapping . . . the Huang Yu Quan Map [the national map] was the representative work."

Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

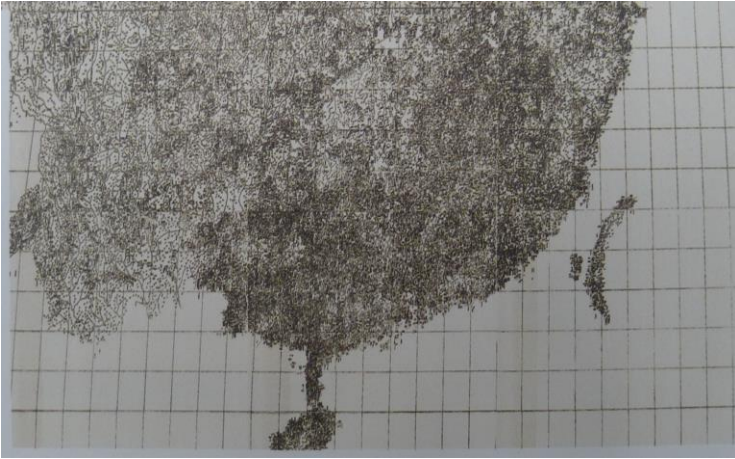
Subsequent Qing emperors (Yongzheng and Qianlong) continued Kangxi's obsession with the mapping of their Chinese empire by authorising the issuing of imperial maps to document the imperial expansion into Xinjiang, Mongolia and Tibet. Qianlong's [Nei Fu Yu Tu](#) (1760) was drawn up by Father Michel Benoist in one single copy for the emperor himself so the error of omission of the sacred SCS territories would have been inconceivable if China's current narrative had been remotely truthful.



**Fig. 11** Yong Zheng Shi Pai Huang Yu Quan Tu—Southern half (1725). Ten-Rowed Map of Imperial Territory in Yongzheng Reign.<sup>46</sup> Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

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<sup>46</sup> Yan Ping, *Treasures of Maps*, map 52.



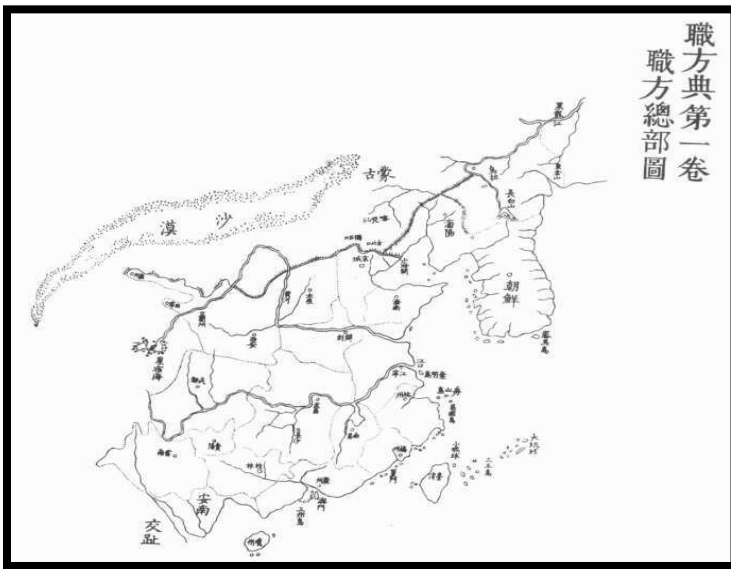
**Fig. 12** Qian Long Nei Fu Yu Tu—Southern China (1761),<sup>47</sup> Map of Imperial Repository of Qianlong Reign. Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.

The preceding highly authoritative and well-recognised maps charted under the direct orders of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors in their quest to record with utmost accuracy the length and breadth of the Chinese empire were all consistent with other maps before and since in that: (a) Hainan Island was the southernmost territory known to be under China's control and (b) Qing emperors were not interested in nor aware of anything south of Hainan or east of Taiwan (SCS and ECS were not even named—despite Qianlong's [500-volume](#) geography book series). [Qianlong](#) was the Qing Emperor who ruled over the greatest [territorial expansion](#) of the Chinese empire and who ordered a revision of his grandfather's map atlas to be done by the Jesuit missionaries between 1756 and 1759. Both these maps (Kangxi and Qianlong) and others ([1832](#), [1842](#), [1896](#)) that followed were deemed "[significant](#)" in the history of Chinese cartography.

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<sup>47</sup> Yan Ping, *Treasures of Maps*, map 56

Curiously, of all the past and current assertions from China<sup>48</sup> or commentaries from its friendly "experts"<sup>49</sup> on China's expansionist maritime claims, none had ever referred to the Kangxi Atlas or the Qianlong revision despite their verifiably impeccable pedigree having been commissioned and then wholeheartedly accepted by none other than two of the greatest rulers of the Chinese empire who between them had managed to double the size of the empire between 1660 and 1760.<sup>50</sup> Instead, the evidence-free "[since ancient times](#)" reiteration has been China's trademark phrase in its fabled narrative as if by sufficient repetitions, myths will eventually become the truth.<sup>51</sup>



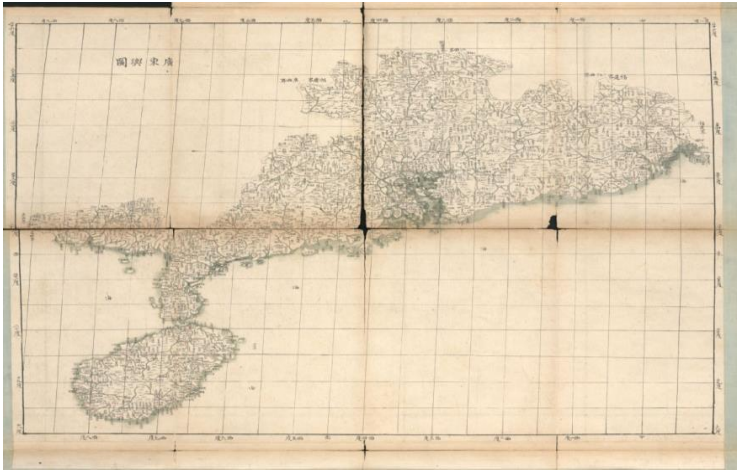
<sup>48</sup> [Shen](#), "China's Sovereignty over the South China Sea Islands," 126-128; [Fu Ying and Wu Shincun](#), "South China Sea: How We Got To This Stage."

<sup>49</sup> [Daniel J Dzurek](#), *Spratly Islands Dispute: who's on first?* (Durham, UK: International Boundaries Research Unit, University of Durham, 1986).

<sup>50</sup> Laura Hostetler, "Contending Cartographic Claims? The Qing Empire in Manchu, Chinese, and European Maps," in James R. Akerman, ed., *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 93.

<sup>51</sup> I Made Andi Arsana, "Is China a neighbor to Indonesia?" *Jakarta Post*, Aug 8, 2011.

**Fig. 13** From [the Kangxi - Yongzheng Encyclopaedia](#)—Gujin tushu jicheng (started 1701 by Kangxi, completed 1728 by Yongzheng)—[2144 chapters on Geography](#). Reprinted in Shanghai, 1934, Vol 63. SCS was not even mentioned, nor were any features therein—both on this map and in the Encyclopaedia itself—exposing the "since ancient times" repetitions to be China's post-modern invention.



**Fig. 14** Canton Province—[Kangxi Atlas](#) (1721). Hainan Island was the southernmost part of Emperor Kangxi's territorial reach.

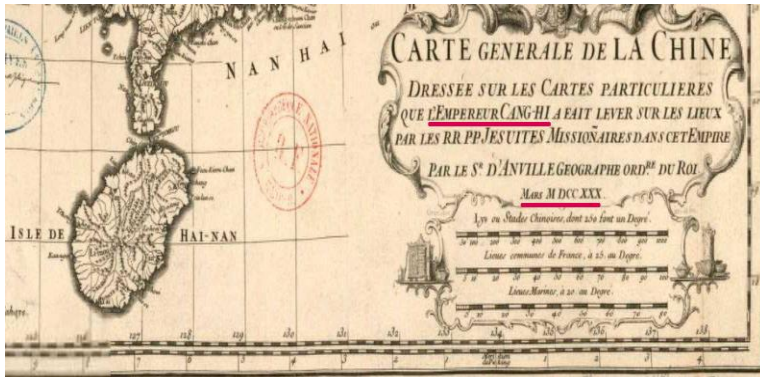




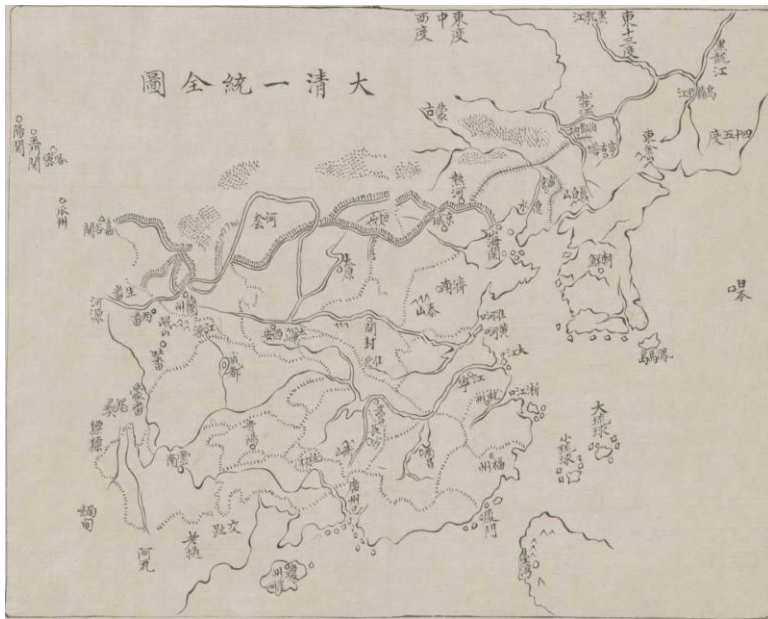
**Fig. 15** Canton Province—[D'Anville Atlas](#) (1737). European version of the Kangxi Atlas—*Nouvel Atlas de la Chine*.



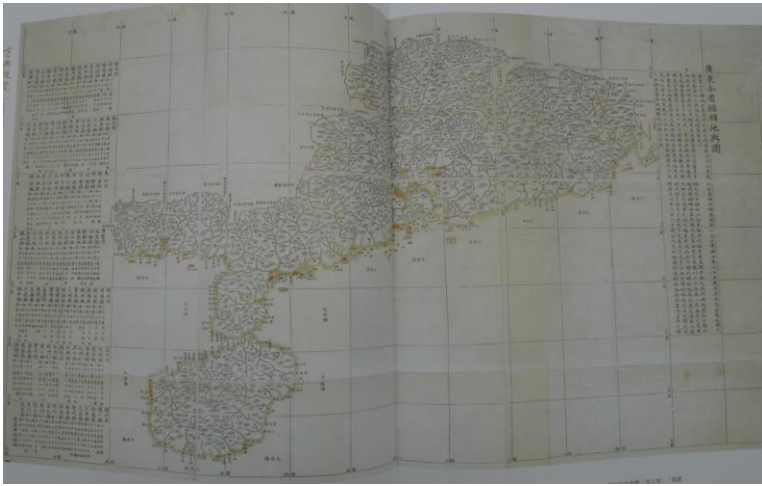
**Fig. 16a** General Map of China—*Carte Generale de la Chine*. Data from the Jesuits' surveying authorised by Emperor Kangxi—[D'Anville Atlas](#) (1737).



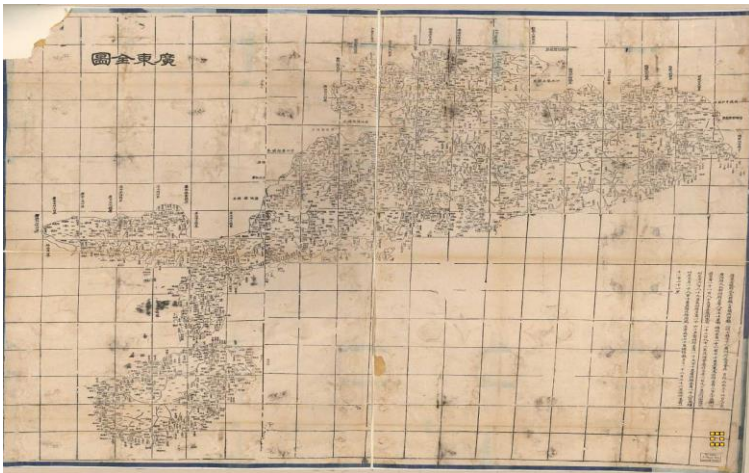
**Fig. 16b** Attributions to Emperor Kangxi (Cang-Hi) by [D'Anville](#) (1737). Hainan Island was the southernmost part of the known Chinese empire.



**Fig. 17** [Da Qing Yi Tong Quan Tu](#) (Unified Map of the Great Qing Empire)—1800s, modeled on Kangxi's atlas. Nan Hai was not even mentioned, nor any SCS features therein.



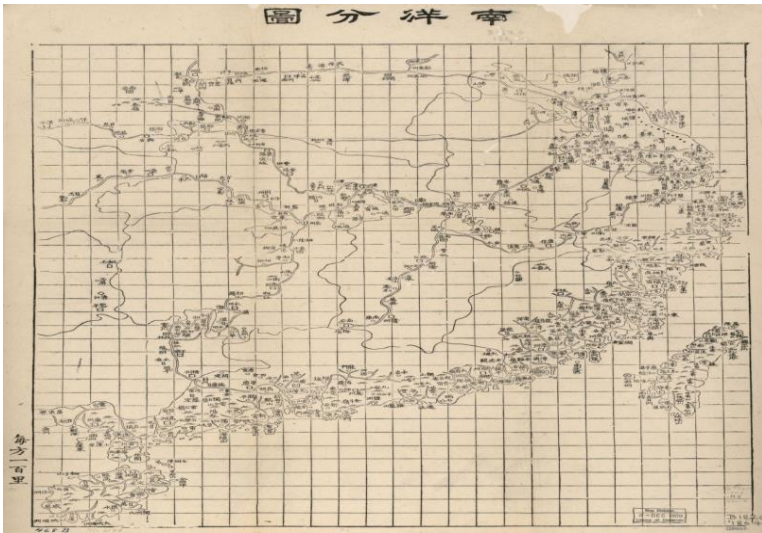
**Fig. 18** Canton province—Hainan as the southernmost territory (1816-1832).<sup>52</sup>



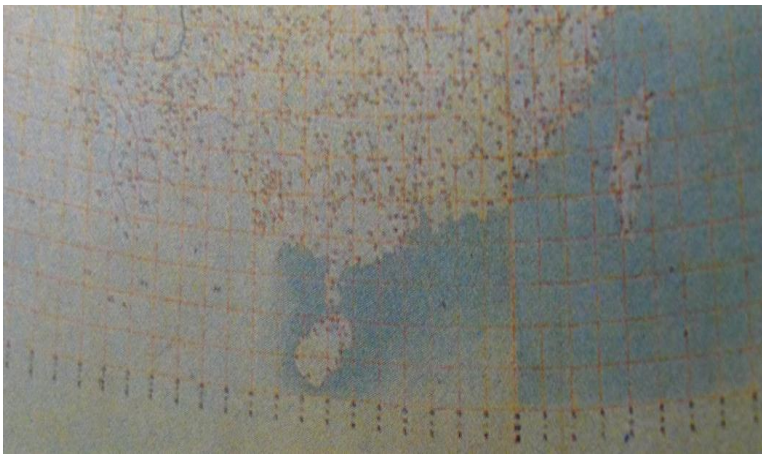
**Fig. 19** Complete Map of Guangdong Province (1864)—one of 26 maps from [Da Qing Yi Tong Yu Di Quan Tu](#).

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<sup>52</sup> Lin Tianren, *Reading Antique Cartography: Historical Chinese Maps in the British Library* (2015), 44, map 61670.

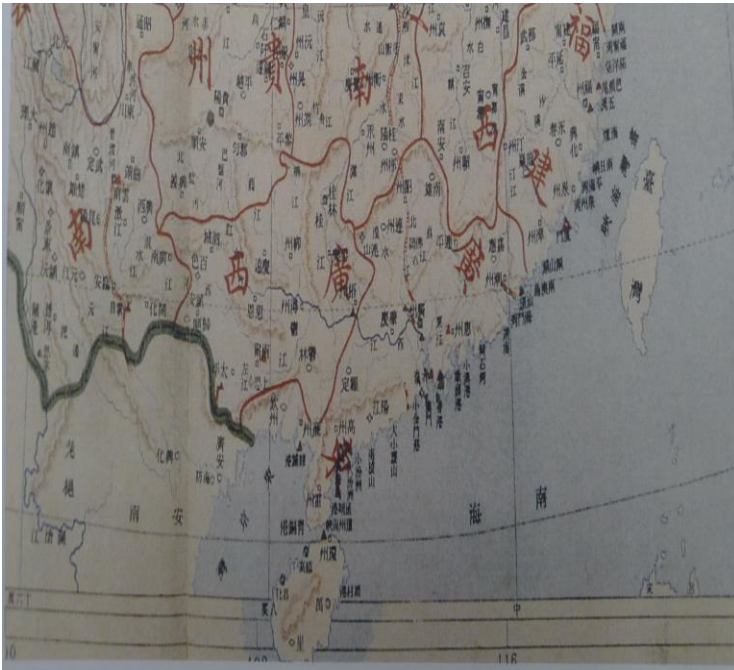


**Fig. 20** Southern China Coast—[Nan Yang Fen Tu](#) (1870). This pattern was continued until the very end of the Qing Empire.



**Fig. 21** Guang Xu Hui Dian Yu Tu—Southern China (1899).<sup>53</sup> Map of Canon on Instructions and Laws of the Guangxu Reign.

<sup>53</sup> Yan Ping, *Treasures of Maps*, map 66.

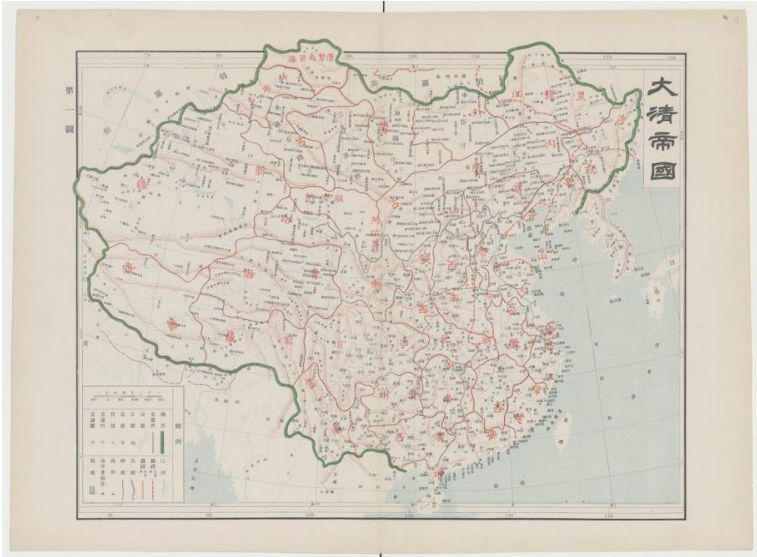


**Fig. 22** Da Qing Di Guo Quan Tu—Southern China (1905).<sup>54</sup> Complete Map of the Great Qing Empire.

In its twilight, [Qing Empire maps](#) in 1906 were also [uniformly silent](#) on the inclusion of its "sacred territories" from the SCS. This notable absence is evident on maps printed [in the last days of](#) the Qing Empire, as shown below.

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<sup>54</sup> Yan Ping, *Treasures of Maps*, map 68.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 23a** Qing Dynasty's [China Map](#) (Da Qing Di Guo Quan Tu, 1906).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 23b** Qing Dynasty's Southern Border—[Canton Province](#) (Da Qing Di Guo Quan Tu, 1906).

*Was China aware of the [Paracels](#) and [Spratlys](#) as they are currently claimed?*

The distinction to be grasped is that while some Chinese maps later on in the Qing era may have had notations of SCS features,<sup>55</sup> they are, however, exclusively limited to Paracels (Wan Li Shi Tang). Moreover, all belonged to the genre of world maps (“All under Heaven”) where any claims of sovereignty or control<sup>56</sup> are unsustainable as the Paracels were annotated in the same manner applied to distant lands (Thailand, Pulo Condor, Indonesia). In contrast, all Chinese empire maps whereby its Emperors were advised on what constituted their empire were unequivocal on the same point: i.e., Hainan was the southernmost point.

It should be noted that the presence of the Paracels by the time of the Kangxi Jesuit survey (1708-1717), and Spratlys from 1800 onwards (Qianlong era), were already well known to Western cartographers on almost every map<sup>57</sup> covering the region. In fact, the celebrated Chinese world map drawn by Father Ferdinand Verbiest, the [Kun Yu Quan Tu](#) (1674), prepared for and presented to [Emperor Kangxi](#), had notations of un-named Paracels made known to China—without any attribution to China's alleged sovereignty or control, unlike Hainan Island to the north (Fig. 24). For the charting of China's territories, Verbiest was known to have had access to Chinese maps and provincial gazetteers for up-to-date and accurate data.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> [Shen](#), "China's Sovereignty over the South China Sea Islands," 127-128

<sup>56</sup> However, China used its [1863 World Map](#) claiming the Chinese notations for Senkaku Islands "proved" that China had sovereignty whereas the [alternative view](#) was if such logic had been correct, everything on that map would belong to China having been annotated in Chinese.

<sup>57</sup> [1705 Bowen](#), [1709 Moll](#), [1717 Nicolas De Fer](#), [1719 Chatelain](#), [1721 Senex](#), [1729 Moll](#), [1770 Guthrie \(Kitchin\)](#), [1798 Laurie and Whittle](#), [1801 Arrowsmith](#), [1809 Arrowsmith and Lewis](#), [1813 Pinkerton](#), [1822 Arrowsmith](#), [1831 Lizars](#)

<sup>58</sup> Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè, *China on Paper* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 81.



Fig. 24 Ferdinand Verbiest—[Kun Yu Quan Tu](#) (1674).

The foregoing is similar in drawing to one of many contemporary Western maps, such as the one by Johannes Blaeu shown below, which Verbiest would have had access to for information.<sup>59</sup> Also of note is a [1687 China map](#) by Verbiest in which the Chinese Empire stopped at 20° showing no trace of Nan Hai (SCS).

<sup>59</sup> See footnotes 27 and 28 for earlier maps that noted the presence of the Paracels, but did not attribute them to China.





**Fig. 25** The Paracels in Johannes Blaeu's [Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Tabula](#) (1648). Believed to be the source for Father Verbiest's 1674 Kunyu Quantu.<sup>60</sup>

It is worth noting that the 1648 Blaeu map had an "El Pracel" notation but in his Chinese version, Verbiest left it nameless which reflected—as per his Chinese geographical sources—either a lack of knowledge of or a lack of interest in the Paracels in China at that time.

<sup>60</sup> Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, 80.

Hence, no equivalent Chinese name was available, let alone "possession, control and sovereignty" as currently asserted by China to have been present for more than 1600 years at that time. Further, that lack of awareness and interest was entirely consistent with China's history regarding offshore islands. For example, Taiwan—a substantially larger and far closer island to the continental mainland—itsself remained "beyond the seas;" i.e., not colonised by the Chinese empire for another 10 years after Verbiest's map was presented to Emperor Kangxi. The Paracels remained unnamed in the 1860 reprint of the Kunyu Quantu.<sup>61</sup>

Either scenario (lack of knowledge or lack of interest) is patently incompatible with China's currently preferred (and false) narrative of "[Blue National Soil](#)" for "[over 2,000 years.](#)" The Chinese versions of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong maps (Figs. 10, 11, 12) had no notation of the sea beyond Hainan<sup>62</sup> (called by China "Nan Hai" for South Sea<sup>63</sup>) and beyond the Western half of Taiwan, nearly a century after the Paracels presence had been made known to Emperor Kangxi by Verbiest's Kunyu Quantu. This lends support to the proposition that China never had first-hand knowledge of, let alone an interest in or physical control of the Paracels—not to mention the Spratlys much further south. The same could be said of uninhabited rocks to the North-East of Taiwan (which was never charted for the Qing Emperors despite their intense obsession with the mapping of their empire).

Of interest is the "revision" made to the original 1602 Chinese World Map drawn by Father Matteo Ricci, which was viewed with approval by numerous Chinese officials including the Ming emperor Wan Li in 1608.<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting here that Ricci had previously

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<sup>61</sup> Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, 82 (fig. 35).

<sup>62</sup> Hostetler, "Contending Cartographic Claims?" 104.

<sup>63</sup> Nan Hai and Tung Hai terminology were retained on Western maps well into the twentieth century e.g. Bartholomews' [1912 Chinese empire map](#).

<sup>64</sup> Kenneth Chen, "Matteo Ricci's Contribution to, and Influence on, Geographical Knowledge in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59, no. 3 (Sept. 1939): 346; Matthew Ricci *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci 1583-*

presented the Chinese Emperor Wan Li in 1600<sup>65</sup> with a copy of the 1570 Ortelius atlas—[Theatrum Orbis Terrarum](#)—in which the presence of the Paracels was clearly noted as "[I. Prace!](#)" (Fig. 26). The original 1602 map at the Library of Congress (Fig. 27) had no notation of the Paracels, but marked everything else in South East Asia, e.g., Timor, New Guinea, Java, Sumatra, Malacca, etc.<sup>66</sup>

That omission of the Paracels was consistent with a lack of knowledge or interest from China of anything past Hainan Island, resulting in Matteo Ricci leaving the Paracels out of his map, as it was known that Ricci had in his possession the highly influential Chinese map atlas—Kuang Yu Tu—as his reference map of the Chinese empire.<sup>67</sup> If the current Chinese narrative of "SCS possession and control for more than 2,000 years" had indeed been truthful, it would have been inconceivable for China to allow Matteo Ricci to remove a part of their "sacred" territory from their empire especially when the emperor and his court officials had been made aware of its presence from the gifted atlas.

This is also consistent with the absence of a Chinese name for the Paracels, which were charted on Verbiest's Kunyu Quantu (1674) as discussed earlier. Together these examples indicate China's patent lack of knowledge and clear absence of "control and possession" of anything past Hainan Island in 1602 and 1674.

A world map drawn by Father Michel Benoist in 1761 to commemorate Emperor Qianlong's fiftieth birthday—also called Kunyu Quantu<sup>68</sup>—had the Paracels formation drawn; it too remained

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1610, trans. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. (New York: Random House, 1953): "copies were sent to various parts of China, Macao and even Japan . . . reproduced in stone sculpture . . ." p. 331; "The King . . . so pleased with it . . . had ordered twelve copies in silk . . . wanted to present a copy to each of his sons, and other relatives . . ." p. 536.

<sup>65</sup> Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 364; Shijan Huang, "The Exploration of Matteo Ricci's World Maps" in Pei-Kai Cheng and Ka Wai Fan, eds. *New Perspectives on the Research of Chinese Culture* (Singapore; New York: Springer, 2013), 127.

<sup>66</sup> Chen, "Matteo Ricci's Contribution," 336.

<sup>67</sup> D.E. Mungello, *Curious Land - Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1989) 121; Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 9.

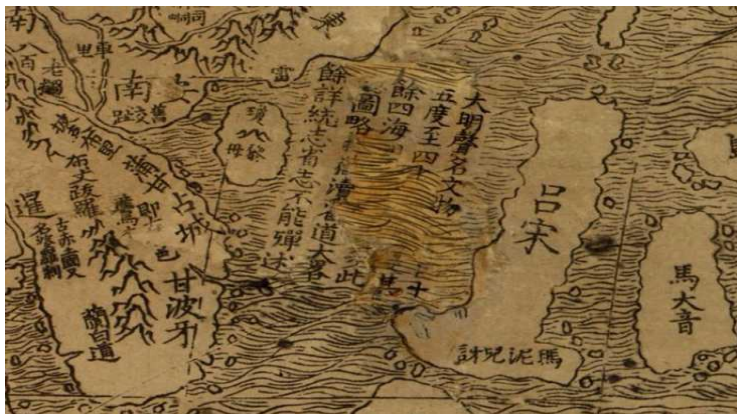
<sup>68</sup> Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, 84.

un-named.<sup>69</sup> Over the course of 160 years (1602-1761), accurate maps presented to Ming and Qing emperors (Wan Li, Kangxi and Qianlong) by Jesuit priests all carried either no Paracels (Matteo Ricci) or charted the Paracels but left them un-named (Ferdinand Verbiest and Michel Benoist), even though they were all aware of: (a) Chinese mapping resources and (b) Paracels (Pracel) terminology from contemporary Western records.



**Fig. 26** Paracels charted as "[I. Pracel](#)" on Ortelius' *Asia Descriptio Novo* (1570). This map and others in the [full atlas](#) were presented to Ming Emperor Wan Li in 1600.

<sup>69</sup> Cao Wanru et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China - The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1994), map 52.



**Fig. 27** Matteo Ricci—[Kunyu Wanguo Quantu](#)—Library of Congress (1602).

The Paracels were not charted, nor named by Ricci in his map as presented to Emperor Wan Li. However, after some "revisions" of unknown authorship and date, the "Ricci map" now contained a notation in Chinese for "Wan Li Shi Tang (Paracels)" as a quotable "fact" (Fig. 28).<sup>70</sup>



**Fig. 28** [Matteo Ricci](#) (1602)—[Kunyu Wanguo Quantu](#) (redrawn and edited—source unknown). Arrow: Wan Li Shi Tang was now mysteriously added to suit China's preferred narrative.

<sup>70</sup> Similar map doctoring had been documented elsewhere to bolster China's false narrative. See Hostetler, "Contending Cartographic Claims?" 99. [Also here](#).



**Fig. 29** Giulino Aleni's Chinese World Map (1620)—modeled after Matteo Ricci's 1602 map<sup>71</sup>—again contained no such notation for "Wan Li Shi Tang."

Innumerable contemporary Western world and regional maps already contained such information about the Paracel (Pracel) Islands which Ricci and Verbiest would have been able to draw from,<sup>72</sup> e.g., [1561 Gastaldi](#), [1569 Mercator](#), [1570 Ortelius](#), [1587 Mercator](#), [1594 Plancius](#), [1595 Hondius](#), [1596 Linschoten](#), [1602 Hulsius](#), [1606 Hondius](#), [1608 Visscher](#), [1617 Blaeu](#), [1630 Hondius](#), [1636 Hondius](#), [1639 Visscher](#), [1640 Teixeira](#), [1646 Dudley](#), [1648 Blaeu](#), [1649 Teixeira](#), etc.

<sup>71</sup> Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 56-57.

<sup>72</sup> Lionel Giles, "Translations from the Chinese World Map of Father Ricci," *Geographical Journal* 52 (1918): 369; Helen Wallis, "The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 39.

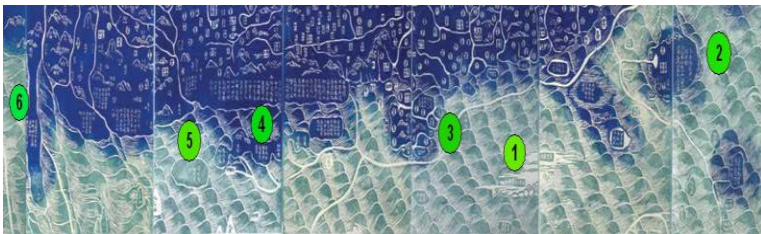
China's claims to the contrary routinely have been made with no credible documentary evidence, just bland or questionable assertions. For example, in Stefan Talmon and Bing Bing Jia, eds, [\*The South China Sea Arbitration: A Chinese Perspective\*](#) (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2014), three of the four [maps quoted](#) (1767, 1810, 1817) were apparently referring to different editions of the [same map](#) which belonged to the category of "All Under Heaven" [World Maps](#) "Tianxia Quantu"—not Chinese empire maps per se—where multiple other countries and islands were all annotated in Chinese.

China's argument that any entity labeled in Chinese on those "Tianxia Quantu" automatically rendered it "Chinese territory" is implausible while at the same time it appears to reflect an assumed Han [cultural superiority](#). If that view were to be accepted, all of the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Pulo Condor, India, Korea, and Borneo would now be subject to China's claims of "indisputable" sovereignty.

By the 1800s, the presence of the Paracels had been charted for well over three centuries by Western cartographers following knowledge gained centuries earlier from Arabic and Indian traders plying the Sinus Magnus (Sea of Sanji). Further, the island group was hardly a geographical unknown to China, as it had been nearly 150 years since its location was first made known to China through Verbiest 's Kunyu Quantu (1674)—see Fig. 24.



**Fig. 30a** Complete Geographical Map of the Everlasting Unified Qing Empire (1811)—Da Qing Wan nian Yi tong Tian xia Quan tu.



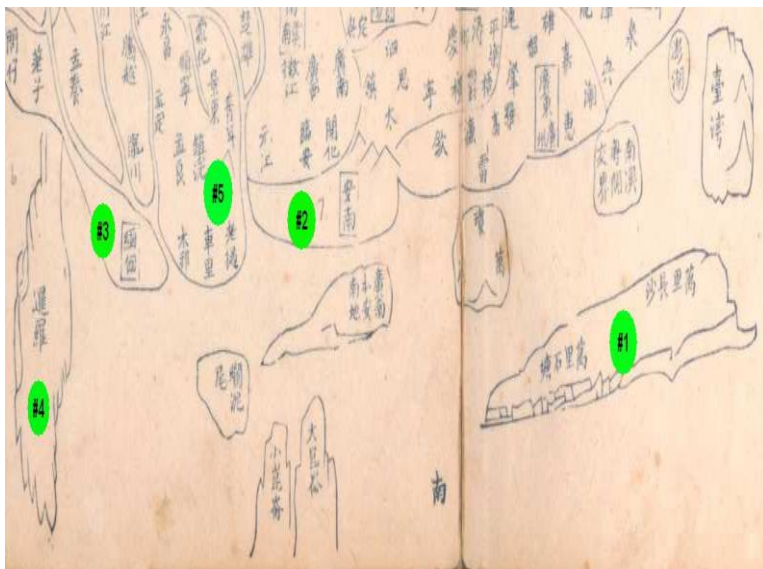
**Fig. 30b** Close up view of the southern part of the 1811 Qing map: #1 Wan Li Shi Tang (Paracels)—coloration differs from inhabited lands or islands in this 1811 "Blue Map" version; #2 Taiwan; #3 Hainan; #4 Vietnam; #5 Pulo Condor (Con Son Island); #6 Thailand.

It is further noted from this 1811 map, which purported to assert the extent of Chinese sovereignty encompassing the Paracels, that China had no cartographical knowledge of the Senkakus (Fig. 30a), Scarborough, Spratly Islands or James Shoal, all of which are now vehemently asserted to be "China's territory since [ancient times](#)" and



over which it had organised routine maritime patrols "thousands of years ago"<sup>73</sup> to assert its sovereignty.

Aside from the 1811 map (Da Qing Wan nian Yi tong Tian xia Quan tu), a later map atlas in 1890 had similar charting of southern China with the Paracels charted in the same manner with Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, etc. The Canton provincial map—in the same atlas—made it clear that Hainan was the southernmost part of the Qing Empire.



**Fig. 31a** Tian Xia Zong Yu Tu (1890)—[southern aspect](#) of Qing Empire map: #1 Paracels (Wan Li Shi Tang); #2 Vietnam ; #3 Burma; #4 Siam (Thailand); #5 Laos.

<sup>73</sup> [Shen](#), "China's Sovereignty over the South China Sea Islands," 122.



**Fig. 31b** Tian Xia Zong Yu Tu (1890)—[Canton Province](#)—Hainan shown as the southernmost territory.

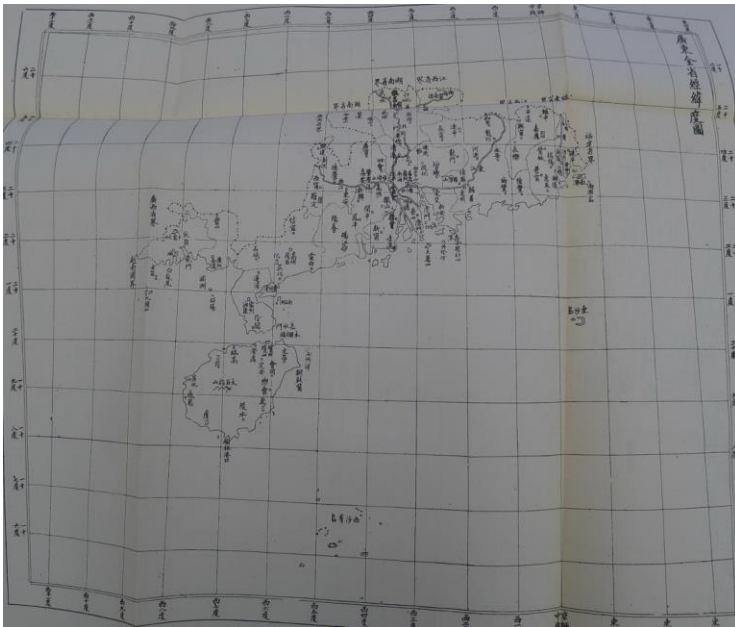
China's [claimed "evidence"](#) including books such as *Chau Jukua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, or Chen Lun-Chiung's *Notes on Land Across the Sea*, indicated an absolute lack of governmental authority and control, only a mere unofficial second-hand awareness from the Indian and Arabic traders. The second reference in fact referred to an awareness of non-Chinese territories that by that time (1730) had been well documented for [some 230 years](#) in Western literature to be non-Chinese.

One is allowed to wonder at the deliberate failure to refer to the contemporary and authoritative Kangxi Atlas by every Chinese commentator whilst obscure "1730 evidence" about "lands across the sea" was advanced in its place instead. It demonstrates the selective

(and patently mendacious) nature of the "historical evidence" which an irredentist China is portraying as "indisputable" in its quest to expand its empire.

The [1838 Compendium of Maritime Defence](#) of Guangdong did not even mention the SCS islands.<sup>74</sup> This is in agreement with earlier maps ([1787-1801](#), [1821](#)) or a later [1870 map](#) showing the maritime borders between Southern China and Vietnam—without SCS features.

It was only in 1909 that China—in a provincial map—started to draw the Paracels as "within the province of Guangdong."



**Fig. 32** First-ever appearance of Paracels in a Canton provincial map—Guangdong Yu Di Quan Tu ([1909](#)). There was no notation for Scarborough, Spratlys or James Shoal.

#### *Hai Jin (Sea Ban) Policy and Effectivities*

<sup>74</sup> Chung, "[Since Time Immemorial](#)," 24-25 (footnote 6).

Another relevant matter not given sufficient weight in the discussions so far is the Hai Jin policy which was [started](#)<sup>75</sup> under the [Ming Dynasty](#)<sup>76</sup> between 1371 and 1567<sup>77</sup> and recommenced under the [Qing Dynasty up to Kangxi's reign](#) (ceased in 1683, recommenced in 1717)<sup>78</sup>—whereby anyone caught with an ocean-capable boat [would be beheaded](#) and coastal residents were required to move inland some 5-10 miles in order to avoid being savaged by the pirates infesting China's southern waters, which both the Ming and Qing Navies failed to control.

After Zheng He's naval expeditions (the last between 1431-1433)—considered to be an "aberration" from the first Ming emperor's policies which, inter alia, forbade all private overseas trading contacts—the Ming Empire turned its attention to its northern borders to counter the growing menace from the Tatars. In the process China closed down, once again, its southern borders to both its own citizens and to trading merchants from overseas—for more than two centuries<sup>79</sup>—except to those whom Beijing chose to admit as tributaries on terms dictated and controlled to its satisfaction.<sup>80</sup>

While this official policy existed, all overseas travels by private Chinese merchants were thus illegal bearing no state imprimatur. Further, it follows that there were no official navigation patrols in defiance of the imperial edicts for centuries.

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<sup>75</sup> Wang Gungwu, "Ming Foreign Relations: Southeast Asia" in Denis Twitchett and Frederick Mote, eds., *Cambridge History of China - The Ming Dynasty*, 8, Part 2, 1368-1644 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 301-302.

<sup>76</sup> [Granados](#), "The South China Sea and its Coral Reef," 120-121; [Gaspar da Cruz \(1556\)](#) (first European book on China since Marco Polo); [Mendoza \(1598\)](#), [Samuel Purchas \(1612\)](#), [Sir George Staunton \(1797\)](#), [Thomas Allom \(1800\)](#), [McFarlane \(1853\)](#), [Sam Williams \(1883\)](#), [Henri Cordier \(1920\)](#), Fairbank, "Maritime and Continental in China's History," 18.

<sup>77</sup> Angela Schottenhammer, "The East Asian Maritime World, c. 1400-1800: China and Her Neighbors" in Angela Schottenhammer, ed., *East Asian Maritime World* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 13, 16.

<sup>78</sup> Schottenhammer, "The East Asian Maritime World," 28, 32.

<sup>79</sup> Wang, "Ming Foreign Relations: Southeast Asia," 307, 311-312, 322-324, 326, 334.

<sup>80</sup> Wang, "Ming Foreign Relations: Southeast Asia," 223-224; Angela Schottenhammer, "The East Asian Maritime World," 13-16.

The closed-door policy—over centuries—further weakens China's assertion of its "control" of the SCS and ECS, if one had indeed been in existence "[for over 2,000 years](#)," as China had never had a maritime policy for its southern borders except for clearing its coastal regions of population and burning boats in response to uncontrollable infestations of Chinese and Japanese pirates.<sup>81</sup> This policy was noted in the first-ever European book written about China by [Gaspar da Cruz](#) (1569).

In the context of effectivités being an essential requirement for a sovereignty claim short of a legal "title" (which simply did not exist), China has demonstrably failed to show—in the presence of centuries-long Hai Jin policy—that it was able to maintain "an intentional display of power and authority, by the exercise of jurisdiction and **state** functions, on a **continuous** and peaceful basis . . ." <sup>82</sup> (emphasis added).

*Taiwan in the context of SCS and ECS disputes*

"Taiwan is no bigger than a ball of mud. We gain nothing by possessing it, and it would be no loss if we did not acquire it."<sup>83</sup>

—Emperor Kangxi, November 27, 1683

Another inconsistency with China's "[since ancient times](#)" assertion in relation to SCS and ECS features are the known facts about Taiwan in the history of the Chinese empire. Looking back into documented Chinese history, it was apparent that Taiwan was not under the control of Song (Figs. 4,5,6), Yuan (Fig. 7), [the Ming](#) (figs. 8a, 9) or the [early Qing governments](#).<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> [Cheng Wei-Chung](#), "War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas (1622-1683)" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2012), 20, 26, 33-34, 40-42 (stateless Taiwan), 77.

<sup>82</sup> Legal Status of Eastern Greenland (1933). [PCIJ Reports](#), Series A/B, No. 53, pp. 45-46; Eritrea v Yemen, Award on Territorial Sovereignty and Scope of the Dispute (1998) XXII RIAA 211, para. 239.

<sup>83</sup> Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 34.

<sup>84</sup> [Samuel Purchas 1625](#); Also [Samedo \(1655\)](#) with [his China map](#) —drawn in Ming era (first edition 1642 —before the end of Ming Dynasty); [Richard Blome \(1669\)](#).

It is a [well documented](#) historical fact that Taiwan was [officially annexed](#) into the Chinese empire in 1683—by default—only after [the surrender](#) to Emperor Kangxi from the Ming loyalist (pirate) Koxinga's grandson. It was Koxinga who had earlier [expelled the Dutch](#) in [1661](#). A contemporary Dutch map recorded this event in [1670](#). Subsequently, Kangxi's forces had ironically enlisted the [help of Dutch vessels](#)<sup>85</sup> in their quest to eliminate the "[robbers of Formosa](#)"—and finally succeeded in 1683.



**Fig. 33** Fukien Provincial Map—Da Ming Yu Di Tu ([Fukien Yi Tu](#)), Atlas of the Ming Empire (1547). Taiwan was not charted—let alone Senkaku islets (see also [Xia Lan Zhi Zhang](#), 1647).

<sup>85</sup> [Robert K Douglas](#), *China - The Story of the Nation* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), 102.



**Fig. 34** Ming Di Li Zhi Tu<sup>86</sup>—Map of the Geographical Record of the Ming Dynasty. Taiwan was charted but remained featureless and nameless.

Throughout [China's recorded history](#),<sup>87</sup> Taiwan had never been considered to be [part of the Chinese empire](#) until 1683. It was in fact [unknown to the Chinese until 1430 AD](#) and even in the early 1600s, the Ming and Qing courts and the Chinese merchants en route to Japan all considered Taiwan to be stateless.<sup>88</sup> Writing in 1735—using data from Jesuit missionaries—[Du Halde](#) commented, "It was a long time unknown even to the Chinese . . . whose first entering into it was under the reign of the last emperor Kangxi . . . even though it lies

<sup>86</sup> Cao et al., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China—The Ming Dynasty*, map 83.

<sup>87</sup> [Albert Hermann](#), *Commercial and Historical Atlas of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), [Ming Dynasty map](#), [Qing Dynasty in 1900](#)

<sup>88</sup> George Candidius, "A short account of the island of Formosa in the Indies . . ." in Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, [A Collection of Voyages and Travels](#) (London, 1704), Vol I, p. 526; See also footnote 81 especially pp. 40-42 for references to "stateless."

at no great distance from them." Similarly, Fathers De Mailla and Grosier commented in 1787 while [translating Chinese History](#) (Tong Kien Kang Mou)<sup>89</sup> into French that it was "astonishing" that China had failed to notice Taiwan [until 1430 AD](#) as it was literally "[almost at their door](#)."

Chinese maps drawn up before 1683 such as [Hua I Tu \(1136\)](#), [Handy Geographical Maps](#) through the Ages (1185), [Mongol Atlas \(Kuang Yu Tu\) \(1320\)](#), [Atlas of the Ming Empire](#)—Da Ming Yu Di Tu (1547), Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas—[Guang Yu Tu](#) (1579), [Tian Xia Yu Di Tu](#) (1594), Atlas of the Realm—[Fen Ye Yu Tu](#) (1601), Atlas of Heaven and Earth [Tian Di Tu](#) (1601), [Xia Lan Zhi Zhang](#) (1647) etc., did not even have Taiwan charted or named, let alone belonging to the Celestial Empire.

The second-ever European book on China—Escalante's discourse (1577), while discussing Fukien, Ryukyu "Lechios"<sup>90</sup> and trade with Japan, [failed to mention Taiwan](#). It was China who asked the Dutch "pirates"<sup>91</sup> in 1622 to relocate [its fort on Pescadores Island to Taiwan](#) offering to facilitate trades in return for the Dutch cooperation as Taiwan was then considered outside the Chinese realm.<sup>92</sup>

It is to be noted that the official information from the Republic of China (Taiwan) stated that the island history [started in 1683](#) under the Qing Dynasty (see chronology below). Magaillans' *A New History of China* (1688) for the first time mentioned Taiwan as "[belonging to China](#)."

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<sup>89</sup> George Lehner, *China in European Encyclopaedias 1700-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 67.

<sup>90</sup> The description of the Lechios natives as "more white than tawny, and well apparelled . . . subject in the old time to the people of China . . . but now they are of themselves . . ." evidently referred to Ryukyu proper and not the [Taiwanese natives](#) who were well known to be of [Malay origins](#).

<sup>91</sup> Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 443, 481.

<sup>92</sup> Rev. George Candidius, the first Dutch church pastor on Taiwan [1627-1631, 1633-1637], noted that "[Taiwan] [should not be abandoned or given up by us](#); for, in that case, it would be either annexed by the Spaniards, or fall into the hands of the Japanese . . ." (China was not mentioned). Quoted in William Campbell, *An Account of Missionary Success in the Island of Formosa* (London: Trubner & Co., 1889), 71-72.



### Reign of the Zheng Family

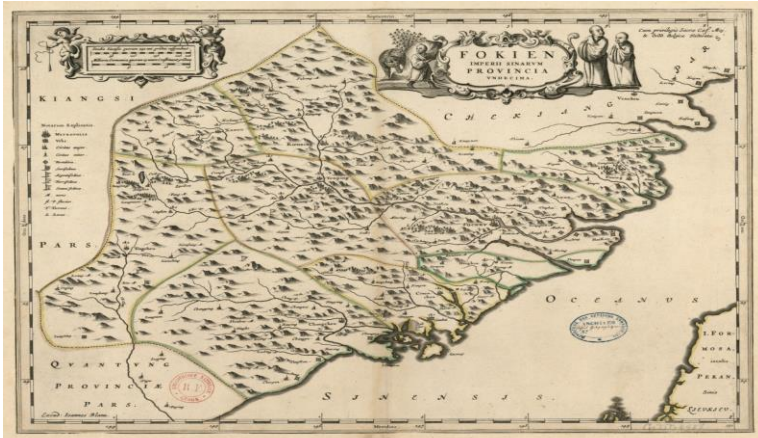
1661-1662	Ming-dynasty loyalist Zheng Cheng-gong (Koxinga) drives out the Dutch East India Company.
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### Ching Dynasty Rule

1683	The Ching dynasty takes control.
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1885	Taiwan is declared a province.
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(Official website of the Republic of China (Taiwan), accessed 25 May 2016.)



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 35** [Fukien Province](#)—Taiwan partially charted as Formosa (Pekan was a Malay term) i.e. not belonging to China. Atlas Novus Sinensis<sup>93</sup>—First China Atlas in Europe—Martino Martini, J. Blaeu (1655). Based on the influential Chinese map atlas Kuang Yu Tu (1579).

<sup>93</sup> Mungello, *Curious Land*, 121: "Martini's atlas was the most valuable of European work on geographical information on China to appear in the seventeenth century until . . . [the Kangxi-derived Du Halde atlas in] 1735."

Even after the collapse of Koxinga's forces in 1683, the Qing court was of the view that Taiwan should be abandoned as it was "beyond the seas" and an area of "wilderness full of barbarians."<sup>94</sup> As recently as 1721 the Kangxi atlas only showed the Western half of Taiwan ([fig. 36](#)) which was accurately recorded as such in Du Halde's definitive treatise on China's geography<sup>95</sup> "the whole Isle of Formosa is not under the dominion of the Chinese . . . [that part which lies on the West belongs to China.](#)"

Similarly, the Fujian Gazetteer (1737) showed "the island appearing as a small half-circle just barely peeking up from the bottom edge of the (Fujian) map."<sup>96</sup> That observation was confirmed late in the eighteenth century: "[Formosa] . . . [half of which belongs to China.](#)" and remained unchanged in the nineteenth century as recently as 1857: ". . . [authority of Chinese government only extends to the Western side,](#)" and [1881](#). In fact, it was not until 1875 that all of Taiwan entered a Qing map and not until 1887 that Taiwan became a province of China.<sup>97</sup>

Further, dedicated Western maps on Taiwan, e.g., Blaeu ([1600s](#)), Thornton ([1699](#)), Manneville ([1745](#)), Bellin ([1749](#), [1764](#)), LeGendre ([1870](#)), and Reclus ([1891](#)) showed Taiwan and Pescadores (Pong Hou) in their totality—without Senkaku islets in sight, contrary to the current claim by China of the Senkakus "belonging to China (Taiwan)." This is consistent with [Mackay](#) information in 1896—around the time Japan annexed the Senkaku Islands on the basis of *terra nullius*. Similarly, Chinese maps of Taiwan as late as [1878](#), [1882](#) (Fig. 41) also did not show the Senkakus as "belonging to Taiwan."

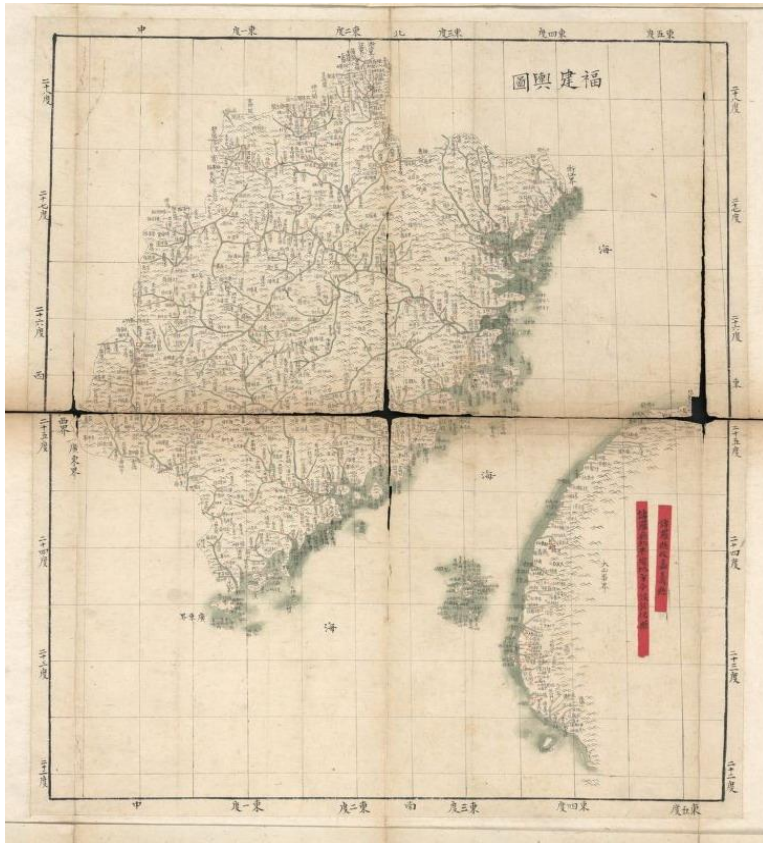
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<sup>94</sup> Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 35-36.

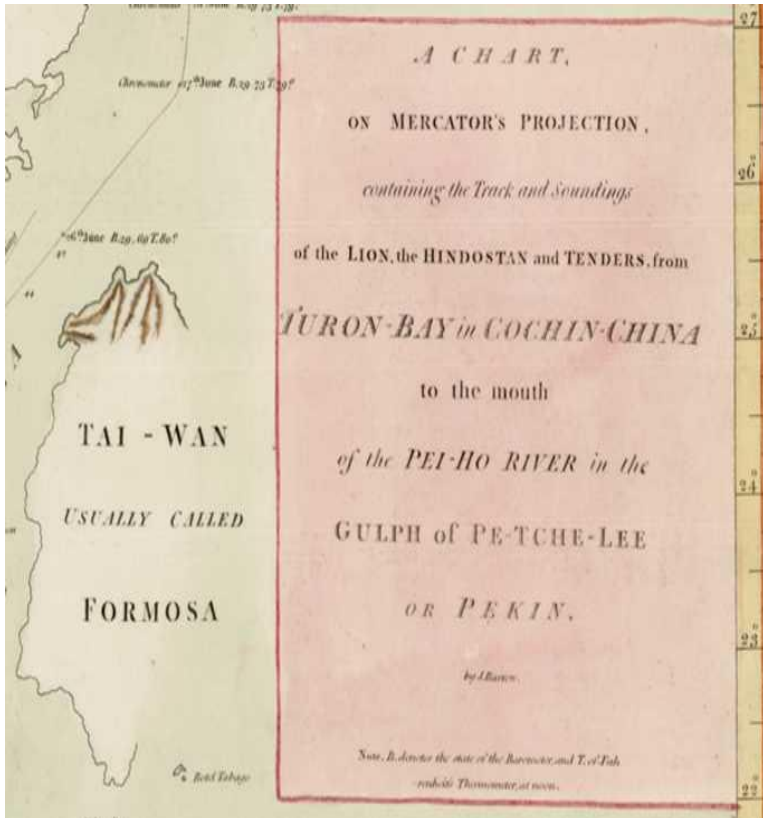
<sup>95</sup> Written from first-hand accounts sent back to Europe by [Jesuit missionaries](#) living in China, using Chinese books and other sources. They helped Emperor Kangxi to measure the length and breadth of the Chinese empire using astronomical observations with scientific instruments over a decade (1708-1717).

<sup>96</sup> Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 52.

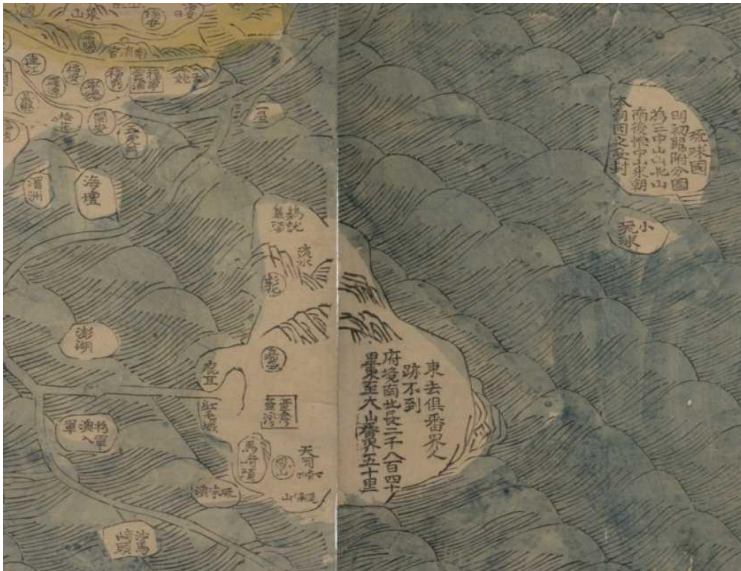
<sup>97</sup> Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 247.



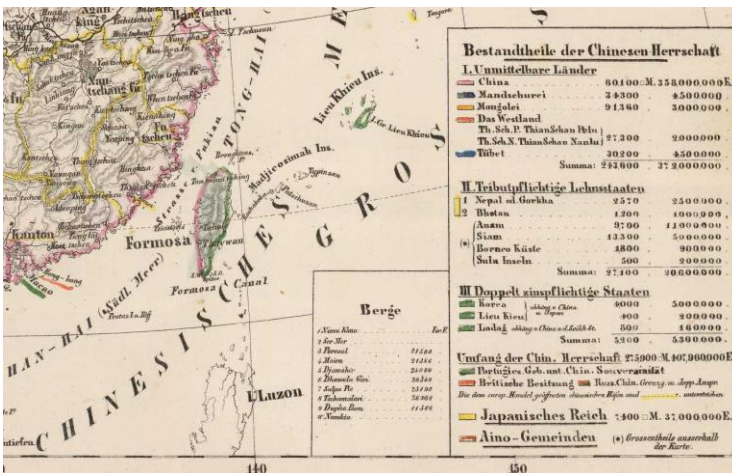
**Fig. 36** Fukien (Fujian) with only Western half of Taiwan under Chinese sovereign control—[Kangxi Atlas](#) (1721) based on French Jesuit missionaries' actual surveying of China. Similarly charted as Taiwan (Formosa) by [Du Halde](#) (1737) in the European version. This 1730s French version even had the notation "*fait par ordre de l'empereur Kamhi*" (made under the order of Emperor Kangxi) showing only the Western side of Taiwan. All versions had no notation for Senkaku Islets.



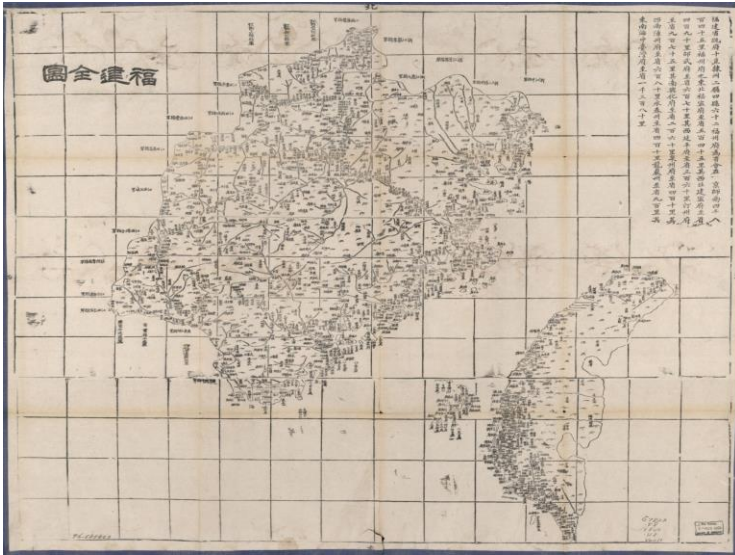
**Fig. 37** Eastern Taiwan remained unknown to Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in 1793. Senkaku Islets were not charted. Sir George Staunton (Lord Macartney's secretary) however, was in the possession of contemporary [Chinese maps](#) prepared by the Lieutenant Governor of Fukien province.



**Fig. 38** Taiwan—without Senkaku Islets—Da Qing wan nian yi tong tian xia quan tu, Great Qing Dynasty 's Complete map of All Under Heaven (1811).



**Fig. 39** In this 1855 map segment from Carl Flemming's [Chinesisches Reich und Japan](#), only Western Taiwan was marked as belonging to China. Senkaku Islets are uncharted.



**Fig. 40** [Fujian Quan Tu](#) (1864)—one of 26 maps from [Da Qing Yi Tong Yu Di Quan Tu](#). The Senkakus were not charted by Chinese cartographers. Eastern Taiwan remained sparsely charted compared to Western areas.



**Fig. 41** [Taiwan qian hou shan quan tu](#) (1882). Senkakus were not charted by Chinese cartographers. Eastern Taiwan was now charted with improved clarity.

Considering that Taiwan (a) is located quite close to the continent "[visible from the mainland](#) on clear days," (b) was simply annexed *by default*—as an example of Chinese colonialism<sup>98</sup> (others include Tibet, Mongolia and Xinjiang)—some two and a half centuries after only being aware of its existence in 1430, and (c) is a sizeable island currently supporting a population over 20M, it would severely stretch the credulity of a reasonable person to accept that China—[allegedly since 960 AD](#) or even much earlier, [2000 years ago](#)—had actively managed to have absolute control with regular maritime patrols of tiny specks of [uninhabitable rocks](#) and submerged reefs thousands of miles (or, in the case of the Senkaku Islands, only 100 miles) further than Taiwan without a single official text or map attesting to same.

Li Hung Chang—the pre-eminent Chinese diplomat of the Qing era—had this to say about China's view of Taiwan's value during

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<sup>98</sup>Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 238, 253-254, 256.

his negotiations with the Japanese after the first Sino-Japanese war (1895): "[Taiwan] was [a worse than worthless possession](#) . . . [Utter worthlessness of the possession](#) . . . I gave [the Japanese] [something that I was certain China did not want.](#)" (Emphasis added.)

Those historical facts from China's own records are to be contrasted with China's current hyper-nationalist stance over dots of uncharted, unclaimed and uninhabitable islands, rocks and submerged reefs in the ECS and SCS presently described as sacred "[Blue National Soil](#)" to be defended to "[an inch](#)" with lethal force if necessary on the basis of "[2,000 years](#)" of possession and control which is at clear and irreconcilable odds with what was known about Taiwan in the history of China's colonial expansion.

#### *Post-1911 Data: Republic of China Constitutions*

The Xinhai Revolution, which brought about the demise of the Qing Dynasty, ushered in a period of the Republic of China (ROC), which issued several [constitutions for China](#). The earliest version—11 March 1912—stated in its article 3 that "The territory of the Chinese Republic consists of 22 provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Chinghai." The 1914 version was similar "The territory of the Chinese Republic remains **the same of that of the former Empire.**" Repeated in the 1923 constitution was "The territory which originally belonged to the Republic shall be the territory of the Republic of China." ([Article 3 - appendix C](#), emphasis added.) Official information provided by the Republic of China (Taiwan) indicated that at the end of the Qing era, [southern China ends at Hainan](#):



### The Birth of the Republic of China

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Ching dynasty, which ruled territories stretching from Manchuria in the east to Mongolia in the north to Hainan Island in the south to Kashgar in the west,

(Official website of the Republic of China (Taiwan), accessed 25 May 2016, emphasis added.)

China, therefore, has failed to demonstrate, with official documents, that the territory of the Republic of China which it had admitted to be "the same of that of the former [Qing] Empire" somehow—after the Xinhai Revolution—mysteriously came to include the sovereignty over the SCS and ECS features before it could start to assert "[since time immemorial](#)." Not one single Ming or Qing Empire map or text (let alone those of earlier dynasties) contained the SCS or ECS or their maritime features as part of its empire. Chinese world maps (Tianxia Quantu), on the other hand, may have annotated them as part of many features outside its realm.

#### *Books by Chinese Authors*

Support for Granados and Chung's conclusions that there was no historical basis for the assertion that China has had control of the SCS "[since ancient times](#)" also came from contemporary Chinese authors including senior government officials and ROC's Postal Authorities. [General Tchong Ki Tong](#)<sup>99</sup> in *The Chinese Empire* had this to say about China's geography in 1900: "[Jesuit survey \[under Kangxi 1708-1717\] so admirably correct . . . No part of Asia so well laid down as China. . .](#)" (emphasis added). The [1903 China Postal Map](#) clearly stopped at Hainan. Li Ung Bing's *Outlines of Chinese History* (1914), which included the [Qing-era China map](#), was very clear where his country's southern border lay (Fig. 42).

<sup>99</sup> Military Attaché at the Imperial Legation at Paris.



**Fig. 42** Li Ung Bing: Chinese Empire, Ching Dynasty (1914).

Well-educated and credentialed Tyau <sup>100</sup> in his *China Awakened* book published in 1922, endorsed by the then ROC President [Hsu Shih-Ch'ang](#), included a [map of China](#), once again stopping at Hainan:

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<sup>100</sup> Technical Adviser for China at the League of Nations.

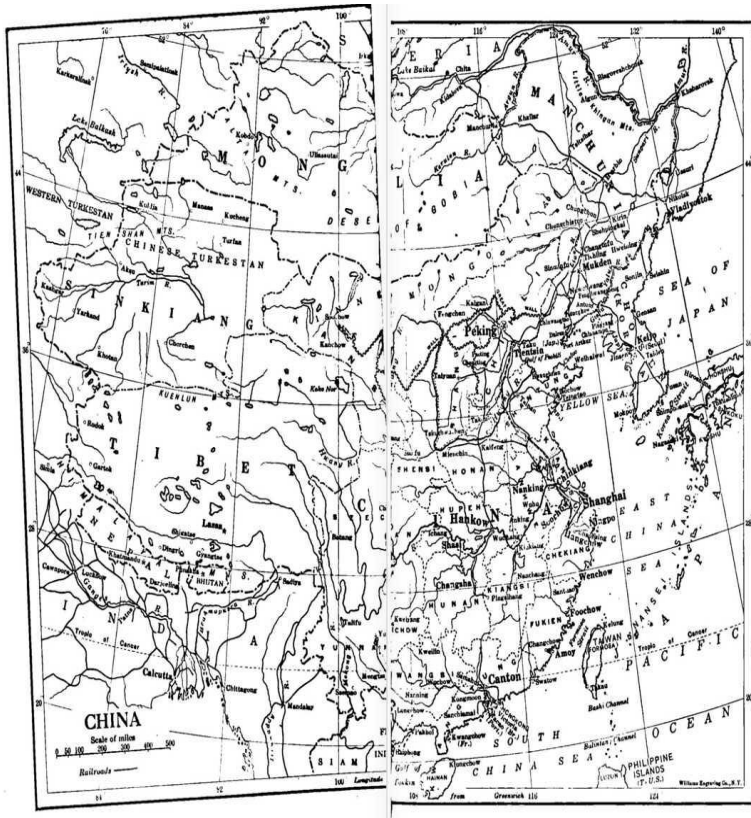


Fig. 43 [General Map of China](#) (1922)—"[China Awakened](#)" by Min-Ch'ien T.Z. Tyau.

The [1929 map \[Zhong Hua Guo Chi Di Tu\]](#) and the [1934 China map](#) by another Chinese author, L.T. Wu, in his book *China As She Is*, were unchanged in the southernmost territory of China i.e. Hainan Island.

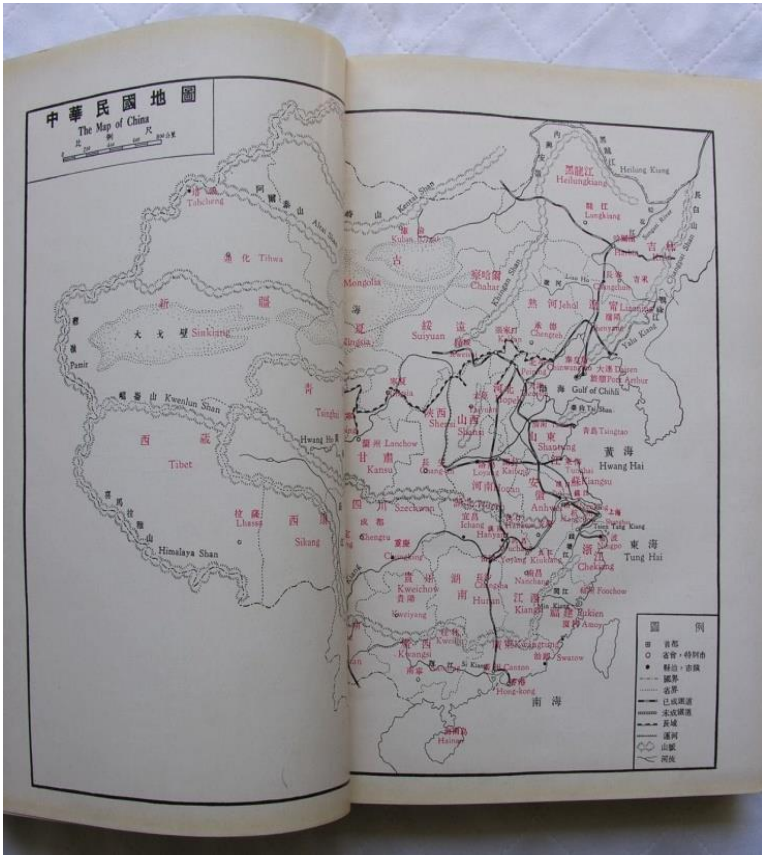


Fig. 44 "The Map of China," by L.T. Wu (1934).

In 1931 China's Department of Education for the three Eastern Provinces and the Institute of Oriental and Commercial Sciences and Pedagogical Institute, Harbin, issued a Map of China by John Diakoff. It was expressly described as "Recommended for use in Middle and High Schools." This map—like all others noted above—

showed Hainan as the southernmost part of the Chinese Empire. Similarly, Taiwan was charted without any description of the Senkaku islets.

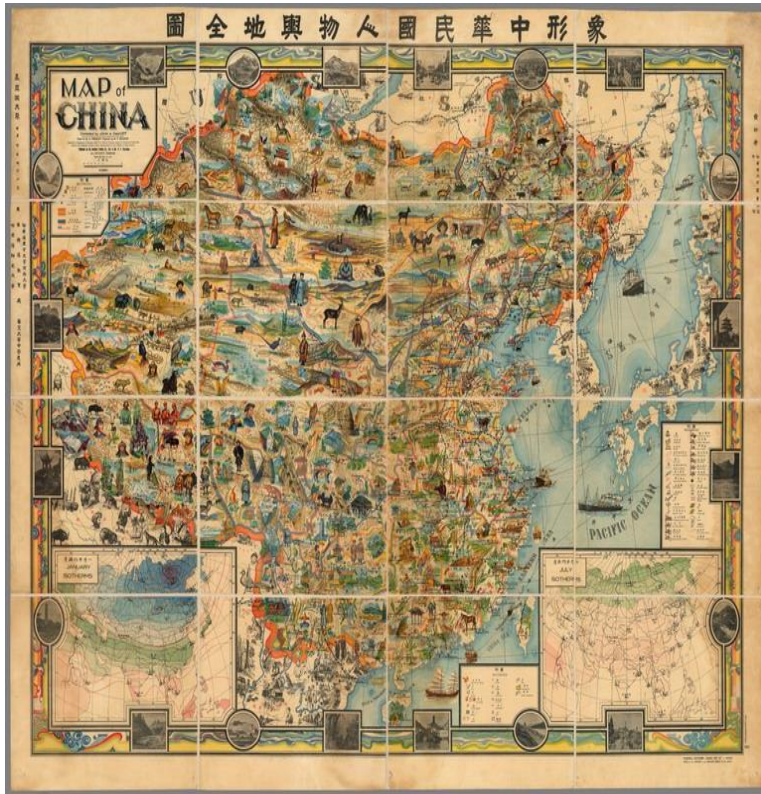
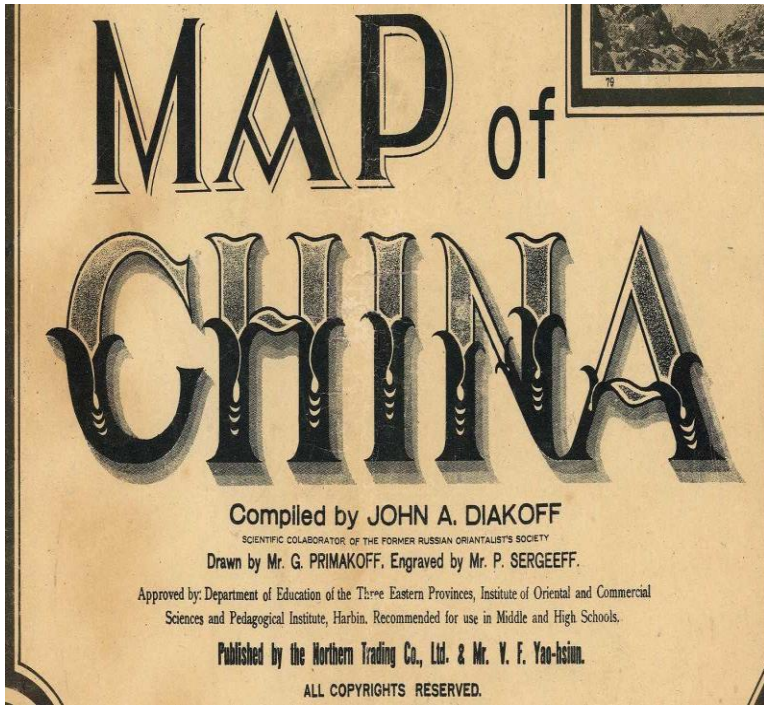
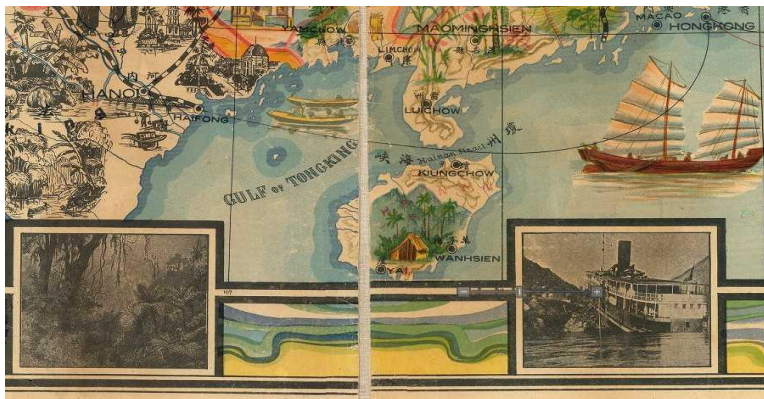


Fig. 45a Map of China (1931)—John Diakoff.



**Fig. 45b** Map of China (1931) by John Diakoff—approved by Department of Education.



**Fig. 45c** Map of China (1931) by John Diakoff—Hainan was the southernmost Chinese territory.

*Republic of China Postage Stamps*

In 1933, the provisional [Fujian Government](#) issued a set of stamps bearing the map of China—with Hainan Island as the southernmost territory.



In 1939, the ROC commemorated the 150th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution by issuing [a set of stamps](#) showing a map of China with only Hainan as its southernmost territory (Taiwan, with different coloration, was not attributed to China).



In 1943, the ROC issued another stamp commemorating the 32nd anniversary of the 1911 Xinhai Revolution without mentioning the "Blue National Soil" that it is now claiming to have "controlled for more than 2,000 years."



In 1950, the PRC issued a stamp to mark the occasion of [Southwest China Liberation](#)—with the full China map—[without any SCS features](#):





These data suggest that even during the 1930s-1950s, there was never an official consensus in China that they have had "absolute control" of the SCS islands and reefs as is now being presented. All this occurred in the backroom preparation of the infamous [U Shaped map](#) purporting to show China's "historical" control of the SCS—all without a single shred of credible evidence. The only recognizable act that China—or, more accurately, the Canton *Provincial* Government—had done in declaring its claims was its expedition in 1909<sup>101</sup> to the Paracel Islands on German boats, and the delegation [stayed only for a single day](#). A contemporary newspaper report dated June 8, 1909 described the event as follows: "The recent Pratas Island [affair seemed](#) to have awakened the Chinese authorities to the necessity for looking after their interests in the islands, which are far removed from the coastline."

Any sensible and credible debate on China's "historical claims" needs to be re-calibrated to that single event which bore the hallmarks of an official act of sovereignty claim, albeit only by a provincial, not national, authority. However, on the evidence just presented, even that seemed to have been regarded as a footnote of

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<sup>101</sup> Chung, "[Since Time Immemorial](#)," 43 (footnote 6—thought it happened in 1902).

history by successive ROC and PRC governments until the opportunistic occupation of the Paracels (Amphitrite Group) and Spratlys (Itu Aba) in 1946 as part of [General MacArthur's Order #1](#) post WW II.

Thus, China's current claim of "SCS control" dating back to "[time immemorial](#)" or "[since ancient times](#)" (i.e. Northern Song 960 AD or even earlier) does not have any credible and specific historical Chinese records to justify the assertions. Instead, what is being advanced by Beijing flies in the face of what is recorded in China's history as known to Chinese for thousands of years—i.e., a wholesale repudiation of China's own historical data.

#### [Washington Conference \(1921-1922\)](#)

In the aftermath of the First World War, the great powers organized a Naval Conference in Washington, D.C. in 1921-1922 to discuss, inter alia, peace and security in the Pacific including the emerging status of the Republic of China. The so-called 1922 Far Eastern Affairs Conference (FEAC), held simultaneously with the Naval Disarmament Conference, was attended by China plus eight other nations (United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Portugal). The FEAC's main agenda was about China, its domestic economy, diplomatic status and its continued civil war. The first item on the agenda was "China's territorial integrity."<sup>102</sup>

Dr. Alfred Sze, the head of the [140-strong Chinese delegation](#), proposed a [10-point principles](#) list for discussion of which the first principle (1a) was "The Powers engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic." Interestingly, even though the [Shantung question](#) was discussed, at no stage did the Chinese delegation raise

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<sup>102</sup> [Edward Chusid](#), "The concurrent conferences: the Washington Naval Conference and the Far Eastern Affairs Conference of 1922" (MA diss., Eastern Michigan University, 2008), 27-28.

the issue of China's territories extending past Hainan in the South or Taiwan proper in the East.

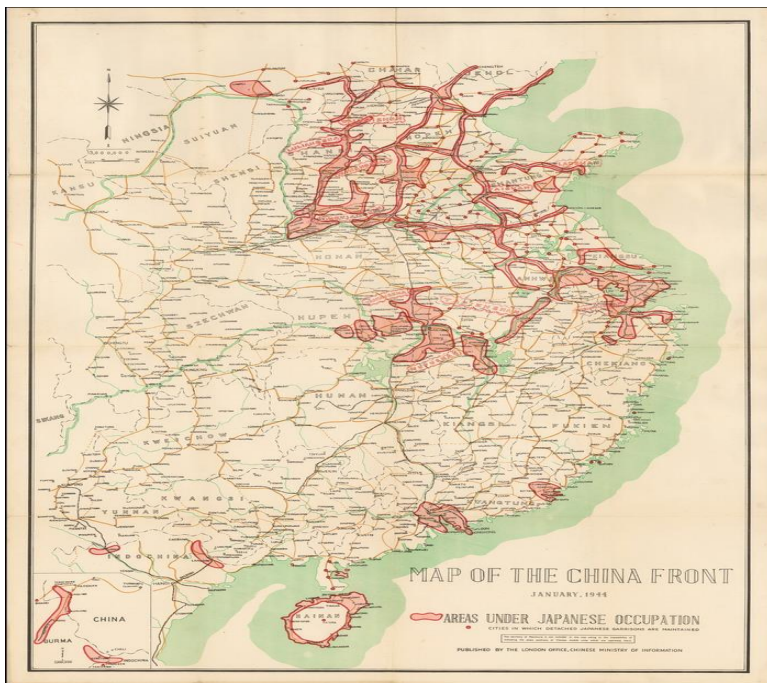
Given that China is now characterizing its dominion over great swathes of the SCS and the ECS as "2,000 years old . . . indisputable . . . since time immemorial . . ." and that the first tentative step towards asserting a SCS claim was the alleged Canton provincial claim on the Paracels in 1909, it was rather telling that not even one sentence was uttered about the SCS or the ECS at the Washington Conference. Had the "2,000 years old claim" been authentic, it surely would have been raised in front of the [international community](#) when China's territorial integrity was being discussed. The legitimate inference one can draw is that in 1922, China—as a sovereign nation which was either not aware or not approving of the 1909 Canton provincial government action—did not have such an expansive claim as it has been making since Zhou En-Lai's 1951 statement. That inference is entirely consistent with the Chinese historical data (pre- and post-1911) presented earlier where there was not a single reference to either the SCS or the ECS features in the context of geographical limits or sovereign control.

*Republic of China (ROC) - KMT (Kuomintang) - Chiang Kai-Shek*

As documented earlier, many ROC postage stamps included the map of China consistently with Hainan being the southernmost reach of the Chinese empire. Around 1937, Chiang's KMT established the [Ministry of Information](#) modeled on the British example. It was under Chiang's direct control, and designed to help spread propaganda and news on China to the international audience [including the United States](#). As part of the propaganda, this Chinese Ministry of Information published at least two maps dated 1943 and 1944 entitled "Map of the China Front" showing "Areas under Japanese Occupation." Both the [1943](#) and the [1944](#) maps were identical in asserting that the southernmost territory of China was Hainan Island.

Considering that Japan was documented to have seized both the Paracels and Spratlys from French claims in 1939 and would not

relinquish its control until the end of WW II in 1945, the clear inference from Chiang's official maps in 1943 and 1944 "[Chinese] Areas under Japanese Occupation" was that Chiang himself had never considered the SCS features as part of his Chinese empire. That was entirely consistent with Chiang's documented position during his discussion with Roosevelt prior to the release of the Cairo Declaration in 1943.



**Fig. 46** Chiang Kai-Shek's Ministry of Information—1944 Official Map showing China's Areas under Japanese Occupation. The map shows Hainan Island as the southernmost occupied Chinese territory.

#### *Cairo, Potsdam and San Francisco: WW II and its aftermath*

It is almost a [daily](#) occurrence that China *obliquely* refers to "[Cairo, Potsdam](#)" as one of their arguments for the possession or

sovereignty over SCS features. Never directly quoting any terms or articles, just mentioning the names for "authority." As is the norm for China, its arguments are superficial and represent a distortion of historical records.

Towards the end of WW II, the Allied leaders (Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill) held several policy meetings to sketch out the course of the war and its aftermath including, inter alia, restoration of sovereignty from Japanese-held properties. The [Cairo declaration](#) (26 Nov. 1943, released 1 Dec. 1943) from Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang stated in relation to China: "[A]ll the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Further, the declaration stated that "Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since . . . 1914."

Records showed that the wording of the Cairo declaration reflected what had been agreed to during a meeting between Roosevelt and Chiang on [23 Nov 1943](#) where the [official Chinese records](#) showed under section (5) with the subject heading of "[On restoration of Territories](#)" that Chiang only requested the return of "The four Northeastern provinces of China, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands [Pescadores] . . . [and] Liaotung Peninsula and its two ports, Lushun (Port of Arthur) and Dairen."

During the same meeting Chiang declined—*more than once*—to request the return of Ryukyu. Hong Kong was raised as an issue but deferred to further discussion with Churchill. It is noted by [Roosevelt and Churchill](#) that China expressed the desire to re-occupy Manchuria and [Korea](#) after the war before Chiang finally relented, signing the Cairo Declaration where he adopted Roosevelt's view that Korea was to be set free after the war. [At no stage](#) did Chiang raise the issue of SCS islands or features either on its official *Chinese* records or from Elliott Roosevelt's recollection. In relation to Taiwan, while both Pescadores and Ryukyu were mentioned, Chiang never raised the

issue of Senkaku islets (which on Chinese maps were never charted together with Taiwan, unlike the Pescadores—see Figs. 36, 38, 40, 41).

After a series of meetings, on 26 July 1945 Truman, Churchill and Chiang issued the [Potsdam Proclamation](#) calling for the surrender of Japan and listing the other terms for ending the war where Term #8 was "**The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out** and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine." (Emphasis added.) As far as the SCS and ECS were concerned, the terms of the Cairo Declaration were repeated at Potsdam *again* with no mentioning of China requesting their return or asserting any form of sovereignty claim. The U.S. view was clear at the time of the Potsdam conference regarding the final disposition of the Spratlys in the Cairo Declaration: "The [Cairo] Declaration [makes no provision](#) as to their disposition."

Japan formally signed a [Treaty of Peace](#) at the 1951 San Francisco conference, which was organised to formalise Japan's surrender and to carry out the terms of the Cairo Declaration and Potsdam Proclamation. China was not represented (there were two entities: PRC and ROC). Article 2 of the 1951 San Francisco conference stated, inter alia, the following:

"(b) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores . . .

(f) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Spratly Islands and to the Paracel Islands."

The Treaty of Peace does not mention Senkaku islets in relation to the return of Formosa to China, as per the terms of the Cairo Declaration; and there was no specified recipient for the Paracel and Spratly Islands (unlike Formosa and Pescadores where Chiang had specifically [requested for their return](#) in the Cairo Declaration). The 1951 San Francisco Treaty therefore effected the terms of the 1945 Potsdam Proclamation, which in turn had set out to implement the terms of the

1943 Cairo Declaration *exactly* according to the discussion between Roosevelt and Chiang in 1943.

It is worthwhile recalling that during the preparation in 1950 for the San Francisco treaty, the United States had been fully aware of the [sovereignty dispute](#) between France and China over the Paracels and Spratlys. Further, the United States' position had been to ensure that "[there be no basis, either stated or implied](#), written into the Treaty, which may provide for the possible legal claim of Communist China to sovereignty over . . . Paracel, and Spratley (sic) Islands . . ."

Earlier, in 1939, the United States was aware of the [sovereignty dispute](#) over the Spratlys between only France and Japan—with China being an unknown entity at that time: "there were two claims, a French claim and a Japanese claim, as to the ownership of the Spratly Islands." When Japan annexed the Spratlys on March 30, 1939, it elected to formally [inform the French government](#),<sup>103</sup> not China.

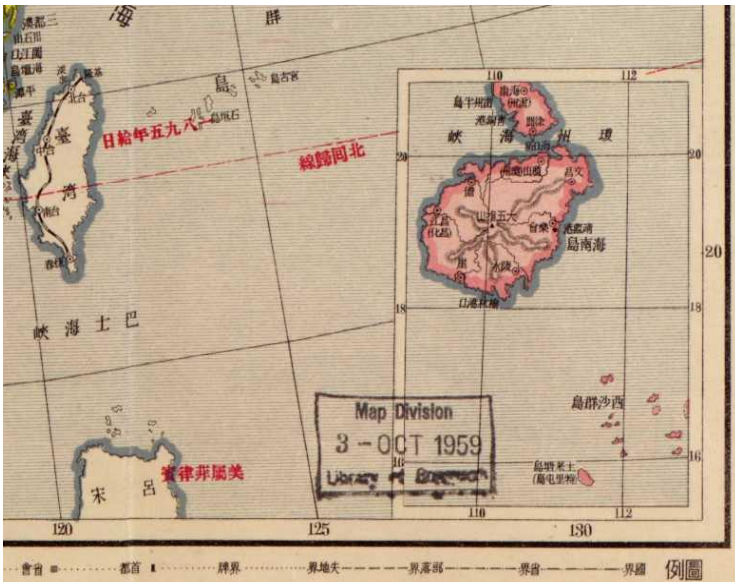
The British position was that the Japanese claim was devoid of "[any legal foundation](#)" without referring to China—as Great Britain had withdrawn its claim "in favour of the French." In return, the proposal for [international arbitration](#) in 1939 over the Spratlys from France was addressed to Japan, not China.

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<sup>103</sup> Reported in French newspaper the next day ([La Croix - April 1, 1939](#)).



**Fig. 47a** Parcels were charted and claimed but there were no Spratlys, Scarborough or James Shoal. Zhonghua min guo fen sheng xin tu (1933).



**Fig. 47b** Zhonghua min guo fen sheng xin tu (1933)— Close Up View: Only the Paracels were claimed to be Chinese territory. The Spratlys,



James Shoal and the Senkakus remained unknown, uncharted and unclaimed.

The preceding 1933 map (like [the 1931 map](#)) was consistent with documented official historical records: (a) there was a dispute [between France and China](#) over the Paracels in the early 1930s; (b) China had never made a claim for the Spratlys, Scarborough, Senkakus, or James Shoal in the 1930s; (c) China's own 1928 Canton Commission had stated in writing that "The Paracel archipelago is our nation's southernmost territory";<sup>104</sup> and (d) the dispute over the Spratlys in 1930s-1940s was only [between France and Japan](#).

As shown earlier, China had never raised the issue of the Senkakus, Paracels, or Spratlys during the course of discussions at Cairo and Potsdam. Further, the first public mentioning of the SCS features in the context of Cairo and Potsdam was at the 1951 San Francisco conference, where China specifically was not listed as the requesting or receiving country for those features, with the United States having been fully aware of the ongoing sovereignty dispute between France and China.

The 1951 statement from Zhou En-lai rejecting the San Francisco conference draft was one of the first official claims on record from a Chinese *national* government official in relation to the SCS features, especially in relation to the Spratlys. Recall that the 1909 expedition to the Paracels organized by the Canton *provincial* government was subsequently ignored by the Chinese government delegation at the 1922 Far Eastern Affairs Conference.

Zhou's 1951 statement was not accompanied by the U-shaped map, which was never submitted in the context of any negotiation, public forum, or treaty until 2009. Moreover, even though Zhou repeated the usual stock-standard phrase "long been China's territory," his statement was more like a request for consideration than a demand, as he knew that only the Paracels had

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<sup>104</sup> Samuels, *Contest for the South China Sea*, 57.

been under dispute between China and France for any length of time; and that as far as the Spratlys were concerned, China had been an unknown entity in the eyes of the international community as recently as 1939:

"[Both] the Paracels and Spratlys have long been China's territory. They were occupied by Japan during the imperialist invasion and **should** be returned to China after Japan's surrender."<sup>105</sup>  
(Emphasis added.)

The 1952 Treaty of Peace [between the ROC and Japan](#) simply reiterated the identical terms of the 1951 San Francisco Treaty. Its article 2 stated, "It is recognised that **under Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace** which Japan signed at the city of San Francisco on 8 September 1951 . . . Japan has renounced all right, title and claim to Taiwan (Formosa) and Penghu (the Pescadores) as well as the Spratley Islands and the Paracel Islands." (Emphasis added.) Once again, Japan did not specify to which country or countries it was returning the Paracels and Spratlys. It simply repeated verbatim the terms of Article 2 of the San Francisco Treaty of Peace it had signed a year earlier.

[Comments](#) to the contrary<sup>106</sup>—i.e., claiming that by signing a treaty with the ROC, Japan was returning the Paracels and Spratlys to Taiwan (and therefore PRC, as Taiwan is considered to be a renegade province to be re-united with the mainland)—seriously (and arguably wilfully) misread Article 2 of the original 1951 San Francisco Treaty of Peace. They conveniently ignore the background information detailed above showing that (a) China had never requested the SCS or ECS islands at Cairo and Potsdam; and (b) that the United States had been fully aware of and had deliberately avoided settling the sovereignty dispute between France and China at San Francisco, while it was

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<sup>105</sup> [Dzurek](#), "Spratly Island Dispute: Who's On First?" 15; Nong Hong, "The South China Sea disputes—A review of history and prospects for settlement" in Kimie Hara, ed., *The San Francisco System and its Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 83.

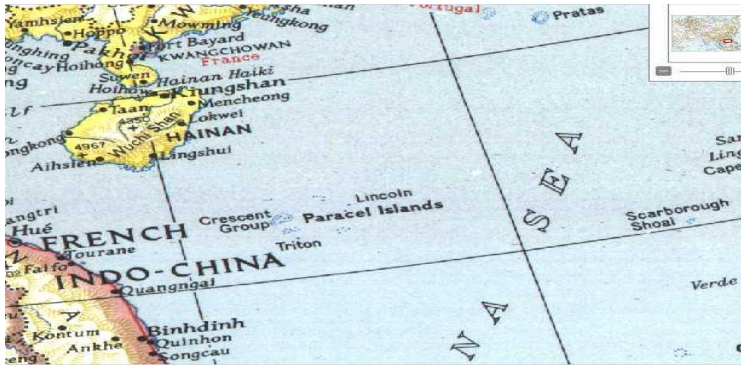
<sup>106</sup> [Dzurek](#), "Spratly Island Dispute: Who's On First?" 15; Nong Hong, "The South China Sea disputes," 81.

simultaneously of the view that the PRC should not be allowed to make a claim for the Paracels and Spratlys.

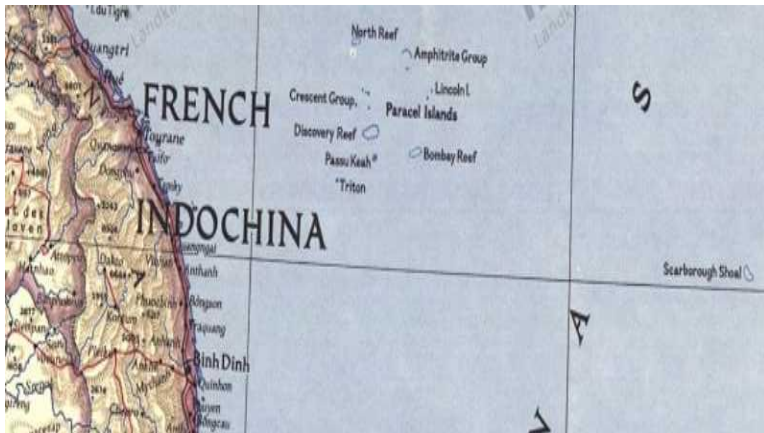
Were China (both PRC and ROC) sincerely to believe in the argument that Japan had returned the Paracels and Spratlys to them by virtue of the 1951 San Francisco and the 1952 Taipei treaties, it would be one of the rare cases where a sovereign nation failed to raise in some proper forum, e.g., the United Nations or the International Court of Justice (ICJ), a lack of compliance with treaty obligations. Its failure to do so demonstrates the vacuous untruthfulness of a facile argument, which—as usual—overlooks vital documentary evidence fatal to its case.

Indeed, only a few months prior to the Cairo Declaration, China [formally wrote](#) to the U.S. Government on 10 June 1943 complaining about some American maps showing incorrect names for Chinese provinces (e.g., Manchuko for the four Northeastern provinces or Tannu Tuva for Outer Mongolia). This 1943 protest over alleged cartographical inaccuracies showed that China was alert and conscious of what it considered to be incorrect representations of its sovereign territories. However, there was no record that it had protested, either in 1943 or previously (Figs. 46-49), that the Paracels, Spratlys or Senkaku Islands were being incorrectly named or that the Chinese empire itself had been endlessly charted with an inaccurate termination at Hainan Island considering the overwhelming cartographical and written data stating otherwise (see Tables I, II and III below).

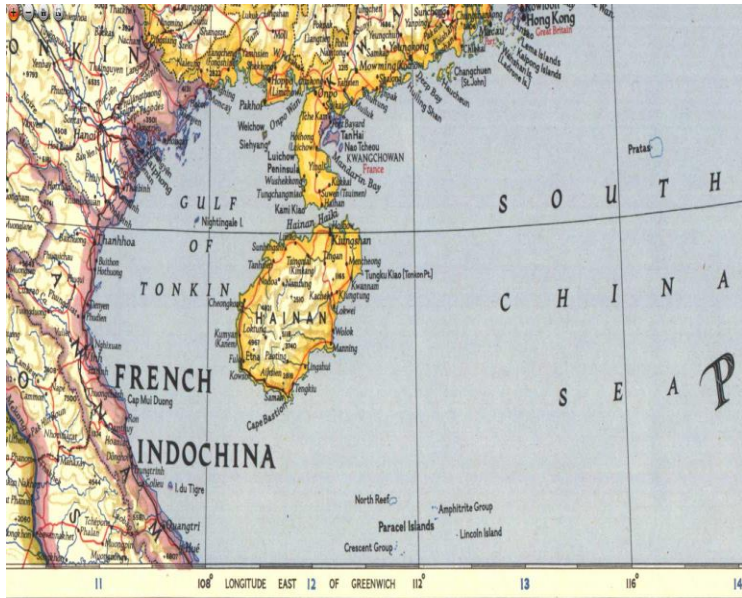
In its consideration of China's protest, the United States, *inter alia*, praised the accuracy of [National Geographic](#) map-making while noting the inherent freedom of the press in America preventing the U.S. government from dictating terms to the press. Further, in 1943 the U.S. State Department pointed out that in its cartographical practice, "[unilateral claims](#) of any country, and occupation of territory by force, would not be represented as valid, or as constituting **anything more than a claim** by that country." (Emphasis added.)



**Fig. 48** Asia Map (1942)—National Geographic: The Parcels are listed as non-Chinese territory.



**Fig. 49** South-East Asia map (1944)—National Geographic: The Parcels are listed as non-Chinese territory.



**Fig. 50** National Geographic (1944): China terminating at Hainan Island. The Parcel Islands are noted as non-Chinese.



**Fig. 51** National Geographic (1912): Hainan shown as the southernmost territory of the Republic of China.

China's repeated oblique references to Cairo and Potsdam follow a known pattern of obfuscating documented history to suit its preferred narrative while dressing up half truths as indisputable "historical facts" to buttress its case. Nevertheless, China's preferred narrative is that it has—once again—been robbed of its inherent territories by the imperialist Western powers despite the "intentions of Cairo and Potsdam." That narrative serves to perpetuate the theme of "a century of humiliation," helping to cement the role of the Communist Party as the country's protector and restorer of "lost lands"—albeit with the help of doctored history and non-stop propaganda. In summary, historical records—the critical part of which were written by Chinese delegates and the Chinese government itself—showed that China had never been in a position to rely on Cairo (1943), Potsdam (1945), San Francisco (1951) or even Taipei (1952) declaration / proclamation / treaties for support of its claim for the Paracel, Spratly, or Senkaku islands.

*Western sources: China's geographical borders as known in ancient history*

"There is scarcely any country [on earth] whose situation and dimensions have been better ascertained than those of China."

—[1745 - Thomas Astley, 1745](#)

Part of the current paradigm in dissecting what is fabled or mythical, and what is credible or genuinely historical, is that almost always Chinese data is used to the (self-imposed, flawed) exclusion of Western knowledge gained over 500 years of solid, frequent trading, missionary, and embassy contacts with the Chinese empire starting with the Portuguese in [1514](#) after their conquest of [Malacca in 1511](#). That is after excluding the [Arabic reports](#) made in the ninth century and what [Marco Polo](#) had told us about the land he visited during the Yuan Dynasty (mid-thirteenth century), using [Arabic sea charts](#) that lacked any [mentioning of SCS features](#). The Yuan Dynasty (and Marco Polo) would have known about those features if China's current narrative "since the Han Dynasty" had been truthful.<sup>107</sup>

As expected for explorers, traders and embassy delegations, the questions about China invariably revolved around its geography, history, system of government, people, customs, economy, etc., with geography almost always at the top of each and every report from contact with the Middle Kingdom. The first European book devoted exclusively to China was published in [1569](#) by Gaspar da Cruz,<sup>108</sup> who had [travelled to China](#) in 1556.

Collectively, there are two landmark bibliographies on China: Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* ([1878](#)) and Björn Löwendahl's *China Illustrata Nova* (2008) where virtually all known works on China dating back to 1477 are listed. More relevantly, over 900 English books (1481-1887) describing what was then known of world geography—

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<sup>107</sup> Marco Polo [stayed in China](#) for close to 20 years (1275-1291), spoke Chinese, was close to the Yuan Emperor and sailed on Chinese junks on numerous occasions.

<sup>108</sup> Donald F. Lach, *The Century of Discovery*, vol.1, bk. 2 of *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 742.

including the empire of China and its territories (of the "special geography" genre)—were tabulated and remain readily available for further research.<sup>109</sup> Invariably, the following were noted in writings and maps over five centuries of contact and knowledge:

1. Hainan Island was the southernmost extremity of the Chinese empire.
2. North Latitude of 18° (or 20° if Hainan was excluded) was often given for the southern part of the Chinese empire, which was the same as for China Proper (the northernmost part of the Paracels is at 16°50'; [Hainan](#) is located between 18° and 20°).
3. Taiwan was not Chinese territory until 1683 A.D.
4. Not even once was any SCS / ECS feature(s) mentioned as "part of China" either in texts or on maps including those that used Chinese sources.
5. The existence of the Paracels was known for centuries before their first appearance on a Portuguese-sourced Cantino map in 1502<sup>110</sup> whereas British [hydrographical charting](#) of the Spratlys started in [early 1800s](#).<sup>111</sup>
6. The Paracels (Pracel) and Spratlys were always documented on a separate map or text away from China's maps or discussions, i.e., Paracels / Spratlys were never considered to be part of the Chinese empire since Marco Polo's thirteenth century visit.
7. There is no recorded instance of China making a sovereign claim for anything past Hainan Island in the south or past Taiwan on the east before the twentieth century.

A sampling of some typical writings from the early sixteenth century onwards is tabulated below.

*TABLE I: Maps and Texts on China's Geography up to 1950*

<sup>109</sup> O.F.G. Sitwell, *Four Centuries of Special Geography* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993).

<sup>110</sup> See Table II, 1502, Cantino map

<sup>111</sup> Captain Richard Spratly sighted his namesake island at 0900 on 29 March 1843. It was originally called Storm Island by Captain James Horsburgh—an appropriate name for the current situation in the twenty-first century.



"Up to the end of the seventeenth century European geographers simply copied from Chinese atlases [none of which had any SCS features]."<sup>112</sup>

Date	Author	Findings	Comments
1522	Laurent Fries	<a href="#">First map to concentrate on China and Japan</a>	"Baixos" (Islands of Shoals) featured on a separate map <a href="#">opposite Fulicandora--</a> Indochina
1569	<a href="#">Gaspar da Cruz</a> First-ever book written about China, translated into English by Samuel Purchas (1625)	Travelled to China <a href="#">on a Chinese boat</a> passing <a href="#">through Cochin-China coast reaching Hainan</a> (Ile Daman) without seeing or hearing about Paracels from the Chinese crew as one would have expected from those who had claimed to have possessed these features since " <a href="#">Han Dynasty</a> " fifteen centuries earlier.	
1577	Bernardino Escalante Second-ever book written about China (English version, 1579)	China " <a href="#">beginning from the island Ainan</a> . . . which is in the 19 <sup>o</sup> of the North side. . ." Fukien, Ryukyu ( <i>Lechios</i> ), Japan discussed <a href="#">without mentioning Taiwan</a>	
1584	Abraham Ortelius	<a href="#">Pracel was charted and named separate from China's borders</a>	First European map of China, drawn 80 years after the initial Portuguese contacts in 1514
C1590	Anonymous ? after Ruggieri /	<a href="#">Paracels charted and</a>	Sino-centric map excluding

<sup>112</sup> Needham, "Geography and Cartography," 586.

	Martini	<a href="#">named separately from China's borders</a>	Paracels
1593	Cornelis de Jode	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1596	Jan V.H. Linschoten	China " <a href="#">beginnth under 19<sup>o</sup> . . .</a> "	<a href="#">Pracel noted on map - independent of China</a>
<a href="#">1588 (1st edition 1585, Rome)</a>	Juan G. Mendoza History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China	China " <a href="#">beginning at the lland Aynan . . . 19<sup>o</sup> North</a> "	<a href="#">Fully aware of China's own maps and sources China map (1589)</a> <sup>113</sup>
1602	Father Diego de Pantoia - Purchas' Hakluytus Posthumus	China "runneth from North to South from the province of Canton, which is the most Southerly part of it, <a href="#">beginning seventeene or eighteene degrees</a> . . . unto fortie two degrees . . ."	
	Barent Langenes Thresor de Chartes	" <a href="#">[On] the south is Cochín-China . . .</a> " " <a href="#">Paracels on East Indies map</a>	
1606	Jodocus Hondius	<a href="#">Pracel was charted and named separate from China's borders</a>	
1615	Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault - <i>Regni chinensis</i>	China " <a href="#">starts at 19<sup>o</sup> at Hainan Island</a> "	<a href="#">China map on title page</a>

<sup>113</sup> Donald F. Lach, *A Century of Wonder*, vol. 2, bk. 3 of *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), fig. 78.

	<i>descriptio</i>	"To the south, China terminates in the island they call Haina signifying the south sea . . ." 114	
1618	Petrus Bertius	<a href="#">Paracels map</a> - <a href="#">China map</a> were separately drawn	
1625	Samuel Purchas	China " <a href="#">It runneth North and South from the province of Canton . . . beginning seventeen or eighteen degrees . . .</a> "	<a href="#">Purchas' Map of China</a> (copied from <a href="#">Chinese sources in 1612</a> ) "here we give you a true China, the Chinois themselves being our guides . . ."
1635	<a href="#">Willem Blaeu's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</a>	<a href="#">China map with Pracel noted as separate entity</a>	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1638	<a href="#">Thomas Herbert's Some years travel into parts of Asia</a>	<a href="#">"[I]t extends . . . to the south, Cantam . . . all agree that it is square . . ."</a> and bordered on the south by the Phillipine Iles, on the southwest by Cochyn-China, and Pegu with parts of Siam.	
1655 [1st edition 1642]	<a href="#">Alvarez Semedo's History of the</a>	<a href="#">". . . taking it from the</a>	<a href="#">China map (no Taiwan)</a>

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<sup>114</sup> Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 8.

	<a href="#">Great Monarchy of China</a>	<a href="#">latitude of Haynam . . . 19<sup>0</sup>. . ."</a>	<a href="#">"[T]owards the South [of Hainan] there lyeth a barbarous people."</a> (They did not submit to the Chinese.)
1655	Martino Martini <sup>115</sup> and Blaeu	<a href="#">Novus Atlas Sinensis</a> Maps of <a href="#">Canton, China [Formosa, not Taiwan, was charted]</a> Southernmost latitude was "Yay @ 18 <sup>0</sup> 13"	<a href="#">From Chinese sources Landmark Atlas of China</a> <sup>116</sup>
	<a href="#">Martino Martini's Bellum Tartaricum</a>	<a href="#">China map</a>	Taiwan not named
1658	Nicolas Sanson	China starts from " <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup> or 19<sup>0</sup></a> "	1652 <a href="#">China map</a> then revised in 1656 from Chinese sources <a href="#">copied from Chinese maps by Ricci, brought back to Rome by Ruggieri</a>
1659	<a href="#">Pierre d'Avity</a> - Les Estats . . . du Monde	"15 provinces and Hainan (Anayo) . . ."	n.b.: no Taiwan

<sup>115</sup> Martini "conceived of a work on geography soon after arriving in China [1643] . . . gathering information and started examining Chinese maps . . . until his return to Europe [1651]," Mungello, *Curious Land*, 120.

<sup>116</sup> Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *A Century of Advance*, vol. 3, bk. 4 of *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993) "By 1655, with the publication of Martini's atlas, Europe's image of Chinese geography was quite complete, not to be appreciably altered during the next two centuries." 1572.

		bordered on the South by Cochin-China . . ."	
1655 voyage ( <a href="#">1st edition 1665</a> , <a href="#">2nd edition 1670</a> )	Johannes Nieuhof - First Dutch Embassy to China	<a href="#">China map (1655)</a> <a href="#">China map (1673)</a> Formosa, not Taiwan, was charted on both	" <a href="#">The furthest extent of China . . . begins in the south upon the island Hainan . . .</a> "
1670	<a href="#">Richard Blome - Geographical Description of the World</a>	<a href="#">China map</a> Formosa, not Taiwan, was charted	" <a href="#">. . . extends from 18<sup>o</sup> or 19<sup>o</sup>. . .</a> "
	Palafox Mendoza Histoire de la conquest de la Chine par les Tartares	<a href="#">China map</a>	Formosa, not Taiwan, was charted
1672	Martino Martini [Thevenot's Relations de divers voyages curieux]	China extends " <a href="#">from 18<sup>o</sup> to 42<sup>o</sup>. . .</a> " <a href="#">China map</a> (Formosa, not Taiwan)	<a href="#">Canton (Qvangtvng) in details - No SCS features</a>
1680 ( <a href="#">printed in 1704</a> <a href="#">Churchill's Voyages and Travel - Vol I</a> )	Domingo F. Navarette History of China	" <a href="#">The most southern part is the island of Hai Nan . . .</a> "; " <a href="#">China appeared square on their own maps . . .</a> "	SCS islands, channels " <a href="#">. . . unknown to the Chinese to this day. . .</a> "
1683	Alain M. Mallet Description de	<a href="#">China map</a> (Formosa, not Taiwan)	

	L'Univers		
1687	Philippe Couplet - Confucius Sinarum	<a href="#">China map</a> (Formosa, not Taiwan)	
1688	Gabriel Magaillans New History of China	". . . [extend] to the <a href="#">meridional point of the island of Hai Nan</a> in 18 <sup>o</sup> . . ." Chinese islands (Hainan, Taiwan) discussed but <a href="#">no SCS features</a>	
1691	Laurence Eachard A Compleat <a href="#">Compendium of Geography</a>	South China starts from 20 <sup>o</sup> (p. 131); Fukien and Quantung described—Hainan mentioned but not Taiwan (p. 135)	
1692	Joannis Luyts Introductio ad geographiam	<a href="#">China map</a> by <a href="#">Nicholas Sanson</a> Southern China is at <a href="#">20<sup>o</sup></a>	
1693	Robert Morden Geography Rectified	<a href="#">China Map; "Isles of China" include Hainan and Formosa Paracels map</a>	<a href="#">Aware of Paracels</a> "twenty leagues from the coast of Cambodia lies the bank Pracellis"
1694	Philip Cluver Introductio universam geographiam	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1695 [ <a href="#">in 1704 Churchil Voyages and Travels - Vol IV</a> ]	Gemelli	China reaches " <a href="#">to the southernmost point of the island of Aainan in 18<sup>o</sup></a> . . . China draws their map square..."	Paracels noted "[A] rule to other pilots to pass between the under-water rocks and the [Coast of Champa] . . .

		[p. 340]	where the Cochinchinese would seize the goods and the vessels . . . [They] scour the coast all year to gather wrecks . . . ." <a href="#">p. 283</a> , <a href="#">p. 284</a>
1696 (Voyage taken in 1687)	Louis Le Comte Memoirs and observations	" . . . <a href="#">from the most southerly point of Haynan . . .</a> "	<a href="#">China map</a>
1701	Herman Moll System of Geography	China " <a href="#">extends from 21<sup>o</sup> but if the island Haynan is included, another 3<sup>o</sup> more must be added. . .</a> "	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1704	Patrick Gordon Geography Atomiz'd	Southern China <a href="#">begins at 20<sup>o</sup></a>	
1709	Herman Moll Thesaurus Geographicus and Atlas Manuale	" <a href="#">[I]f the island Haynan . . . be included</a> , 3 Deg. more must be added . . . according to Magaillans [from Chinese books] must be reckoned from 18 <sup>o</sup> to 41 <sup>o</sup> . . ." <a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels charted separately</a> from <a href="#">China</a>	
	Afferden El Atlas Abbreuiado	<a href="#">China map</a> pp. 80-81 <i>Reyno de la China</i> stopped at 18 <sup>o</sup> (p. 83)	
1711	Herman Moll - Atlas	Southern China extends "to the S. point of the island of Hainan, lat.	

	Geographicus (Vol. 3)	18°. . ." (p. 714) China map (pp. 714-715) Paracels map (pp. 652, 792)	
1716	Lenglet Dufresnoy - Methode pour etudier la geographie	China is situated from " <a href="#">20°</a> " <a href="#">Fukien, Canton and their islands</a> " <a href="#">Isle Prace!</a> " discussed within "La Cochinchine"	
1727	M. Robbe Methode pour . . . la géographie	<a href="#">China map</a> (stops at <a href="#">20°</a> latitude)	
1735	Jean-Baptiste Du Halde <a href="#">Description Geographique . . . de L'Empire de la Chine</a>	China <a href="#">map #1</a> , <a href="#">map#2</a> <a href="#">Co-ordinates of Chinese locations</a> measured by Jesuit priests - the southern- most point is at <a href="#">18°21'</a> on Hainan	Landmark map atlas containing Emperor Kangxi authorised <a href="#">survey of the Chinese empire</a> carried out by Jesuit priests <sup>117</sup> ( <a href="#">1708-1717</a> )
	Patrick Gordon Geography Atomiz'd	Southern China <a href="#">begins at 20°</a>	
1736	Alexandre du Bois La Géographie Moderne	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels Map</a> " <a href="#">southernmost point of Quanton province</a> is the island of Hainan"	
1741	Du Fresnoy Methode pour	China lies " <a href="#">between 20° and 43°</a>	" <a href="#">Isle Prace!</a> " discussed within "La

<sup>117</sup> One of these Jesuit Priests was [Father Bouvet](#) who returned to China in [1698](#) on the French ship [Amphitrite](#) which lent its name to the Northern Paracels group.



	etudier la géographie	<a href="#">latitude</a> "	Cochinchine"
	Patrick Gordon Geography Atomiz'd	Southern China <a href="#">begins at 20°30'</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1742	Histoire Universelle Chez Arkstee and Merkus - Vols. 19, 20	<a href="#">China map</a> Extends "to the <a href="#">southern</a> <a href="#">extremity of</a> <a href="#">the island of</a> <a href="#">Hay-nan</a> at 18°. .."	"[B]efore leaving Cochinchina, we must not forget to mention its islands. . . including the <a href="#">dangerous bank</a> <a href="#">of Paracels</a> . . ."
1744	Thomas Salmon Modern History	". . . <a href="#">if we take</a> <a href="#">in the island of</a> <a href="#">Haynam in the</a> <a href="#">south . . . which</a> <a href="#">lies in the</a> <a href="#">latitude of 18°</a> . .."	<a href="#">China map</a> (stops at 20°) <a href="#">Paracels on</a> <a href="#">another map</a>
1745	John Green Voyages and Travels	<a href="#">Southernmost</a> <a href="#">point of Hainan</a> <a href="#">was at 18°21'</a>	[Continental] China was " <a href="#">between</a> <a href="#">20°14' and</a> <a href="#">41°25'</a> "
	Thomas Osborne Voyages and Travels	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1748	Abbé Prevost Histoire General des Voyages (16- vol series)	<a href="#">China map</a> " <a href="#">China [lies]</a> <a href="#">between 20°14'</a> <a href="#">and 41°25'</a> . . ." "There is hardly any other	<a href="#">Paracels on</a> <a href="#">another map</a> <a href="#">Quang-Tong</a> <a href="#">(Canton) in</a> <a href="#">details - no SCS</a> Southernmost

		country whose <a href="#">situation and extent is better verified as China</a> thanks to the measurements by the [Jesuit] missionaries."	point on Hainan recorded by the Jesuit missionaries in 1714 <a href="#">for Emperor Kangxi - 18°21'</a> North latitude
1754	Patrick Gordon Geography Atomiz'd	<a href="#">Southern China was at 20°</a>	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1755	Rollin's Antient History of China	" <a href="#">Hai Nan . . . is situated at the southern extremity of China. . .</a> " p. 49  <a href="#">China map</a> (Hainan @ southernmost point)	"[S]hipwrecks <a href="#">[on Paracels] were so frequent that the King of Cochinchina . . . sent out several vessels a year to fish for merchandise and other parts of the wrecks."</a> p. 339
1758	Thomas Salmon A New Geographical Grammar	Southern China starts at " <a href="#">20°</a> "	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1759	An Universal History from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time - <a href="#">Vol VIII</a>	"Quang-Tong <a href="#">extends from 20°15' . . . or if you include the island of Haynan . . .</a> at 18°20' . . ."	China extends to "... <a href="#">the most southern part of the island of Hay-nan</a> under 18° North latitude..."
1762		Southern China	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>

	R. Brookes General Gazetteer	is at " <a href="#">21°</a> "	
1763	<a href="#">Histoire Universelle</a> depuis le commencement du monde, Vol. 20	<a href="#">China map</a>	Extends "to the <a href="#">southernmost point of Hainan Island at 18°</a> . . . "
1768	Bruzen de la Martiniere La Grande Dictionaire Géographique - Vol II	China extends "to <a href="#">the southernmost point of the Island of Hai-nan</a> at 18° . . . "	Parcels noted to be an " <a href="#">uninhabited shipwreck hazard</a> " along the coast of Cochinchina
1769	Smollett's Present State of Nations	China [lies] " <a href="#">between 18° and almost 43°</a> . . . including the <a href="#">island of Haynan</a> . . . "	<a href="#">Parcels aware</a> " <a href="#">along the coast of Cochinchina</a> . . . a number of <a href="#">shallows, rocks and shelves that shipwrecks are very frequent</a> . . . "
1770	William Guthrie A New Geographical... Grammar	China [lies] " <a href="#">between 20° and 50°</a> "	<a href="#">Parcels map</a>
1772	Chinese Traveller	<a href="#">China map</a>	"if the island of Hay-nan may be added . . . <a href="#">we must reckon from the 18°</a> instead of the 20° . . . "
1777 (UK)	<a href="#">Grosier's Histoire</a>	<a href="#">China map</a>	" . . . if <a href="#">we</a>

<a href="#">Translation 1788</a>	<a href="#">Generale de la Chine</a> (translated from <a href="#">Chinese sources</a> under <a href="#">Kangxi's order</a> )	Coordinates of <a href="#">Canton</a> and <a href="#">Hainan</a> towns (southernmost town @ 18°21')	<a href="#">reckon from the most southern point of the island of Hainan...</a> "
1777	Charles Middleton A new and complete system of geography	China "is included <a href="#">between 20° and 42°</a> of north latitude"	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1780	Thomas Bankes System of Universal Geography	China " <a href="#">extends from 20°</a> to almost 43°"	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1782	Thomas Salmon's Universal Geographical Grammar	<a href="#">China map</a> China [is] " <a href="#">between 20° and 42° latitude</a> "	
	William F. Martyn The Geographical Magazine	China is situated "between <a href="#">21°</a> and 44°" <a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1783	Histoire Universelle chez Moutard, Tome XIII	China extends to " <a href="#">the southernmost point of the island of Hainan at 18°</a> "	
1792	William Guthrie A new geographical... grammar	China is between " <a href="#">20°</a> and 42°" <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1795	W.	"... from <a href="#">the most southern point</a>	

	Winterbotham A Historical, geographical view of the Chinese Empire	<a href="#">of the island of Hainan</a> . . . between 20 <sup>0</sup> and 42 <sup>0</sup> . . ." <a href="#">China map</a>	
1797	George Staunton Embassy to the Emperor of China	Known and charted <a href="#">Limits of Chinese empire under Qianlong in map #1 here</a> Fully aware of <a href="#">Paracels as a navigational hazard</a> off Cochinchina coast <a href="#">en route to Hainan</a> as noted on his chart <a href="#">here</a>	
	Thomas Banks System of Universal Geography	China " <a href="#">extends from 20<sup>0</sup></a> to almost 43 <sup>0</sup> ." <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1802	John Pinkerton's Modern Geography	". . . <a href="#">southern part of China at 21<sup>0</sup></a> ..." <a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels on map</a>	For the first time <a href="#">Paracels</a> was listed on a geography <a href="#">textbook index</a>
1805	William Guthrie A new geographical... grammar	<a href="#">China map</a> stops at 20 <sup>0</sup>	
1806	John Pinkerton Modern Geography	"[T]his vast empire may be computed . . . to the <a href="#">southern part of China about 21<sup>0</sup></a> . . ." not including <a href="#">Hainan</a>	
	Jedidiah Morse Geography made easy	China is situated between " <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup></a> and 42 <sup>0</sup> "	
1808	Rev. Clement Crutwell New Universal Gazetteer - Vol I	". . . if we reckon from the <a href="#">southernmost point</a> of the	<a href="#">Paracels noted separately</a>

		island of Hainan . . . "	
1810	Encyclopaedia Londinensis	". . . if we reckon from the <a href="#">most southern point</a> of the island of Hainan to the northern extremity. . . "	
	Walker and Kershaw The universal gazetteer	China "lies <a href="#">between 20<sup>0</sup></a> and 41 <sup>0</sup> N. Latitude . . . "	
1811	Jedidiah Morse and John Bigland Geographical ... View of the World (Vol IV)	China is "situated between <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup></a> and 42 <sup>0</sup> . . . "	
1812	Jedidiah Morse American Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a> <a href="#">Paracels discussed within Cochinchina</a>	". . . <a href="#">to the southern part, about 21<sup>0</sup></a> . . . "
1814	Elijah Parish A New System of Geography	". . . between <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup>15'</a> and 41 <sup>0</sup> 20' . . . "	
1815	R. Brookes General Gazetteer	China is between " <a href="#">21<sup>0</sup></a> and 42 <sup>0</sup> ." Paracels <a href="#">on map</a> and <a href="#">in text</a> as navigational hazards (separate from China entry)	
1818	Christopher Kelly Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> ". . . between <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup> and 42<sup>0</sup></a> . . . " -	<a href="#">Paracels on a separate map</a>
1820	Abraham Rees	China extends	<a href="#">China map</a>

	The Cyclopaedia	"to the Chinese sea in the south . . . <a href="#">at about 21<sup>0</sup></a> "	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1821	J. Morse's A New Universal Gazetteer	China "lying <a href="#">between 20<sup>0</sup> and 41<sup>0</sup></a> . . ."	<a href="#">Pracels separately listed</a> ; <a href="#">Spratlys not listed</a>
1822	Thomas Meyers New system of modern geography	China " <a href="#">. . . extending from 20<sup>0</sup></a> . . ." China's islands noted, all minute islands were " <a href="#">near the coast</a> "	<a href="#">Paracels noted</a> with China clearly delineated
	Johann Heinrich Hassel  Vollständige und neueste Erdbeschreibung des Schinesischen Reichs	China stops at Hainan ( <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup>10'</a> ); if Hainan is included, <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup>37'</a>	
1822	Sidney Morse New System of Geography	China " <a href="#">extends from 20<sup>0</sup> to 41<sup>0</sup></a> N. latitude."	
1826	Conrad Malte-Brun Universal	<a href="#">"China's greatest breadth</a> is . . . to the southern point of China,	

	Geography	opposite to the island of Hay-nan . . . <a href="#">which belong to</a> [China] . . . "	
1830	Encyclopaedia Americana	". . . [between] <a href="#">18°37'</a> and <a href="#">41°35'</a> . . ."	
1831	James Bell System of Geography	"[I]ts greatest breadth from S. to N. is from <a href="#">20°15'</a> and <a href="#">41°</a> . . . If the island of Hainan be included, 2 degrees must be added." <a href="#">Paracels noted separately</a>	
1834	Charles Karl Gutzlaff's A Sketch of China History	<a href="#">". . . between 18° and 41° . . ."</a> <a href="#">China map</a>	
1836	JF Davis General description of the Chinese Empire	<a href="#">China map (21° without Hainan)</a>	2nd Governor of Hong Kong; Spoke fluent Chinese; "the <a href="#">best informed man</a> on China"
	Murray - Crawford's Historical and Descriptive Account of China	<a href="#">China map</a>	<a href="#">Paracels described as "navigational hazards"</a>
1838	Guillaume Pauthier Chine - Description . . . Geographique	<a href="#">China map Southern China was at Hainan (18°)</a>	Aware of <a href="#">Chinese mapping</a> including Ming's "route maps to the <a href="#">extreme ends</a> of the



			empire" and <a href="#">Qianlong 1761 map</a>
	Charles Gutzlaff China Opened	"[T]he <a href="#">southernmost point</a> is the island of Haenan, which extends to about 18° "	<a href="#">Kwang-Tung islands discussed - Lowest latitude 18°43'</a>
1840	Hugh Murray's Encyclopaedia of Geography	<a href="#">China map "strictly a continental country" - stops @ Hainan (20°)</a>	<a href="#">Paracels noted</a>
	Malte-Brun Abrégé de Géographie	"Hainan . . . <a href="#">the southernmost point</a> of Chinese possessions . . ."	
1842	Dictionnaire des noms anciens . . . dans l'empire Chinois (Bidot)	<a href="#">Yai-tcheou, Hainan</a> was <a href="#">the southernmost town in China with a latitude of 18°22'</a>	Comprehensive listing of China's towns with precise geographical coordinates
	Encyclopaedia Britannica	(continental) <a href="#">China stopped at 21°</a>	
1845	Meyers Conversations – Lexicon	China is between " <a href="#">20° and 42°</a> "	
1845	Conrad Malte- Brun Précis de la Géographie	Chinese empire extends " <a href="#">to its southern point opposite the island of Hainan</a> . . . which is part of <a href="#">Koaung-Toung</a> . . ."	

1847	Official Report to Queen Victoria (R. Montgomery Martin)	<a href="#">China map</a>	<a href="#">Stopped at Hainan (20<sup>0</sup>)</a>
	Rev. George Smith Narrative of an exploratory visit to . . . China	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Thomas Baldwin A universal pronouncing gazetteer	"China lies between <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup> and 41<sup>0</sup>N. Lat . . .</a> "	
1848 <a href="#">[reprinted numerous times - last edition was in 1966]</a>	The Middle Kingdom (Sam Williams) <sup>118</sup>	"[I]f Hainan is included, the southernmost point is the Bay of Yulin at <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup>10' . . .</a> "	<a href="#">China map</a> - sourced from a <a href="#">Chinese government map</a>  ". . . in 1840, its borders were well defined, . . . to Hainan @ <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup>10' . . .</a> "
1849	James Bell A System of Geography	China extends from " <a href="#">20<sup>0</sup></a> . . . if the island of Hainan be included, <a href="#">2 degrees</a> must be added." <a href="#">China's islands in details</a> —no SCS / ECS features	
1850	Abbé Huc Souvenirs d'un voyage	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Thomas Milner Descriptive Atlas	China extends from " <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup> including the island of Hainan</a> . . ."	

<sup>118</sup> The first Professor of Chinese in the USA (at [Yale University](#)) — [Fluent in Chinese](#)

		<a href="#">Paracels map</a> <a href="#">China map</a>
1851	Conrad Malte-Brun System of Geography	China <a href="#">stops at 20°</a> ; Hainan is " <a href="#">between 18° and 20°N. Lat.</a> " <a href="#">China's islands</a> discussed - no SCS / ECS features
1853	Julia Corner China Pictorial	<a href="#">China map</a>
1854	Chambers Encyclopaedia	China extending " <a href="#">from eighteenth</a> parallel of north latitude . . ."
1856	James Bryce Cyclopaedia of Geography	China "lies <a href="#">between 20° and 41°</a> " <a href="#">Paracels separately listed</a>
1857	Charles Morse Diamond Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a>
	Hugh Murray Encyclopaedia of Geography	<a href="#">China map</a>
1857	Aristide Perrot Nouveau Dictionaire de Geographie	<a href="#">China map</a>
	Encyclopaedia Americana	China lies between " <a href="#">18°37' - 41°35'</a> ."
	Pierer Universal Lexikon (German)	". . . <a href="#">from 18° to 43°</a> . . ."

	Grand Dictionaire de Geographie	Between " <a href="#">18° and 41°30'</a> . . ."
	JF Davis General description of the Chinese Empire	"[I]f we leave out the island of Haenan, [China] <a href="#">extends from about 21° to 41°</a> . . ."
1858	George N. Wright The Chinese Empire	<a href="#">China map</a>
	Julius Meyer Neues Conversations-Lexikon	<a href="#">China map (stopping at 20°)</a>
1859	Charles Dana - George Ripley's American Cyclopaedia	China extends " <a href="#">from the Bay of Yulin, island of Hai-nan, in lat. 18° 10' N.</a> , to the Russian frontier, lat. 56° 10' . . ."
1865	Richard Brookes & Alexander Findlay  General Gazetteer	Hainan Island is " <a href="#">at the S. extremity of the [Chinese] empire [at] 19° of N. lat. . .</a> "  <a href="#">Separate notation for Paracels</a>  <a href="#">China map - Paracels map</a> [1858]
1868	Chambers Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a> China is between " <a href="#">18° and 40°</a> [which takes in the island of Hainan]. . ."
1869	John Nevius	<a href="#">China map</a>

	China and the Chinese	
1871	Meyers Konversations Lexikon	<a href="#">China map</a>
	Arthur Moule Four hundred millions	<a href="#">China map</a>
1873	Onésime Reclus Géographie	China extends to " <a href="#">18° latitude</a> "
1877	Ferdinand Richthofen <sup>119</sup> China: Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Overview of Chinese geography as known to the West from the initial Portuguese contact</a>
1880	Élisé Reclus, AH Keane Universal Geography -Vol. VII	<a href="#">China map</a>
1881	George Cram Illustrated Handbook of Geography	<a href="#">China map</a>

<sup>119</sup> Author of the [first-ever scientific atlas](#) on China including its geological and geographical details.

1882	Ontario Province - Modern School Geography and Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a>
	Louis Grégoire Géographie . . . de L'Asie	<a href="#">China map</a>
1884	Élisé Reclus The Earth and its inhabitants - Vol. II	<a href="#">China map</a> " [N]atural limits of China are <a href="#">sufficiently well defined . . .</a> "
	Challamel Ainé  Les côtes de la Chine	<a href="#">Southern China Coast stops at Hainan</a>
1886	B.C. Henry Ling-Nam (Interior Views of Southern China)	"Hainan forms the <a href="#">extreme southern limit</a> of the Chinese empire."
1890	Charles de Varigny Nouvelle Geographie Moderne	Hainan was " <a href="#">the southernmost point of China.</a> "
1893	Lippincott Gazetteer	China is "included between <a href="#">18<sup>0</sup></a> and 40 <sup>0</sup> N. lat. [which takes in the island of Hainan] . . ." <a href="#">Paracels</a> noted in a separate entry
1897	John Macgowan History of China	<a href="#">China map</a>

1898	Geography of Asia (Tenney)	<a href="#">China map</a>	<a href="#">Tenney was the President of Tientsin University</a>
	Brockhaus Encyclopaedia (Polish edition)	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	AR Colquhoun China in Transformation	<a href="#">Canton Geography: no SCS features - Hainan</a>	Consulted "closely" with <a href="#">Li Hung-Chang</a>
	Alexis Krausse China in decay	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1899	Harry Peck's International Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1900	A. Scobel - Political Map of China	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Charles Adam's Universal Cyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Russian Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Joseph Walton MP China and the Present Crisis	<a href="#">China map</a>	"... in possession of the <a href="#">best and most accurate information</a> carefully collected from the best

			informed men [in China] . . ."
1901	Clive Bigham A Year in China	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Encyclopaedia Britannica	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1902	Encyclopaedia Britannica	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	David Gilman New International Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	Ernst Tiessen China - das Reich der achtzehn Provinzen	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1903	Longmans' School Geography	China extends to " <a href="#">island of Hainan</a> ."	
	Russian Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	E.H. Parker - China: Past and Present	<a href="#">China map</a>	



1904	J. Dyer Ball Things Chinese	China extends " <a href="#">to the island of Hainan in the south, in 18° 10'</a> "
1905	Geographie de L'Empire de la Chine (Louis Richards)	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Canton coast and islands in details</a> - No SCS features
	Myers Lexicon	<a href="#">China map</a>
	David Gilman New International Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a>
1906	A.H. Keane Asia - Vol I (Stanford Compendium of Geography)	"[The] Chinese empire is almost everywhere clearly delimited. . . <a href="#">southwards to the island of Hainan</a> . . . Excluding Hainan, <a href="#">[China] stretches from 20°</a> . . . <a href="#">Islands of China . . .</a> " <a href="#">China map</a>
1907	William Martin <sup>120</sup> The Awakening of China	China " <a href="#">lying between 18° and 49° North latitude</a> " <a href="#">[Since Qianlong] "No territory has . . . been added, and none lost. . ."</a>
	Arthur Smith The Uplift of China	<a href="#">China map</a>

<sup>120</sup> Formerly President of the Chinese Imperial University, Wm. Martin lived in China for over 50 years.

1908	Edward Stanford's Complete Atlas of China	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Canton map</a>	
	Louis Richards - Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire	<a href="#">China map</a>	"Paracels seem attached to Annam than to China"
1911	Horatio B. Hawkins Geography of China	<a href="#">China map</a>	Printed in Shanghai
1912	Cambridge Modern History Atlas	<a href="#">Chinese Empire (1910)</a>	
	National Geographic	<a href="#">China map</a>	
	AR Colquhoun China in transformation	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1913	Samuel Williams Middle Kingdom	"[I]ts borders were well defined . . . to Hainan I. in the China Sea on the south in lat. 18 <sup>o</sup> 10' . . ."	
1917	Edward Stanford's Complete Atlas of China	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Canton map</a>	
	UK Naval Intelligence	<a href="#">Canton Map</a> <a href="#">Southern China map</a>	
	E.H. Parker China: Her History	<a href="#">China map</a>	

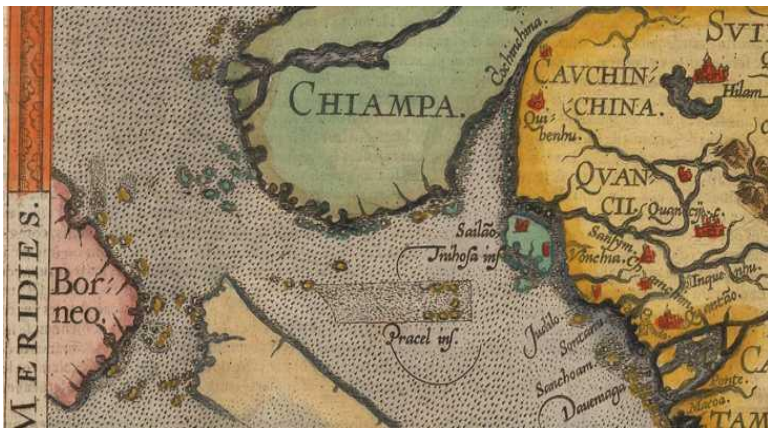
1920	George Philip and Sons	<a href="#">China map</a>
1921	Carl Crow The travelers' handbook for China	<a href="#">China map</a>
1922	Ernest Granger Nouvelle Géographie Universelle	<a href="#">China map</a> "[A]t the <a href="#">extreme southern end</a> was the Island of Hainan."
	Leonard Brooks Regional Geography of the World	<a href="#">China map</a>
1925	Haack-Stieler	<a href="#">China map</a>
1926	Department of Commerce (Wash.) Commercial and Industrial Handbook	<a href="#">China map</a>
1930	Rand McNally	<a href="#">China map</a>
1932	<a href="#">Edward Williams</a> China: Yesterday and Today	China map ending at Hainan Island (p. 720) Extending "... from 19 <sup>o</sup> North in the island of Hainan ..." p. 7

1935	Albert Herrmann Historical and Commercial Atlas of China	<a href="#">China in 1912 AD</a> Acknowledged in 1935 by China Digest to be " <a href="#">valuable</a> "	Serial mapping of China over the ages across all Chinese dynasties
1937	Atlas of the Chinese Empire [Oxenham]	<a href="#">China map</a>	
		Rene Jouon Geographie de la Chine	<a href="#">Published in Shanghai</a> over four editions (1928, 1930, 1932, 1937) Hainan was always the southernmost territory
1944	China Proper - (British) Naval Intelligence Division	<a href="#">China map</a>	WW II background information from British Intelligence
1948	China Inland Mission	<a href="#">China map</a>	
1950	Australian Department of Defence	<a href="#">China Map</a>	

The following are examples of some notable Western maps:



**Fig. 52a** Ortelius (1584)—First China map drawn by a European (from Spanish Sources).<sup>121</sup>



**Fig. 52b** Ortelius (1584)—A Close-Up View of The Pracel (Paracels) Shoals. Shoals of Paracels (Pracel) were noted as part of the Sinus Magnus and not China's, some 70 years after the initial Portuguese contacts with China.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Lach, *The Century of Discovery*, 818.

<sup>122</sup> Lach, *The Century of Discovery*, 732 (Jorge Alvarez in 1514).



**Fig. 53a** First China map in Europe, from Chinese sources: General Map of Ming China (TAMINCVO)—Michele Ruggieri's manuscript (1606).<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Manuscript completed from Chinese sources in Rome (1606) by Michele Ruggieri who was in China between 1579 and 1588. It was only discovered in 1987 and published in [Rome \(1993\)](#) as *L'Atlante della Cina di Michele Ruggieri* and in [Macau \(2014\)](#) as *Atlas of China*. Note the complete absence of any features south of Hainan (Ainan) apart from the notation Nan Hai (South Sea). Also, Taiwan was drawn but in a different shade compared to Hainan, i.e., China had yet to lay a claim to the largest island within view of its coast. Chinese natives called themselves "[Tame](#) (Ta-ming jen)." See Donald Lach, *The Century of Discovery*, 752. Willem Blaeu's China map (1636) had the word [TAME](#) in its cartouche. It signified "[Kingdom of Brightness](#)." It was noted as such by [Gaspar da Cruz](#) (1569), [Bernadino Escalante](#) (1577) and [Pierre D'Avity](#) (1613). Nicolas Sanson's [China map \(1670\)](#) was derived from Ruggieri's data.



**Fig. 53b** Close-up view of Southern China—Michele Ruggieri's manuscript (1606). Hainan was shown as the southernmost territory of the Ming Dynasty.



**Fig. 54** Samuel Purchas (1625)—Map of the Whole of China under the Ming Emperor.<sup>124</sup> "[S]o here we [give you a true China](#), the Chinese themselves being our guide, and the Jesuits their both Examiners and Interpreters . . ." [Purchas his Pilgrimes \(1625\)](#). One of the first China maps printed in Europe copied directly from [Chinese sources](#)—likely Guang Yu Tu (1579).<sup>125</sup> (See Fig. 9, above.)

<sup>124</sup> Lach and Van Kley, *A Century of Advance*, [fig. 284](#).

<sup>125</sup> Needham, "Geography and Cartography," 586.





**Fig. 55a** J. Blaeu / M. Martini (1655)—Novo Atlas Sinensis—first published China map atlas in Europe—derived directly from Chinese sources—likely Guang Yu Tu,1579 (see Fig. 9, above.)



**Fig. 55b** J. Blaeu / M. Martini (1655)—Quantvng Imperii Sinarvm Provincia (Canton).<sup>126</sup> SCS was not mentioned, nor were features therein.

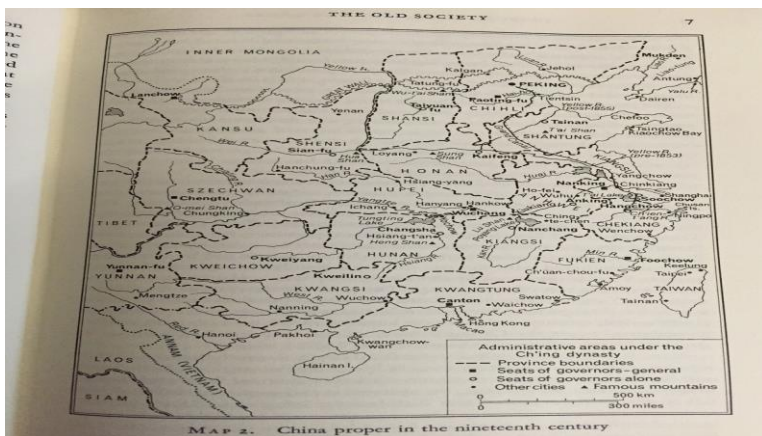


**Fig. 56** J.B. D'Anville (1737)—Drawn from Emperor Kangxi-authorized Jesuit surveying over nearly 10 years (1708-1717).

<sup>126</sup> Other Southern China-only maps showing Hainan Island as the southernmost territory of the Chinese empire include [1696 Coronelli](#), [1700 G. Valk and P. Schenk](#), [1827 Vandermaelen](#), and 1935 [Vivien St Martin](#).



**Fig. 57** Map by Emil Bretschneider (1896)—a Chinese-speaking Russian Sinologist.



**Fig. 58** *Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing Period (1800-1911)*<sup>127</sup> John K. Fairbank (ed.) (1978)—Vol. 10, Part I, p. 7.

<sup>127</sup> Part of an authoritative [15-volume book series](#) by eminent Sinologists on the history of China from the Han Dynasty (220 B.C.) to 1982.



**Fig. 59.** Joseph Needham F.R.S. (1954), *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 1.<sup>128</sup>

*South China Sea features (Paracels, Spratlys) in ancient Western texts and maps*

Early explorers' descriptions and geography texts from the sixteenth century also contained references to the presence of the Paracels (Pracel) shoals—*always* in a separate discussion from China. Ortelius (1567) was the first cartographer to apply the Pracel term to what is now known as Paracel Islands. It is universal knowledge in Western literature (maps and texts) that neither the Paracels nor Spratlys have ever been attributed to China from the time of first contact ([Marco Polo in the thirteenth century](#)) except the relatively recent odd occasions (and with conflicting information) from China's fellow communists after Zhou's 1951 statement. These include [Russian, 1954—Xisha—however, no Spratlys](#); [Polish Asia map, 1967—Nansha charted—however, Paracels remain non-Chinese](#). Curiously the dedicated China map of the same series [stopped at Hainan](#).

<sup>128</sup> Needham's research was done in China relying on Chinese sources including the [Kangxi Encyclopaedia](#) (Gujin Tushi Jicheng) and received full support from Chinese intelligentsia and politicians including Zhou En-Lai. Everything and anything favourable to China was documented. The chapter on Chinese cartography was detailed. Needham, "Geography and Cartography," 551-556, 583-586.

Some illustrative ancient maps:



Fig. 60 "Baixos" (islands of shoals)—[Diego Ribero World Map](#) (1529).



Fig. 61 Paracel shoals or reefs—[Gerard Mercator World Map](#) (1538).

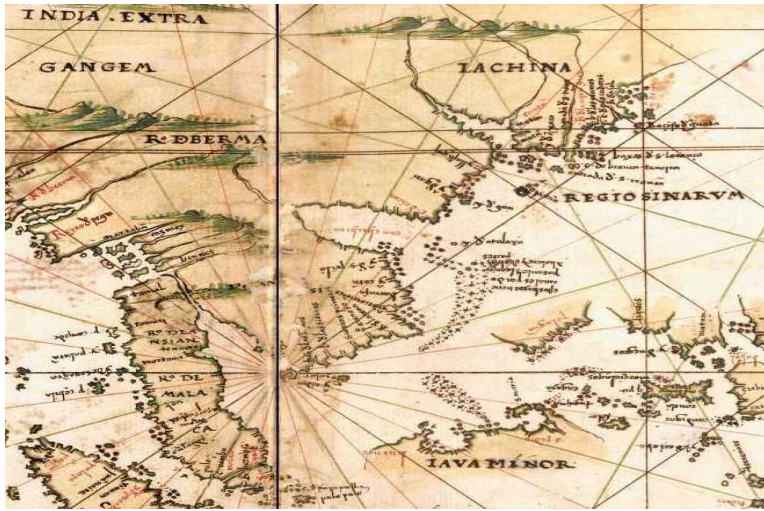


Fig. 62 "Baixos" (islands of shoals)—[Alonso de Santa Cruz](#) (1539).



Fig. 63 First naming of Pracel on a map—[Asia Wall Map](#)—[Ortelius](#) (1567).

TABLE II: SCS features (Paracels / Pracel / Spratlys) in early maps and texts—cursory notes

According to the contemporary Chinese narrative, "Before the 1930s, there was no dispute over China's ownership of them, as reflected in many maps and encyclopaedias published around the world."<sup>129</sup> The consensus from Western literature in the last 500 years, however, is that the SCS features were navigational hazards, graveyards for shipwrecks, waypoints for sailing direction etc., with most descriptions occurring within the Cochin-China (modern-day Vietnam) section. There was no instance of SCS features being discussed or charted in the context of China's geographical limits since Western records began in the thirteenth century. Illustrative records are tabulated below.

1270s	Marco Polo <sup>130</sup>	<p>"We shall here cease to treat further of these countries and islands [in the sea of Chin] as well on account of their lying so far out of the way . . . [and] . . . <a href="#">not being under the dominion of the Grand khan</a> . . ."</p> <p>(referring to the <a href="#">SCS extending to the East Indies</a>)</p>
1502	Cantino	<p><a href="#">Multiple "Baixos" were charted off the coast of "China-Cochin"</a><sup>131</sup></p>

<sup>129</sup> [Fu and Wu](#), "South China Sea: How We Got to This Stage."

<sup>130</sup> Marco Polo served Kublai Khan, the Yuan Emperor, for [some 17 years](#) (1273-1291) and had [sailed past the Vietnam coast](#) —specifically [Champa](#), [Java](#) (Borneo), without seeing or being told about the Paracels or Spratlys by the Chinese crew. See William Marsden, *Travels of Marco Polo*, notes 47, 1160-1161, 1175.

1516	Waldesemüller Carta Marina	<a href="#">Baixos</a> was charted and named off Fulicandora (Indochina)
1529	Diego Ribero	" <a href="#">Baixos</a> " was charted off the coast of Champa (modern-day Vietnam)
1538	Gerard Mercator	<a href="#">Paracels were drawn but not named</a>
1539	Alonso de Santa Cruz	" <a href="#">Baixos</a> " was charted off the coast of Champa (modern-day Vietnam)
1541	Gerard Mercator's Globe	<a href="#">Paracels were drawn but not named</a>
1547	Vallard Atlas East Indies map	" <a href="#">Baixos</a> " was charted off the coast of Champa (modern-day Vietnam)
1554	Ramusio Terza Ostro Tavola	<a href="#">Paracels were drawn but not named</a>
1559	Giacomo Gastaldi	<a href="#">Paracels were drawn but not named</a>
1567	Abraham Ortelius - Asia Wall Map	<a href="#">Pracel was named</a>   <a href="#">1570 Ortelius Asia map</a>
1569	Gerard Mercator	" <a href="#">Baixos</a> " was named
1573	Domingo Teixeira	<a href="#">Paracels</a> charted, not named
1587	Rumold Mercator	<a href="#">Paracels</a> charted, not named
1590	<a href="#">Unknown author</a>	

<sup>131</sup> Given that [Vasco De Gama](#) only arrived in India on 20 May 1498, the Portuguese would not conquer Malacca until [1511](#) and would only arrive in China [in 1514](#), the Portuguese sources for the 1502 Cantino map especially in relation to "beyond the Ganges" were likely to have been the [Indian \(Arabic\) traders](#) who had been involved in maritime trading with China for centuries. For example, see the [Belitung shipwreck](#) (carrying ninth century Tang ceramics).



		Paracels charted with South-East Asia while China's provinces were clearly named
1593	Gerard & Cornelis De Jode	<a href="#">Pracel</a> charted - named
1595	Gerard Mercator / Jodocus Hondius	<a href="#">Baixos</a> was <a href="#">named and charted</a>
1596	J H Van Linschoten	<a href="#">Pracel was charted and named</a>
1598	Cornelis Claez	<a href="#">Parcel was charted but not named</a> (title page)
	Theodore de Bry	<a href="#">Parcel was charted but not named</a>
1600	Richard Hakluyt The Principals of Navigation	<a href="#">Paracels</a> charted, <a href="#">not named</a>
1602	Jodocus Hondius	<a href="#">Pracel</a> was named and charted
1606	Jodocus Hondius	<a href="#">Pracel</a> charted and named together with "Costa de Pracel" being part of Cochin-China's coast
1616	Christopher Borri	<a href="#">". . . rocks of Pulosisi . . . off the coast of Cochin-China . . ."</a>
1636	The Dutch ship <i>Grootenbrook</i> was stranded on Paracel and <a href="#">salvaged by Annam</a> fishermen. Captain Duijcker appealed to Cochin-Chinese authorities—not China's—for the return of	

	salvaged coins.	
1640	Jodocus Hondius II	<a href="#">Pracel</a> was named and charted
1688	William Dampier	" <a href="#">Shoals of Pracel</a> . . . very dangerous . . . very <a href="#">much afraid of them</a> . . . [Sailing to China close to coast] . . . <a href="#">to avoid the dangerous shoals of Pracel</a> ." <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1690	William Berry	Dotted shoals charted at <a href="#">Spratly location</a> ; empire of China was clearly marked elsewhere
1695	Gerard Valk	<a href="#">Pracel</a> was charted and named
1698	French Amphitrite ship en route to China	" <a href="#">Shoals of Pracel</a> . . . Rocks harder than iron . . . Jaws of Death . . ."
1700	Robert Mordern Geography Rectified	"[T]wenty leagues from the coast of Cambodia <a href="#">lies the bank Pracellis</a> . . ."
1701	<a href="#">Lettres sur la Chine</a>	Paracels " <a href="#">frightful rocks</a> . . . <a href="#">hugging the coast of Cochinchine</a> . . . <a href="#">multiple shipwrecks</a> . . ."
1714	Dutch ship "Arion" shipwrecked on Paracels " <a href="#">off the East coast of Vietnam</a> ."	
1716	Lenglet Dufresnoy Methode pour etudier la geographie	" <a href="#">isle Pracel</a> " discussed within "Le Royaume de la Cochinchine"

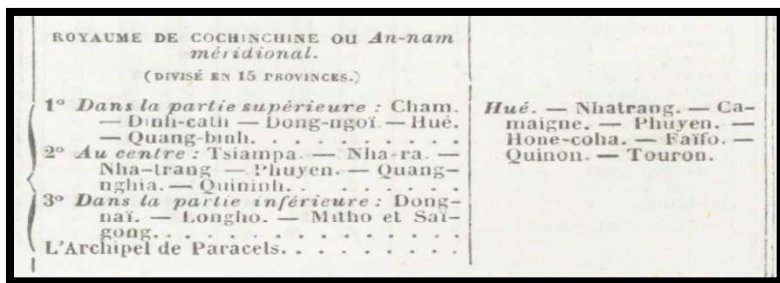
1728	Nouveau voyage au tour du monde	Paracels are <a href="#">shoals of dangerous rocks</a>
1734	Varenus and Isaac Newton - Compleat System of Geography	" <a href="#">About the Shoals of Parcel [the current] seems swifter than that of an arrow . . .</a> "
1741	Nicholas du Fresnoy's Methode ...Geographie	" <a href="#">Pracel</a> " discussed within "Le Royaume de la Cochinchine"
1742	Histoire Universelle Chez Arkstee and Merkus - Vol. 19	"[B]efore leaving Cochin-China, we must not forget to mention its islands . . .including the <a href="#">dangerous bank of Paracels</a> . . . "
1744	Alexander Hamilton - A New Account of the East Indies	Paracels "a dangerous chain of rocks . . ." (discussed within <a href="#">Couchin-China</a> ) <a href="#">Eyewitness account</a> of Portuguese shipwrecked survivors on Paracels who saw no one for years until rescue (1690 - 1701) <a href="#">Canton-Fukien discussed - without SCS</a>
1748	George Anson Voyage Round the World	Paracels noted on his <a href="#">world map</a>
1775	JB Mannevillette	<a href="#">Paracels</a> discussed within "Cochin-China Geography" pp <a href="#">452-455</a> , <a href="#">459</a> <a href="#">Simply a navigational waypoint en route to China</a>

	Marcy's Histoire de La Chine - Tome I	<a href="#">Paracels mentioned with Cochin-China's islands</a> <a href="#">Shipwreck salvage as directed by King of Annam</a> Southern <a href="#">China stopped at Hainan (21<sup>0</sup>)</a> - <a href="#">China's islands discussed</a>
1781	Anton Busching Géographie de Busching	<a href="#">Paracels</a> discussed within Royaume de la Cochinchine
1783	Histoire Universelle chez Moutard, Tome XII, page 499	"Pulo Sica do Mar, a long chain of sterile islands and rocks extending to the dangerous bank of Pracel . . ." (discussed within Cochinchine).
1797	George Staunton (Lord Macartney's) Embassy to the Emperor of China	<a href="#">On the way to Hainan</a> , Paracels off the coast of Cochin-China was noted to be a <a href="#">navigational hazard</a> Had <a href="#">known</a> and <a href="#">charted here</a> the " <a href="#">limits of the Chinese empire under Qianlong</a> " - <a href="#">with the known Paracels listed as non-Chinese</a>
1801	Aaron Arrowsmith	Detailed listing of <a href="#">Spratlys and Paracels</a>
1802	John Pinkerton's Modern Geography	"The Paracels form a long chain of <a href="#">small islands with rocks and shoals</a> parallel to the coast of Cochin-China . . ." (discussed within Cochin-China).
1803	Cedid Atlas Tercümesi First atlas printed in the Muslim world	<a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1804	Conrad Malte-Brun	<a href="#">Paracels were discussed within the section on Cochin-China's islands</a>

	and Edme Mentelle Géographie .. de toutes les parties du monde	
1807	John Pinkerton's Modern Geography	"The Paracels form a long chain of <a href="#">small islands with rocks and shoals</a> parallel to the coast of Cochin-China." (Discussed within Cochin-China.)
1811	John Pinkerton's Modern Geography	"The Paracels form a long chain of <a href="#">small islands with rocks and shoals</a> parallel to the coast of Cochin-China." (Discussed within Cochin-China.)
1812	Jedidiah Morse The American Universal Geography	"The <a href="#">Paracles (sic)</a> form a long chain of small islands with rocks and shoals, parallel to the coast of Cochin-China." (Discussed within Cochin-China.)
1816	John Purdy Oriental Navigator	Macclesfield Bank (English) - <a href="#">discovered 1701</a> ; Amphitrite / Lincoln Shoals - <a href="#">navigational hazards Detailed notes</a> on Paracels as a shipwreck risk "[I]f you are bound for China, <a href="#">you must keep along the coast of Cochinchina</a> . . . before you cross over to Hai-nan . . ."
1820	John Crawford History of the Indian Archipelago	<a href="#">Paracels map - details from Captain Horsburgh</a> (not Chinese maps / texts)
1821	James Horsburgh	Landmark hydrographical studies of

		<a href="#">Paracels</a> (sheet #2) and <a href="#">Spratlys</a> (sheet #1)
1826	Conrad Malte-Brun Universal Geography	" <a href="#">The Pracel or Paracels</a> , is a labyrinth of islets, rocks and shallows . . ." discussed within Chin-India (modern-day Vietnam)
1834	Conrad Malte-Brun A System of Universal Geography	"The <a href="#">Pracel or Paracels</a> " were discussed within Chin-India (Cochin-China)
1837	Rev. Jean-Louis Taberd <a href="#">Notes on the Geography of Cochin-China</a> J Asiatic Soc of Bengal, Vol 6, pt 2 (1837), pp. 737-745	" <a href="#">In 1816 King Gia Long</a> [of Vietnam] went [to Paracels] to plant his flag and take formal possession of these rocks."
1843	Lettres edifiantes et curieuses Tome III	" <a href="#">The Paracels is an archipelago which belongs to the Annam Empire</a> . . ."
1845	Conrad Malte-Brun Précis de la géographie universelle, Tome V	<a href="#">Paracels were discussed within Cochin-China</a> Cochin-Chinese go there for fishing
1849	Charles Gutzlaff Geography of Cochin-Chinese Empire	" <a href="#">We should not mention here the Paracels</a> (Katvang) . . . if the King of Cochin-China did not claim these as his property . . ."
1850	Dubois de Jancigny Japon, Indochine	" <a href="#">Paracels (named Cat Vang by the Annamites) . . . King Gia Long . . . took possession . . . in the year 1816</a>

		<u>..</u> "
1851	Victor Malte-Brun Géographie complète et universelle	" <a href="#">L'archipel de Paracels</a> . . . [where] the Cochinchinese go fishing every year . . ." discussed within Cochinchine section <a href="#">Paracels</a> listed under Royaume de Cochinchine <a href="#">with coordinates</a>
1866	Charles Knight Geography - English Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">Paracels discussed within Cochinchina with "fierce attacks of the marauding Cochinchinese" on the shipwrecks</a>
	Louis Dussieux Geographie Generale	<a href="#">"Les iles Paracels" were listed as Indochina's islands</a>
1867	Michel Duc Chaigneau Souvenirs de Hue	Annam Geography consisted of " <a href="#">Paracels</a> "
1908	Louis Richards - Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire	" <a href="#">Paracels seem attached rather to Annam than to China</a> "
1937	UK Naval Intelligence	<a href="#">Spratlys, Amboyna Cay under British possessions</a>



**Fig. 64** Paracels were listed in a French Geography text under *Royaume de Cochinchine ou An-nam*. [V.A. Malte-Brun](#) (1851). *Géographie complète et universelle*. Paris. Tome Quatrieme, 73.

*China as a separate entity from SCS features in ancient Western texts and maps*

Turning to international map atlases and encyclopedias, China's southern border consistently stops at Hainan Island with Paracels (Pracel) and later on Spratlys noted on a different regional map—i.e., they were never considered to be China's territory by any geographer or cartographer since the 1500s. One feature of current international law relating to the probative value of maps as evidentiary materials is that if such cartographic evidence comes from third parties uninvolved in the dispute(s), their worth would be much more than if they had come from any of the litigants—i.e., the value of neutrality.<sup>132</sup> On that basis alone, China's case would be expected to be weakened as the following data would demonstrate a near perfect concordance of opinions on the extent of the Chinese empire and the separation of SCS features from that empire—going back to the early 1500s (see also Tables I and II).

A sampling of sources up to the 1950s is enumerated in the following table:

*TABLE III: China / Chinese empire has always been charted without any SCS features beyond Hainan Island*

1593	Cornelis de Jode - Speculum Orbis Terrarum	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1606	Jodocus Hondius	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>

<sup>132</sup> Franckx and Benatar, "Dots and Lines in the South China Sea," 107-108.



1610	Hondius (Mercator) -Atlas Minor	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1618	Bertius - Tabularum Geographicarum	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1625	Samuel Purchas - Hakluytus Posthumus	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1626	John Speed's Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1635	Mercator's Historia Mundi	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	<a href="#">Willem &amp; Joan Blaeu</a>  <a href="#">Atlas Novus</a>	China map (images 371-372)  Paracels map (images 381-382)	
1650	Blaeu's Le Theatre du Monde	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	"Costa de Pracel" named on Cochin- China
1657-1659	Jollain	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1660	Jan Jansson	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map (1630)</a>	

1661	Philip Cluver Introductio Universam Geographiam	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1663	Thevenot's Relations de divers Voyages Curieux	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1665	Joan Blaeu's Atlas Maior	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1667	Athanasius Kircher's China Monumentis	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	Navigation route shown next to Paracels to / from China
1669	<a href="#">Vincenzo Coronelli</a> Isolario Descrittione Geografica	<a href="#">China map</a> China (pp 98, 100) Southern China (Hainan) p. 106 Paracels map (p. 86, 89, 91)	
1680	Frederick de Wit	<a href="#">China Map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a> [1662]	
1685	Nicolas De Fer - Illustrations de Méthode... Geographie	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1693	Robert Morden's Geography Rectified	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1694	Cluver's Introductio omnem Geographiam	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1696	<a href="#">Adamus Olearius - Voyages and Travels</a>	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	

	Thevenot's Relations de divers Voyages	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1698	Afferden's El Atlas Abreviado	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1700	Robert Morden's Geography Rectified	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1705	John Harris' Voyages & Travels	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	Nicolas de Fer  Atlas Curiuex	<a href="#">China map</a>  <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1709	Herman Moll's Thesaurus Geographicus	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	<a href="#">Afferden's El Atlas Abreviado</a>	China map Paracels map
1723	Hermann Moll's Atlas Manuale	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1729	Cluver's Introductio omnem Geographiam	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1732 (?)	Herman Moll's Atlas Minor	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1736	Abraham Du Bois La Geographie	<a href="#">China map (20<sup>o</sup> latitude)</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>

	Moderne	
1737-1739	J B D'Anville	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1740	Giambattista Albrizzi	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	Matthaus Seutter	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1744	Emmanuel Bowen	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1745	Thomas Osborne Voyages and Travels	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1746	Prevost Histoire Generale des Voyages	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1747	Emmanuel Bowen	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1750	Robert de Vaugondy's Atlas Universel	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1754	Patrick Gordon Geography Atomiz'd	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>

1758	<p>Thomas Salmon A New Geographical Grammar John Gibson, E. Bowen</p> <p>Atlas Minimus</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a> <a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>
1764	<p>Jacques Nicolas Bellin's Le Petit Atlas Maritime</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>
	<p>Daniel Fenning A new system of geography</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> by <a href="#">Rollos</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>
1766	<p>Daniel Fenning A new System of Geography</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>
1768	<p><a href="#">Andrew Akerman</a> Atlas Juvenilis</p>	<p>China map p. 55 Paracels map p. 53</p>
1779	<p>Paolo Santini Atlas Universel</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>
1780	<p>Rigobert Bonne Atlas de toutes les parties connue du globe</p>	<p><a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a></p>

1782	William F. Martyn The Geographical Magazine	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	George H Millar New and Universal System of Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1786	Samuel Dunn	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	De Laporte - Atlas Moderne Portatif	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1787	Rigobert Bonne's Atlas Encyclopédique	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	Jean-Baptiste Clouet	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1791	<a href="#">Rigobert</a> Bonne's Atlas Moderne	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1795	William Guthrie Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1796	Mathew Carey's General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
1798	William Faden Atlas minimus universalis	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>
	J. Gibson Atlas Minimus	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>

1800	William Guthrie Atlas for Geography  Rigobert Bonne Atlas Portatif	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>  <a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1804	Pierre Bertholon Atlas moderne portatif	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	Laurie & Whittle  New Universal Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a>  <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	J-B D'Anville Atlas Moderne Portatif	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	J. Pinkerton, J. Buache <a href="#">Géographie</a> <a href="#">Moderne - Atlas</a>	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1801-1806	Robert Wilkinson	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1806	P. Hérisson  Atlas portatif	<a href="#">China map</a>  <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1807	John Pinkerton's Modern Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a> , <a href="#">Spratly map</a>	<a href="#">Paracels was described with Cochin-China</a> (modern day Vietnam)

1808	Charles Smith New General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	John Cary New Universal Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1811	Mathew Carey General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	Conrad Malte- Brun's Atlas Complet du Précis de la Géographie Universelle	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1814	Mathew Carey General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1817	John Thomson General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratlys map</a>	
	Christopher Kelly Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1818	Mathew Carey's General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">map</a>	<a href="#">Paracels</a>
	Mathew Carey - Lavoisne Geographical Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1820	Abraham Rees The Cyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels Map</a>	



1821	Adrien Blue Atlas Universel	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1822	Fielding Lucas A General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1827	Vandermaelen's Atlas Universel	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1830	Fenner's Pocket Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1831	Daniel Lizars The Edinburgh geographical and historical atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1832	John Arrowsmith Atlas of Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1834	Conrad Malte- Brun's System of Universal Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	<a href="#">Paracels were described with Cochin-China (modern Vietnam)</a>
1838	Thomas Bradford	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1840	Hugh Murray's Encyclopaedia of Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	

1842	Brockhaus Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1850	Alexander Findlay's Modern Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	Thomas Milner Descriptive Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1851	Tallis and Martin The Illustrated Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
	Andriveau-Goujon Atlas de Choix	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1855	Hugh Murray's Encyclopaedia of Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1861	AK Johnston's Royal Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1865	Adam and Charles Black's General Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1868	W. & R. Chambers Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1872	Fullarton's Royal Illustrated Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1875	Adrien H. Brue Atlas Universel	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1878	Encyclopaedia Britannica	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	<a href="#">This 9th edition was called the Scholar's edition on</a>

			<a href="#">account of its erudition</a>
1881	Richard Andree Handatlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1892	J. Migeon Nouvel Atlas Illustre	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1895	Times Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>	
1898	George Cram Universal Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1900	Times Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>	
	George Philip and Sons	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1901	<a href="#">Edward Stanford's London Atlas of Universal Geography</a>	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels - Spratlys map</a>	
	Smith and Whitney Century Encyclopaedia	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1910	J.G. Bartholomew's Graphic Atlas of The World	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>	
	Encyclopaedia Britannica	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1916	Woolworth's Atlas of The World	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	
1922	Times Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>	
1925	Stieler's Atlas of Modern Geography	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>	

1930	Richard Andrees Hand-Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>
1935	Vivien St Martin Atlas Universel de Géographie	<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels, Spratly map</a>
1944-1945	National Geographic	China map Paracels, Spratlys map
1958	Times Atlas	<a href="#">China map</a>
		<a href="#">China map</a> <a href="#">Paracels map</a>

### Conclusions

"South Sea Islands are China's territory since ancient times."

—[Xi Jinping](#), 7 Nov 2015

From the verifiable data presented above, it is a reasonable facts-based conclusion that China's daily shrill repetitions of “. . . [indisputable . . . since ancient times](#) . . .” are devoid of any actual historical data—from both Chinese and Western sources. Considering the 2,000 years of intensive and focused map making in China which was acknowledged to be integral to its imperial rule and considered to be [second only](#) to the literature on ethics in terms of output, the absence of any credible Chinese mapping or official written evidence on the alleged possession or control of any SCS or ECS features is rather telling. This is especially so in light of the historical background of the colonization of Taiwan by the Chinese empire in late seventeenth century.

Western cartographical records of SCS features were evident, well documented and unchanged from 1502—well before the [naming of America](#) (1507), the discovery of [Terra Australis Incognita](#) (1606), [Hawaii](#) (1778) and before California was known to be a peninsula, not ["an island"](#) (1674). The *absolute* absence of any such reference in

Chinese mapping records before and since 1502 (until the infamous 1947 [U-shaped map](#)) in relation to the geographical limits of the Chinese empire suggests an alternative explanation to the preferred Beijing narrative.

Taiwan's history as an example of seventeenth century Chinese imperialism<sup>133</sup> also contributes to the unmasking of the empty assertions of "sovereignty / control for more than 2,000 years" in relation to far-flung mostly submerged reefs which had never been charted as part of the Chinese empire. Above all, the clear lack of awareness of and interest in anything past Hainan Island shown by Emperors Wan Li and Kangxi along with court officials when they were presented with Chinese World Maps from Matteo Ricci (1602) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1674) were highly significant in the context of China's current fabled narrative.

Unfortunately, the only logical conclusion from currently available and verifiable historical data, both Chinese and Western, is the polar opposite to the "since ancient times" repetitions which are simply state-sanctioned [historical myth-making](#) which had been observed some [centuries earlier](#) to be [the norm](#) for China. Western texts dating back to Cruz's first book on China (1569) have not just been overwhelmingly consistent. Instead, they are plainly unanimous in their description of the geographical limits of the Chinese empire—without a [single](#) known occasion on record of any possible claim otherwise by China on the SCS and ECS features as currently asserted.

The step-wise progression of China's maritime claims can be traced from historical records, e.g., China's maps (Figs 21, 22, 23a, 23b and 32); a 1928 Canton Commission statement on China's geographical limits; and documented diplomatic records in the 1930s-1950s. All data is consistent in showing that the sole claim China originally made for the SCS in the 1930s was for the [Paracels only](#),

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<sup>133</sup> Hostetler, "Contending Cartographic Claims?" 93: "[T]he Qing empire (1636-1911) was one of the most successful examples of imperialism in the modern period. . ."

which by that time had already been claimed by France on behalf of its Annam protectorate.

China's progressive widening of its maritime claim ambit since the 1930s—now encompassing the Spratlys, James Shoal to the South and the Senkaku islets in the East—is patently at odds with the "[since ancient times](#)" *historical* narrative. Rather, it is more consistent with the behavior of an imperialist power that opportunistically applies raw power to achieve its objectives in a graduated fashion. Mohan Malik's description of China's "[cartographic aggression](#)" in its pursuit of imperialist power must now be seen to be a never-empty wine bottle of invented historical elixir, considering the unanimous consensus from verifiable data going back to the twelfth century. Further, as recently as the Cairo and Potsdam conferences (1943 and 1945 respectively), China had never raised the issue of the Paracels, Spratlys or Senkaku islands for international consideration, let alone the submerged James Shoal.

Every time the "since ancient times" phrase is uttered—whether by the Chinese Politburo, by an ordinary Chinese citizen or by "Western experts"—it is purely part of a [propaganda war](#). Its aim is to saturate the media in hopes of shaping the perception that what China is doing on the ground (seizing islands and reefs from other claimants; constructing artificial islands on claimed submerged reefs; declaring sovereign rights arbitrarily off self-proclaimed territories; etc.) derives from some ancient historical evidence, when the facts from the presented data—including China's own records—show the opposite to be the truth.

China's argument that since it was the "[first to discover and name](#) [SCS islands, features]," it is now "entitled to their sovereignty and maritime rights"<sup>134</sup> is at variance with current understanding and practice of international law—even *assuming* that China's claim was

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<sup>134</sup> Leaving aside the issue of sovereignty, the arbitral tribunal [ruling](#) from The Hague on 12 July 2016 determined that none of the Spratlys features — whether claimed by China or by others—qualified as an island with its attendant 200nm EEZ entitlement (paragraphs 622, 625).

reflective of accurate history. Current principles of international law give scant regard to acts of discovery.<sup>135</sup> Instead they give weight to "continuous and peaceful display of territorial sovereignty by the state"(emphasis added),<sup>136</sup> which, according to the extensive and verifiable data presented earlier, China has failed to display. Should acts of discovery alone be accepted—as *per China's unproven argument*—the continent of Australia would now surely belong to the Netherlands. For hundreds of years, Australia had been known and charted on maps with [Dutch names](#) and known as Nova Hollandia—as early as [1644](#) and as recently as [1826](#) (well after Captain Cook<sup>137</sup> had claimed the continent for England in [1770](#))—following the documented [discovery in 1606](#) by Willem Janz on the Dutch ship [Duyfken](#).

The sub-text of recovering or defending "lost" territories in the SCS and ECS bears close semblance to the Han-primary nationalist narrative that convinces itself that Taiwan (Qing's seventeenth century conquest) and Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang (Qing's eighteenth century conquests) have all been destined to belong to China by "heaven's will" and that they were "natural consequence of Chinese culture and power." In other words, acts of conquest, genocide, subjugation, assimilation, aggression, etc., by China were done only to "unify and restore" the Chinese empire, and not as acts of imperialism over ethnic non-Chinese living in territories all of which had never belonged to China previously.<sup>138</sup>

Beijing's twenty-first century narrative is now being extended to encompass a great sweep of the "Nan Hai" (South Sea) employing bogus "facts" and historical inventions on top of [incessant repetitions](#)

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<sup>135</sup> The Island of Palmas Case, *United States v Netherlands*, (1928) II RIAA 829, 15.

<sup>136</sup> *Eritrea v Yemen*, Award on Territorial Sovereignty and Scope of the Dispute (1998) XXII RIAA 211, para. 239.

<sup>137</sup> The third voyage, after Cook had died in Hawaii, did [stop at Canton](#) for provisions and sailed to the [East of Paracels](#) on the way home to England.

<sup>138</sup> Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 4, 497, 506, 509-511.

to justify the appropriation of global commons<sup>139</sup> and the modern-day conquest of islets, rocks and submerged reefs all of which had never before existed in the Chinese empire—an uncanny repetition of the eighteenth century aggressive expansion into Tibet, Xinjiang and Mongolia. China's uncompromising attitude based on historical concoctions and cartographic distortions carries an in-built Han superiority complex where Beijing's desires must become "heaven's will" to be accepted unquestioned by tributary vassals of inferior status, as reflected by [Yang Yiechi's](#) condescending and imperious remark to the Singaporean Foreign Minister in 2010 when discussing regional concerns over the SCS issue: "China is a big country and other countries are all small countries. And that's just a fact."<sup>140</sup> It is a vicious cycle to generate hyper-nationalism based on historical distortions or inventions and then quote "national interests" as the [prime mover](#) for its inflexible territorial stance, which in turn is based on overt military and economic [threats](#)—in other words, stridently forcing "[a new reality](#)" upon those challenging China and its irredentist ambitions.

This article hopes to remove the concocted cloak of "historical evidence" that China is using on a daily basis to reveal its true nature of an emerging imperialist, irredentist empire committed to rewrite the history books using fiction in order to expand the Middle Kingdom in the same brutish manner as its predecessors did in the eighteenth century (in Tibet and Western China) while trashing the transparent rules-based global order underpinning Asia-Pacific peace and security since the end of World War II by imposing the "Might makes Right" mandate. Further, it hopes to cast light on the

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<sup>139</sup> The concept of "historic rights" as advanced by China's 9-dash map was ruled by the Hague Tribunal to be without "any legal basis" and "contrary to the [UNCLOS] Convention" (paragraphs 278, 631).

<sup>140</sup> Not to be outclassed, Air Force Colonel Dai Xu was on public record in 2012 to have referred to Japan, Philippines and Vietnam as "[three running dogs.](#)" David Lague, Special Report: China Military Hawks take the offensive, Reuters Jan 17, 2013; This Chinese world view had been noted some four centuries earlier by one of the first Europeans allowed to live in Beijing (Father Ricci, 1583-1610). Ricci, *China in the Sixteenth Century*, 167: "[The Chinese] looks upon all other people not only as barbarous but as **unreasoning animals** . . ." (emphasis added).



pontifications of so-called experts (e.g. [Greg Austin](#), [Sam Bateman](#)) who readily offer "opinions" which are essentially a repeat of China's propaganda—without a single datum of historical evidence despite the pretensions of expertise.

Were China's preferred (and patently false) narrative accepted unquestioned, it would amount to a wholesale destruction of everything the West documented about China and its geography since Marco Polo in the 13th century and Jorge Alvarez in 1514 until today. In effect, it would be akin to accepting a twenty-first century version of [book-burning](#) as practiced by none other than the first Han Emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang in 213 B.C.—correctly "more than 2,000 years ago"—in order to legitimize the appropriation of up to 80 percent of the SCS (equivalent to [22 percent](#) of China's current land area or 1.6 times Tibet's land area).

In particular, the clear lack of historical evidence in addition to a negative and hostile attitude to the principles and practice of peaceful international dispute mechanisms—e.g., PCA, ICJ,<sup>141</sup> may help explain China's "No Arbitration" position which has been adopted since the 1930s.<sup>142</sup> The stance was re-confirmed by China recently when it [refused to accept the jurisdiction](#) of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in a case brought by the Philippines to resolve the SCS disputes in a peaceful and legal manner following demonstrated failure after 20 years of "negotiations" where China's [starting point](#) is that its claims are "[2,000 years old](#)" and therefore non-negotiable as "[historical facts come first](#)."

Whatever rationale(s) China or its apologists may come up with to justify its southward irredentist expansionism, e.g., in-depth strategic defense; energy security; twenty-first century neo-Monroe Doctrine; regional hegemony or strategic competition with the United States, one thing is crystal clear from the verifiable data presented in this paper: China's banal and repetitive phrase "[since ancient times](#)" is

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<sup>141</sup> PCA: Permanent Court of Arbitration. ICJ: International Court of Justice.

<sup>142</sup> Samuels, *Contest for the South China Sea*, 62.

a classic case of historical mendacity of the first order by a sovereign state.

In the words of a top Chinese diplomat, "Any attempt to [misinterpret or deny history](#) should be met with the strongest opposition."<sup>143</sup> China—like every other nation state—deserves nothing less.

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<sup>143</sup> Wu Hailong, Ambassador of China to the European Union, "The Undeniable Historical Facts on Diaoyu Dao," Mission of the People's Republic of China to the European Union, October 29, 2012.