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中華研究中心
Chinese Research Center

地圖上的華南地域與海上絲綢之路
工作坊論文集

Mapping South China and the Maritime Silk Roads

Research Seminar Occasional Papers

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前言

弘立書院中華研究中心於2023癸卯年初成立，目標是在弘立書院推廣、倡導中國傳統文化，拓展學生全球視野，承載學校「八德一智」的核心價值觀，成為學生與弘立社群整體成員進行中國文化學習和文化探究的有力載體。研究中心去年以敦煌和絲綢之路作為主題，在校內舉辦一系列相關教育推廣和「華學」研究活動，其中為期整個學年的活動包括展覽、開放日活動和十多場線上線下講座，由多位國內外知名學者主講。「華學」為香港大學饒宗頤教授提出的概念，即是以中華文明為本，面向世界的國學研究。2024年1月26日，研究中心主辦了一場以「地圖上的華南地域與海上絲綢之路」為主題的「華學」研討會，本地十多名學者應邀參與。其中發言人包括史皓元教授（香港大學）、柏格義博士（香港科技大學）、黃峪博士（嶺南大學）和本人，柏博士亦於當日做了一場有關古代地圖學的公開講座。本卷論文為研討會四位學者發言稿的完整版。

是次研討會以地圖繪製和交通網絡作為出發點，旨在通過不同學科的視角，探討華南地域和周邊地區的歷史關係。四篇論文不論學科領域，還是研究方法均各有不同，然而共同點有二：除了對地圖的共同關注外，四位學者皆通過跨學科的比對，旁征博引，並在此過程中加深各方的認識。文章內容不但具有高度的前瞻性，同時尚有很多研究的空間與探索的可能。史皓元教授為漢語方言的專家，其論文的關注點為明末閩語「海上腔」的傳播，作為當時民間與商賈的共同語，其地域分佈與十七世紀航海圖 Selden Map 的路線不謀而合。通過考證不同地域現代方言所留下的痕跡，史教授認為當時漳州腔的影響最深，比泉州與潮州的要強。其散播地域北至長崎，南至爪哇。

柏格義博士近年醉心研究明清中國地圖史，去年出版巨冊『中華帝國：1735年前西方印制的中國地圖』（*Regnum Chinae: The Printed Western Maps of China to 1735*）。柏博士應中華研究中心邀請，為讀者簡單介紹十六世紀以來，在歐洲流通的中國地圖，並以三大潮流作為分類，說明每一個潮流背後中西交流和碰撞的始末。

黃峪博士探討地理知識與文學的關係，其論文比對學者王韜與作家董啟章對香港的「島性」的理想化詮釋。不論是文學創作，還是科學描述，作家、歷史學家、繪圖家都會在其敘述中體現個人立場與視野，而地圖與文學作品在某程度上最終都是一種主觀的呈現，讀者可以在閱讀理解過程中探究想象與現實之間的張力。

麥文彪博士嘗試跨越文獻學、本地歷史、宗教學的界線，以杯渡禪師和屯門為例，重新探視華南地域與東南亞和南亞的歷史關係。

研究「地圖上的華南地域與海上絲綢之路」究竟有何意義？前香港大學副校長、香港敦煌之友創會會長李焯芬教授曾多次把香港比喻為現代的敦煌。敦煌與香港，一古一今，本來南轅北轍，卻都成為了東西文明最有代表性的交匯之地。交匯之地包含了空間的概念，而地圖的繪製和發展則離不開民族之間的交流。精準地圖逐漸的出現，讓我們對自身的時空作出定位，並不斷反思。所謂「東」、「西」，其實都離不開人們所認知的地圖。古希臘與羅馬人身處歐亞大陸的西面，從自身的角度把歐亞大陸的中心地帶理解為「近東」，於是更遠的華夏民族則位置「遠東」。中國人對西方的理解，同樣離不開這種中心主義。因此玉門關以西的，不管是中亞、南亞，還是西歐，一律歸為「西方」。事實上，中國人的地圖繪製技術，由於各種原因，發展不如歐洲，整體對地理的認識也略嫌遜色。無論如何，歐亞大陸乃至地球本無邊界，在我們的太空時代，古代的地理認知顯然有很多不足之處。不過正是因為這種不足，促使前人在連接東西方的絲綢之路上，無懼並帶著好奇心不斷探索。我們今天以古鑑今，可以更清晰地理解我們身處的香港，乃至中國。香港與中國，在全球化的世界中究竟扮演什麼角色？我們身處何地？孰東孰西？定位清晰了，看到民族和歷史發展的脈絡，很多問題也許迎刃而解。

研討會為與會者提供了一個結合地圖學、語言學、航海史、跨文化交流歷史、宗教、文學等多個學科的跨學科討論平台。在此除了感謝發言的學者外，我們還感謝多位到臨指導的學者：柯蘭教授（法國遠東學院）、韓琦教授（理工大學）、梁基永博士（中山大學）、司徒雛菊博士（浸大）、馬杰博士（嶺南大學）、鄭志康先生（佛門網）。各與會者為本次研討會帶來不同的視點，拓展我們的知性地圖，大開眼界之餘，上下求索——我們過去從哪裡來，現在身在何處，未來往哪裡去。

麥文彪 博士
甲辰仲夏於香港鋼綫灣

Contents

Preface	3
Note on the Range of the Mǐn Maritime Koine in the Southern Asian Seaways – “ <i>hǎishàngqiāng</i> 海上腔” and congruence with shipping routes on the seventeenth century “Selden” map of China <i>Prof. Richard VanNess Simmons</i>	6
China seen from Europe — Mapping of Maritime and Inland China <i>Dr. Marco Caboara</i>	11
Between Landscape and Mindscape: Utopian Insularity in Hong Kong Writings <i>Dr. Heidi Huang</i>	19
Evidences for Early Indian and Buddhist Presence in South China Re-examined — The Case of Pui To in Tuen Mun <i>Dr. Bill M. Mak</i>	23
Event Photos	35
Eurasia and Silk Road from the Eyes of Scholars and ISF Teachers	36

Preface

The ISF Chinese Research Center (CRC) was founded in early 2023. It aims to promote traditional Chinese culture at the Academy, broaden students' global horizon, uphold the school's core values of *The Eight Virtues + One*, and act as a powerful bridge for students and all members of the ISF community to study and explore Chinese culture. Last year, the Center chose the theme of Dunhuang and the Silk Roads and had organized a year-long series of related educational events and Sinological research programs, including exhibition, open-day activities, and a dozen of physical and hybrid lectures delivered by international scholars and specialists. These programs were conceived in the spirit of the kind of Sinological research advocated by Professor Jao Tsung-I, i.e., one that is based on the Chinese tradition with a focus on the Chinese civilization, while at the same time, with an open-mindedness that encourages dialogue with the rest of the world. On January 26, 2024, CRC hosted a research seminar entitled "Mapping South China and the Maritime Silk Roads" at the ISF Academy. Four papers by Prof. Richard VanNess Simmons (HKU), Dr. Marco Caboara (HKUST), Dr. Heidi Huang (Lingnan), and myself were presented at the seminar. Dr. Caboara also delivered a public lecture on the topic of "Mapping China and Mapping the World" on the same day. The full version of the presentations of the four presenters at the seminar is included here in this volume.

The preliminary focus of the seminar is historical mapping and transport network, with the goal to explore the historical relation between South China and its neighboring areas from a multidisciplinary angle. The four presentations differ in disciplines and methodologies, but they are common in at least two points: i) a common interest in maps and map-making; ii) the use of materials from different disciplines with a cross-disciplinary approach that aims to deepen our understanding of the historical process. The papers may be better described as working papers as they are all exploring frontier subjects in their respective fields, with many unknowns and possibilities for future research. As a specialist of Chinese dialects, Simmons was interested in the dissemination of the maritime Min koine in the late Ming period. The lingua franca was used by common people and maritime traders from Nagasaki to Java. Its distribution coincides with the seafaring network illustrated in the seventeenth-century "Selden Map." Based on the traces found in contemporary dialects, Simmons concludes that the Zhangzhou dialect was most important in this maritime koine, more so than the Quanzhou and Chaozhou dialects.

Caboara's research focused on Chinese map history. An impressive fruit of labor is the tome published by Brill last year entitled *Regnum Chinae: The Printed Western Maps of China to 1735*. He kindly accepted the invitation of the CRC and contributed a concise presentation of the circulation of maps of China in Europe since the sixteenth century. According to Caboara, these Chinese maps may be understood as products of three main waves and each wave was the result of the varied interactions between Europe and China.

The third paper by Huang explores the relationship between geographical knowledge and literature. She contrasts the descriptions of Hong Kong by the nineteenth-century scholar, Wang Tao and twentieth-century fictionist Dung Kai-cheung. An interesting insight that emerged during the discussion is that regardless of literary creation or scientific description, authors, historians, or map-makers are actively involved in the interpretation of certain features of their subject-matters, such as the idealization of the "insularity" of Hong Kong. During such process, some subjective elements become inevitably integral parts of their works. In other words, maps and literary creation in a way may be considered ultimately as a kind of subjective manifestation of the reality and one cannot totally exclude the creator's imagination, while acknowledging the limit of their understanding due to various factors.

The last paper by Mak attempts to cross the boundaries of philology, local history, and religious studies. Through the examination of the biography of the Buddhist monk Pui To and the history of Tuen Mun, Mak explores the historical relationship between South China and Southeast and South Asia.

What is the use of studying of a topic such as "Mapping South China and the Maritime Silk Roads"? Professor C.F. Lee, former Vice Pro-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong and a promoter of Dunhuang studies and research had made the comparison between Dunhuang and Hong Kong a number of times in his talks, in particular, the way they both act as a hub of cultures, where the East and the West met. Underlying such concept of contact is the space where such encounter took place. Indeed the progressive emergence of precise maps of Eurasia, and subsequently that of the world, is not only a testimony of such encounter, they enabled us to position ourselves both historically and spatially, and forced us to rethink and reorient ourselves constantly. The East and the West were concepts based on such maps in the people's mind: Thus for the Greeks and the Romans, and later the Europeans, who are located at the Western extremity of Eurasia, the heart of Eurasia for them was the Near East and even further away was the Far East, where China is. The Chinese in a similar way conflated everything west of Dunhuang as the West, though their interest and skills in map-making lagged far behind their Western counterparts. Let us not forget, from a high perspective, and quite literally as high as from space, the land we dwell on knows no boundaries. Eurasia is in fact a continuous landmass with different peoples and cultures, connected by a transportation network that we call the Silk Roads. While the ancients doubtless are limited in their understanding, it is precisely such limitation that drove them to explore with curiosity and great audacity on the Silk Roads.

By exploring the past, we may gain a better understanding of the here and now, i.e., how we may position ourselves in Hong Kong and in China — what roles do they play in our world in the age of globalization? When confronted with the conundrums of globalization, in the tug of war between the East and the West, perhaps we may gain some clarity, and new, useful insight, once we manage to find our places in the world from seeing and understanding the historical trajectory and the evolution of civilizations.

The seminar served as a platform to explore the aforementioned topics from various interdisciplinary angles: cartography, linguistics, history of navigation, intercultural history, religion, and literature. Beside all the speakers, I thank all the participants of the workshop: Prof. Paola Calanca (EFEO), Prof. Han Qi (HKPU), Dr. Patricia Sauthoff (HKBU), Dr. Maciej Kurzynski (Lingnan U), Dr. Liang Jiyong (Sun Yat-Sen University), Mr. Michael Kwong (Buddhist Door). They all contributed to the seminar with their unique insight and specialized knowledge from their fields, shedding light on all the uncharted areas in our "intellectual maps," to answer the age-old questions of whence we came, where we are, and where we are going.

Dr. Bill M. Mak
Telegraph Bay, Hong Kong
June, 2024

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Evidences for Early Indian and Buddhist Presence in South China Re-examined — The Case of Pui To in Tuen Mun

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ABSTRACT

This working paper examines the textual and archeological evidences that point to the presence and activities of Indians and Buddhists, foreign and local, in the southern coastal region of China during the first millennium CE. In particular, the various accounts connected to the monk Pui To 杯渡 (Beidu) and the port of Tuen Mun 屯門 (Tunmen) are closely examined. Instead of treating these accounts as isolated occurrences that took place at the peripheries of Imperial China, I attempt to situate them within a broader framework of cultural and commercial exchange between China and South and Southeast Asia connected through the maritime network.

Early Indians in China from Imperial and Canonical Sources

Our understanding of the history of Sino-Indian contact relies heavily on historical sources that were generated with an imperial bias. This is particularly the case when we view the early regional history at the peripheries of Imperial China from the latter, be it Dunhuang in the northwest or the coastal region in the southeast. Though border regions are in fact the frontiers of foreign contact, documentation of intercultural activities in the premodern period thereof may be anecdotal at best. In the history of Sino-Indian contact, besides records from imperial sources, there exists also a large body of local, secular, unofficial, and non-canonical materials, and important progress has been made by scholars in the past century.¹ The case of Dunhuang is an exceptional one due to the unexpected discovery of the Library Cave and the tens of thousands of manuscripts, including religious texts and secular documents discovered at the turn of the 20th century, along with mural paintings and artefacts that were surprisingly well preserved thanks to the desert climate. As for the coastal region of the southeast, though no comparable treasure trove has yet been discovered, a reasonable amount of textual materials, together with local gazetteers and archaeological finds, remain to be thoroughly investigated. In this paper I shall focus on the case of Pui To in Tuen Mun,² and to see how the extant Buddhist and Indian sources connected to the Guangdong region have been and should be interpreted in their own terms, in contrast to the dominant narrative based on the imperial and canonical sources.

Pui To in Tuen Mun

Against the general tendency to rely on imperial and canonical sources to interpret regional histories are the attempts of a number of Hong Kong scholars, who in recent decades produced works of local history with elements of local perspectives and the use of a variety of local source materials.³ Such approach enables one to see local history in its own terms and with its own agency, supplementing the peripheral interpretation of older scholarship from the colonial period or even before. Two noteworthy scholarly attempts of the past decades are: i) the reinterpretation of

1 For general surveys of Sino-Indian relation, see Bagchi (1951) and Xue (2017). Accounts with more detailed analyses and use of varied sources beyond the imperial records, especially the Buddhist ones, may be found in Liu (1994) and Sen (2017). For more recent works on local history of the Guangdong region with Buddhist sources, see Liang (1984), Yang (2010), and Zheng (2015).

2 In this paper, I will retain the local names Pui To and Tuen Mun (*pinyin*, Beidu and Tunmen) due to their prevalence in extant English-language literature. All other Chinese names are in *pinyin* for consistency, including Beidu instead of Pui To when it is part of a title or a place name.

3 See for example, Liu & Liu's (2012: 6) claim of the 6000 years of history of Tuen Mun based on recent neolithic finds. This may be contrasted with Carroll's *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, which begins with the arrival of the British in 1830s, while acknowledging that Hong Kong was then "hardly a 'barren island'" and that "Hong Kong's people were far from the 'handful of fishermen and pirates' they have often been described as" (2007: 10).

the etymology of Hong Kong by Luo Xianglin 羅香林 and others since the 1950s,⁴ and; ii) the historical account of the fifth-century Buddhist monk Pui To 杯渡 (*pinyin*: Beidu) and the role of Tuen Mun 屯門 (*pinyin*: Tunmen) in the context of the history of Chinese overseas exchange.⁵ Common to both topics is the re-orientation of Hong Kong and the surrounding Lingnan region in relation to the neighboring regions.⁶ These regions are connected through the maritime network, or according to some, the “Maritime Silk Road,”⁷ reaching from Southeast Asia, South Asia, and to as far as Persia and beyond across the Indian Ocean. Instead of the stereotypical portrayal of the southeastern coastal region of China as the land of “southern barbarians,” an uncivilized appendage to the political core in central China, a new picture emerged with the former as a hub of cultural and commercial exchange between China and the outside world, connecting as well as driving the development of both.

Among the keys to this new narrative is the interpretation of Tuen Mun as a historical seaport and a crucial military base as part of China’s naval defense as demonstrated in the works of Luo (1957) and Rao (1983), supplemented by the in-depth local studies of Siu (1977) and Liu & Liu (2012). For the purpose of this study, it may be useful to have a larger regional map such as the Selden Map in mind, and to develop the mental agility to zoom in and out to position Tuen Mun and Hong Kong in the region in our discussion.⁸

Tuen Mun is located in the northwestern part of Hong Kong, currently 15 km south of the border with the neighboring Shenzhen, in the western part of the New Territories, which was leased to the British from 1898 to 1997 under the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory.⁹ Scholars of the past few decades have continued to shed light on the pre-colonial history of this now “rural” part of Hong Kong through ongoing archaeological finds as well as a closer re-examination of a variety of extant textual records. While prehistoric records are beyond the scope of our discussion here, one should bear in mind that intraregional land and maritime contact and exchange certainly took place in the prehistoric period and might have even played an important economic and societal role in the local coastal settlements.¹⁰ Prehistoric neolithic relics found in the nearby vicinity connect Tuen Mun to other parts of the Guangdong province as parts of the ancient Baiyue 百越 culture, and later the kingdom of Nanyue 南越 before the Qin unification and absorption (221–214 BCE). Prior to that, the broader regional neolithic culture might have reached as far as the Liangzhu civilization 良渚文化 in the Yangtze River Delta in Eastern China (3300–2300 BCE).¹¹

Tuen Mun was first mentioned in the historical work *New Book of Tang* in 736 CE as a garrison of 2000 infantry.¹² There were certainly indigenous inhabitants and local economic activities in the region as it was part of the county of Panyu 番禺 (Qin to early Eastern Jin), Bao’an 寶安 (Eastern Jin to mid-Tang), and Dongguan 東莞 (mid-Tang to Ming), all governed from Guangzhou, or prior to Tang, the Commandery of Nanhai 南海. In 1573, Tuen Mun,

together with the rest of Hong Kong, became part of the newly created county of Xin’an 新安 (lit., New Peace), and was administered from the municipality of the much closer Nantou 南頭 (now in Shenzhen). Such change reflects the rapid economic growth of the region, driven by a number of factors including the continuous migration from the north, the ongoing military presence as part of China’s imperial naval defense, as well as Tuen Mun’s strategic position for maritime trade and movement.

Etymologically, Tuen 屯, literally “to gather, to amass”, refers likely to the stationing of the troops; Mun 門, literally “door”, refers to the strategic position of the locale as a gateway to Guangzhou, the most important coastal city in South China. It was foreign and local seafarers’ first stop before entering into Guangzhou through the Pearl Delta tributaries, as well as where ships departed from China for Southeast Asia and beyond. It was hence an important entry and exit point for transregional transport and human migration. Luo (1959) aptly illustrated the role Tuen Mun played as an important sea port in the regional maritime transportation network since the Tang period. However, its strategic role as China’s imperial naval frontline defense has not been documented in detail until centuries later, best illustrated by the Portuguese military occupation of Tuen Mun in 1514, followed by their defeat by the Ming naval fleet and subsequent retreat in 1522.¹³

From at least the ninth century onward, the port was closely associated with the nearby mountain, later identified as Qing Shan 青山 (lit. Blue Mountain), Beidu Shan 杯渡山, Tunmen Shan 屯門山, or Castle Peak, as attested also later in a number of Chinese maps from the 16th century onward (Figs. 1, 2).¹⁴



Fig. 1 Yue da ji 粵大記, fasc. 32 (1595). Mount Pui To or Castle Peak is indicated here as the “Sacred Mountain,” (*shengshan* 聖山) in the lower left. Note orientation with south on the top.

4 See Mak (2024) for a historiographical account with regard to the various interpretations of Hong Kong and its geopolitical role, with a focus on the one as a thriving hub of aromatic trade prior to the British colonization in 1841.

5 Luo (1957), Siu (1977), and Jao (1983).

6 Lingnan 嶺南, literally “south of the [five southern] mountains,” refers to the region encompassing most of the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces of today, together with the entirety of Hainan province and the northern part of Vietnam. For a historical survey of the region and the Yue ethnicity, see Zhang & Huang (1995), Brindley (2003, 2015).

7 There have been various criticisms over the use of the term “Maritime Silk Road” and I am aware of alternatives such as “Indian Ocean Maritime Trade Routes” or the “Porcelain Routes”, etc. The expedient use of such term helps one nonetheless to contrast the maritime route with its better-known and well-researched overland counterpart. For the interaction of the two, see Church (2024).

8 See the Selden Map in Simmons’ paper, p. 7 in this volume.

9 For a comprehensive study of Tuen Mun, see Liu & Liu (2012).

10 For a summary of prehistoric finds such as including pottery, stone tools, and bronze objects in key archeological sites in Tuen Mun including So Kwun Wat, Lung Kwu Chau, and Castle Peak Bay since 1920s, see Shang 2000: 188–192, summarized and discussed in Liu & Liu 2012: 6–10. See also reports from the Hong Kong Government’s Antiquities and Monuments Office: <https://www.amo.gov.hk/en/archaeology/recent-archaeology/tuen-mun/index.html>.

11 Liu & Liu 2012: 6–10.

12 *Xin Tang shu*, fasc. 43 (second part). The description is found in the Book of Geographical Notes 地理志 under the heading of “Passage between Guangzhou and foreign maritime [nations]” 廣州通海夷道. For further discussion, see Luo 1957: 285n1.

13 The early Portuguese engagement in China may be best exemplified by Jorge Álvares and his activities in Guangzhou and Tamão in the early 16th century (Braga 1956, following Ljungstedt 1836). The Portuguese incursion of Tamão (1514–16) may be noted as the first military conflict between an European power and China on Chinese soil. For discussion, see Lin 1985: 135–152, Peng 1998: 191–205, Jao 1983: 174, Liu & Liu 2019: 17, including the identification of Tamão as Dingling Island or Chek Lap Kok, see O’Connell (2021).

14 Liu & Liu 2012: 11–14. See also discussion below.

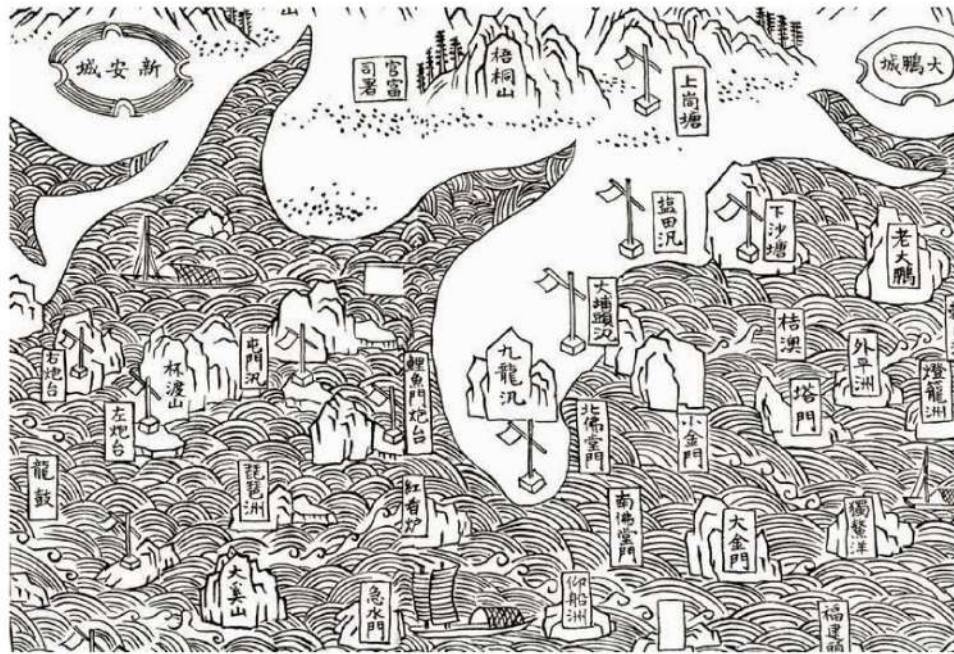


Fig. 2 “A Map of Naval Defense [of Xin’an county],” *Haifang tu* 海防圖 in *Annal of Xin’an County* (1819). Mount Beidu is indicated in this map in adjacent to the “Tumen xun” 屯門汛 with xun referring to one of the coastal posts, or xundi 汛地. (Source: <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:新安縣志香港海防圖,1819.png>)

In the aforementioned discussion of the history of Tuen Mun by the Hong Kong scholars, the connection between Tuen Mun and the fifth-century monk Pui To was invariably mentioned. Exactly how this connection was established has not been critically examined. To start, the textual sources together with the epigraphical and archaeological evidences may be summarized as follows.

The Buddhist Canonical Account

The earliest extant textual source on Pui To is found in the tenth fascicle of Huijiao’s *Hagiography of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳), composed in 519 CE based on various earlier works.¹⁵ According to this account, Pui To was a monk active in the region of Jiangsu 江蘇. His ethnicity and native name were unknown and he was called as such due to his supernatural power of riding on a wooden vessel on water (lit. riding on a vessel). Together with nineteen other monks, Pui To was categorized by Huijiao under *shenyi* 神異 or “miracles”, a well-established genre in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese literature. Pui To’s supernatural power was not limited to riding on water. Sometime in the early fifth century, he was said to have travelled across the coastal region in the Southern dynasty Song 劉宋 (420–479 CE) to perform a variety of miracles including turning objects into valuables, miracle healing, reviving dead bodies including himself after he died of dysentery in 426 CE and was buried in Jianye 建業 (now Nanjing). After his resurrection, he continued to perform miracle healing in Anhui and in the neighbouring regions. He was last seen in 428 CE when he announced his departure to the Jiaoguang 交廣 region further to the south.¹⁶ Subsequent canonical Buddhist accounts on Pui To may be considered variations of this 6th-century narrative composed by Huijiao, who in fact made no reference to Tuen Mun or any exact whereabouts and activities of Pui To after his move to the south.¹⁷

15 T(2059)50.388c. Huijiao’s work is likely based on the Baochang’s *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳, of which only headings including that of Beidu survived. X(1523)77.349a (宋延賢寺杯渡十).

16 The Jiaoguang region mentioned in Huijiao’s account refers to the two prefectures of Jiao (now part of Guangxi and north Vietnam) and Guang (now Guangdong and Guangxi), each with its own history, were first established as separate prefectures next to each other in 226–271 CE during the Eastern Wu period. Prior to that, they formed the kingdom of Nanyue 南越 (204–111 BCE), later conquered by Emperor Wu of Han to become the prefecture of Jiao in 111 BCE.

17 See for example *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳抄 (目次/宋延賢寺杯渡十) by Baochang. T(2064)50.961c.

The Non-Canonical Accounts

How was Pui To then associated with Tuen Mun? As Rao (1983: 166) noted, the descriptions of Mount Beidu together with the Beidu Monastery, and by extension a place once Pui To dwelled, are found only much later in the local gazetteers such as various editions of the *Xin’an xian zhi* 新安縣志 starting from the 17th century. Separate references to places, monasteries, and various personalities connected to Tuen Mun and Pui To are however found in a variety of earlier anecdotal sources between Huijiao’s account of Pui To and the composite gazetteer accounts.



Figure 3 Monk Pui To depicted in *Xian fo qi zong* 仙佛奇蹤 (1596). (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:仙佛奇蹤_卷七_杯渡和尚.png)

Among the oldest and most intriguing accounts of Pui To is an entry cited by Daguang (1976) from an unknown Tang source in a seventeenth-century (?) anthology entitled *Shi tang ji* 石堂集.¹⁸ According to Daguang’s citation, the relevant passage is based on a now-lost epitaph of the Nanyue 南越 (Cantonese) monk Dao Lang 道朗. The concerned passage, together with my English translation, is as follows:¹⁹

…玄朗弟名道朗，俗姓鄭，南越人。為貴族，能詩文。其母嬰重疾，屢醫罔效。值梵僧[昆<]昆尼多流支，於隆安間（三九七——四〇一）遊化南越，請以醫之。以殘餘飯羹，酒以淨水，咒令食之，病遂瘳。其後兄弟二人師事[昆<]昆尼，旋披剃出家，賜法名長元朗²⁰，弟道朗，同修密乘，亦效法乃師，密咒濟世，頗著靈效。適耆域杯渡二神僧至，與共遊，築「靈渡寺」棲之，意有密

18 I am unable to identify this passage in the extant versions of *Shi tang ji*, which was identified by Daguang as *Taishan laoren shi tang ji* 泰山老人石堂集. The inscription transcription was purportedly made by a certain monk named Deyuan 德源. I have consulted Dr. Wu Shaowei of Shandong University, together with whom I made a visit to Tai’an to look for both the document and the inscription in Tai’an 泰安 and the town of Daolang 道朗 in April 2024, but so far to no avail.

19 Daguang 1976: 6. Emendation in square brackets mine.

20 As noted by Daguang, Yuanlang 元朗 should be identical to Xuanlang 玄朗 above, and the Cantonese pronunciation of both are in fact the same.

乘靈驗，救渡其母，寺以紀之。道朗亦於南山建「普渡寺」，示佛法普渡有情義，（普渡寺按即今之杯渡寺後改為青山禪院，又以耆域、杯渡、求那跋陀羅、菩提達摩、[昆<]昆尼多流支等諸聖者先後駐錫於此，後人因易名「聖山」，刻尚有籤紙留傳存在）後道朗遊陝晉，轉冀魯，止於泰安城西，建白馬寺…

...the younger brother of Xuanlang is called Daolang, originally surnamed Zheng, natives of Nanyue. They belonged to the upper class and were literate, capable of writing essays and composing poetry. Their mother were inflicted with a serious illness and repeated medical treatments were of no avail. It so happened that the Indian monk Vinītaruci were preaching in Nanyue during the years of Long'an (397–401 CE) and was asked to heal her. He sprinkled water and recited mantras over food scraps and ask [the mother] to eat. [The mother] was then healed. Subsequently, the two brothers became Vinītaruci's disciples and soon renounced their worldly lives to become monks. The older and younger brothers were named Yuanlang and Daolang respectively. They both practiced the Esoteric Vehicle and followed the example of their teacher, he helped people with esoteric mantras, which were rather efficacious. Occasioned at the arrival of the two supernatural monks Jīva and Pui To, they travelled together and constructed the Lingdu Temple, with *ling* meaning spiritual experiences in the Esoteric Vehicle, while *du* meaning deliverance of their mother from suffering, as memorialised in the temple. Daolang also constructed the Pudu Temple in Nanshan, preaching the Buddhist dharma for the deliverance of sentient beings. (Note: The Pudu Temple is the now Pui To Temple, later renamed as Qingshan Chan Yuan (Tsing Shan Monastery). Furthermore, its name was changed to Shengshan (Sacred Mountain) as various [Buddhist] saints such as Jīva, Pui To, Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, Vinītaruci all lived here successively. There is still a textual record of the inscription.) Subsequently, Daolang travelled to Shaanxi and Shanxi area, then Hebei and Shandong, finally settling west of the city Tai'an and constructed the White Horse Temple...

I am not aware of any original citation of this source other than that of Daguang and the authenticity of this passage remains to be ascertained.²¹ The content is nonetheless remarkable in a number of ways. Firstly, Pui To, whose true name is unknown to us, was accompanied by another miracle-making monk Qiyu (*Jīva?) of a foreign name in his travel, suggesting that Pui To, too is likely of foreign origin. Secondly, the two itinerant monks constructed the Lingdu Temple with two local Chinese monks, Xuanlang and Daolang. Lingdu Temple is now located in Yuen Long 元朗 (*pinyin* Yuanlang), presumably named after the monk Xuanlang. Thirdly, Daolang built another temple, the Pudu Temple 普渡寺, in Nanshan 南山 sometime after the years of Long'an 隆安 (397–401 CE) during the Eastern Jin period (317–420 CE).²² Nanshan is located on the other side of the Shenzhen Bay northwest of Beidu Shan and is in fact attested in the *Yue da ji* map (Fig. 1). Finally, not to be confused with the citation, Daguang named three eminent foreign monks whom he thought to have lived in the same temple: Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅, Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (fl. 5th–6th century CE), and *Vinītaruci (昆尼多流支, emend. From 昆尼多流支, ?–594 CE). This passage, rich in information as it may appear, is unfortunately fraught with problems as the purported citation was mixed with information the editor provided from other unknown sources. Although all the dates corroborate with Huijiao's account of Pui To as an itinerant early-fifth-century Buddhist monk, and that it is not implausible that all the monks mentioned did pass through the Lingnan region at some point in their travel, the connection between Pui To and Tuen Mun cannot be fully established.²³

21 Siu (2021: 163–64) in his later work appears to have accepted the passage with no reservation.

22 Siu 1977: 6; 2021: 162–164, 170, citing Daguang 1976 (春山 should be corrected as 泰山).

23 It may be for this reason that Luo, Jao, and most other scholars overlooked this reference. The passage's references to the years of Long'an and Pui To's connection to a temple are oddly reminiscent of a separate account that identified "Pui To from India" 天竺杯渡 as the founder of the Huacheng Temple 化成寺 in Mount Jiuhua 九華山. According to *Jiuhua shan zhi* 九華山志, Fasc. 5: (CBETA 2023.Q4, GA072.77.238a3-5) This account was said to be based on an inscription on a stele made on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Huacheng Temple in 1681. As noted in the edition, the editor of text was doubtful of the content with remarks: 多與事實不符...無稽訛傳.

Tang poets including Li Bai 李白 (701–762 CE) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770 CE) made references to Pui To in their work, attesting to the Tang memory of Pui To.²⁴ A Tang stele, titled "Stele of Chan Master Beidu Memorial Hall" 杯渡禪師影堂碑 dated to 829 CE and dedicated to Pui To was recorded in a thirteenth-century Song catalogue.²⁵ However, both the Tang poems and the stele referred to the Yinjing 隱靜寺, located near now Wuhu 蕪湖, Anhui.

The first account connecting the Tuen Mun to the worship of Pui To is found in the *Beidu shan lueji* 杯渡山紀略, cited in the nineteenth-century gazetteer *Xin'an xian zhi* 新安縣志.²⁶ The citation was attributed to the Northern Song official Jiang Zhiqi 蔣之奇 (1031–1104) when he was serving in Guangzhou and he claimed that "according to the old accounts, there was once a Chan master called Pui To who came to stay in Tuen Mun and [the place] was named as such."²⁷ While the source and accuracy of this account cannot be entirely verified, another account with other details on the "sacred mountain," known also as Mount Ruiying, is given in the same gazetteer:

…有偽劉大寶十二年己巳歲二月十八日《漢封瑞應山勒碑》在焉。榜文刻：漢乾和十一年，歲次甲寅，關翊衛副指揮、同知屯門鎮檢點、防邊右靖海都巡陳延，命工鑄杯渡禪師像供養。

There is a "[Southern] Han Decree of Mount Ruiying Tablet" dated the eighteenth day of the second month of the year Jisi, the twelfth year of Dabao of the illegitimate [empire of] Liu (969 CE). The inscription reads: "In the eleventh year of Qianhe of [Southern] Han, in the year Jiayin (954 CE), the Vice-General Guan Yiwei, together with Chen Yan, Prefect of the town of Tunmen and Patrolling Inspector-in-Chief of the Coast of Jinghai, ordered the craftsmen to cast a statue of Chan Master Pui To for worship.

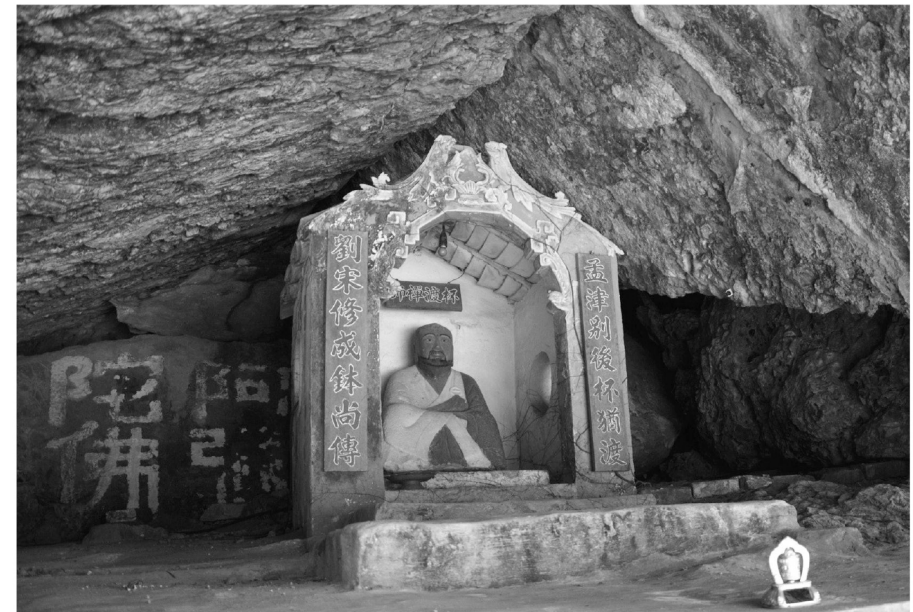


Figure 4 Statue of Pui To in the Qingshan chan Yuan 青山禪院. (Source: <https://www.hk01.com>/屯門歷史-杯渡庵-青雲觀與青山禪院歷史-蕭國健)

24 QTS, fasc. 177, 227.

25 *Bao ke cong bian* 寶刻叢編, fasc. 15, cited in Rao 1983: 165.

26 *Xin'an xian zhi*, fasc. 23 (藝文二).

27 Ibid.

Although this inscription is no longer extant, the content appears to be credible due to the earlier Tang account of Tuen Mun as a garrison. The editors of the gazetteer furthermore combined the earlier hagiographical account of Pui To by Huijiao with the Song account of Mount Beidu by Jiang Zhiqi to create a complete hagiography of Pui To that has physical connection to Tuen Mun, Mount Beidu, and the Lingdu Temple in Yuen Long.²⁸

…云當往交廣之間，遂以木杯渡海，憩邑屯門山，後人因名曰杯渡山。復駐錫於靈渡山，山有寺亦名靈渡寺。乾和中靖海都巡簡陳，命工鑄其像于瑞應巖，元祐廣帥蔣之奇有詩并序刻于上。

… it has been said that he should travel to the regions of Jiao and Guang, and subsequently crossed the sea on a wooden vessel and settled in Mount Tunmen, which was named by the people Mount Beidu accordingly. He then settled in Mount Lingdu and there is also a monastery called Lingdu Monastery in the mountain. In the years of Qianhe, [Inspector] Chan, Inspector-in-Chief of the Coast of Jinghai, ordered the craftsmen to cast a statue on Mount Ruiying. In the years of Yuanyou (1086–1094 CE), the Guang[zhou] General Jiang Zhiqi inscribed on it a poem together with a preface.

It is not inconceivable that statues of Pui To were created also during the Tang period similar to the one noted in the gazetteer cited above. The Chan practice of paying homage to images or statues of Chan masters is well attested. While the tablet and the inscription have not yet been discovered, there are suggestions that the Pui To statue currently located inside a rock niche behind the now reconstructed temple may be dated to the Southern Han 南漢 (917–971 CE) of the Five Dynasties period (Fig. 4).²⁹ It may be noted that the current monasteries associated with Pui To, namely Qingshan Chan Yuan 青山禪院 and Lingdu Temple had a complicated history.³⁰ The current structures on Castle Peak and Mount Lingdu, dated to 1928 and 1840 respectively, were likely built on older ones.³¹

To sum up, there is no compelling evidence to suggest the fifth-century monk Pui To was ever in Tuen Mun or Yuen Long to proselytize. Pui To worship thrived in Tang China in the eighth century but the association between Tuen Mun and Pui To worship was not established until the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Subsequent accounts appear to be attempts to create a coherent narrative based on all the anecdotal sources connecting Pui To the monk with the sacred mountain in Tuen Mun and the existing monasteries in Tuen Mun and Yuen Long.

Pui To's identity and destination of travel

It would strike any keen readers of Buddhist hagiographies that the biography of Pui To is unsatisfactory on multiple grounds. Any foreign monk in the history of Chinese Buddhism of comparable fame would have been treated with greater care at least textually, i.e., with at least a proper name, ethnicity, and a home country — Pui To had none. Indeed, miracle-making monks such as Pui To might not have been treated with the same literary finesse for the monks known for their translations and preaching such as Kumārajīva or Paramārtha. The fact that he was without a name and other details seem to suggest that he was likely a monk of foreign origin mainly associated with miracle making, making him more elusive than Bodhidharma, who too had a legendary status in the Lingnan region.

The passage attributed Jiang Zhiqi made reference to the naval port of Tuen Mun and how the Tang poet Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) was once brought by the strong wind to Mount Beidu while he was on his trip to Chaozhou 潮州

in 819 CE.³² But Han Yu was not the first to poetize Tuen Mun. Three years before in 816 CE, Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 too wrote about the port.³³ Luo (1957) and Rao (1983) were among the first to point out geographical significance of the port of Tuen Mun since the Tang period,³⁴ citing an earlier account on Tuen Mun as the “zero milepost” from the Tang geographical text *Gujin junguoxiandao siyi shu* 古今郡國縣道四夷述 by Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805 CE).³⁵

廣州東南海行，二百里至屯門山，乃帆風西行，二日至九州石。又南二日至象石。又西南三日行，至占不勞山，山在環王國東二百里海中。又南二日行至陵山。又一日行，至門毒國。又一日行，至古笮國。又半日行，至奔陀浪洲。又兩日行，到軍突弄山。又五日行至海峽，蕃人謂之「質」，南北百里，北岸則羅越國，南岸則佛逝國。佛逝國東水行四五日，至訶陵國，南中洲之最大者。又西出峽，三日至葛葛僧祇國，在佛逝西北隅之別島，國人多鈔暴，乘船者畏憚之。…又西北十日行，經小國十餘，至拔離訶磨難國。又一日行，至烏刺國，與東岸路合。西域有陀拔思單國，在疏勒西南二萬五千里，東距勃達國，西至涅滿國，皆一月行，南至羅刹支國半月行，北至海兩月行…

Thus, prior to the eighth century, Tuen Mun already served as both an entry port for foreigners going to Guangzhou, as well as for Chinese and non-Chinese residents to depart to other maritime destinations in Southeast Asia and beyond. This continued during the Song period when the maritime traffic continued to increase, when the status of two ports rose to prominence: Guangzhou and Quanzhou, as noted in Song geographical treatise *Ling wai dai da* 嶺外代答 by Zhou Qufei 周去非：³⁶

今天下沿海州郡，自東北而西南，其行至欽州止矣。沿海州郡，類有市舶。國家綏懷外夷，於泉、廣二州置提舉市舶司，故凡蕃商急難之欲赴懇者，必提舉司也。歲十月，提舉司大設蕃商而遣之。其來也，當夏至之後，提舉司徵其商而覆護焉。諸蕃國之富盛多寶貨者，莫如大食國，其次閩婆國，其次三佛齊國，其次乃諸國耳。三佛齊者，諸國海道往來之要衝也。三佛齊之來也，正北行，舟歷上下竺與交洋，乃至中國之境。其欲至廣者，入自屯門。欲至泉州者，入自甲子門。

It is noteworthy that the role Tuen Mun played for Guangzhou was compared to that of Jiazimen for Quanzhou. From the imperial perspective, Tuen Mun doubtless played a strategic role in immigration control and more importantly, naval defence since the Tang period. Considering Tuen Mun's strategic importance, Mount Beidu as a landmark for the port of Tuen Mun doubtless also rose in fame. Siu's (1977: 5) suggestion that Pui To could be an Indian monk who arrived in China through the overland Silk Roads and intended to return to his native country through the sea route is therefore not implausible. The fact that Pui To was not given a clear Indian identity from the earliest sources may suggest that he belonged to an ethnicity not familiar to the Chinese of his time and his home country would be somewhere along the maritime route departing from the Lingnan region, with Tuen Mun being a likely candidate. But if Pui To's southbound journey was destined for home, there seems little reason for him to have ended up staying in the foreign land instead of returning home on one of the many ships departing from Tuen Mun. It is not inconceivable that Pui To was in fact a native of the Jiaoguang region and had in fact “returned” to Tuen Mun where he considered home.

28 Ibid.

29 Siu 1977: 7, 2021: 168.

30 Liu & Liu (2012: 40) opined that Mount Pui To was named Shengshan as in the Yuedaji map (1595), but became Qingshan due to similar pronunciation by Hakka speakers.

31 Siu 1977: 3, 2021: 164; Jao 1983: 166. The current Taoist temple Qingyun guan 青雲館 within the now Tsing Shan Monastery is dated 1829.

32 QTS, fasc. 341. “Zeng bie yuan shi ba xie lu” 贈別元十八協律.

33 QTS, fasc. 356. “Ta chao ge” 踏潮歌.

34 For more recent summaries, see Liu & Liu 2019: 14–18; Liu 2012

35 Cited in *Xintang shu* 新唐書，志第三十三下，地理七下.

36 *Ling wai dai da*, fasc. 3 (外國門下).

Lingnan Buddhism and Maritime Silk Road

From a broader perspective, the south-eastern coast of China, in particular, the Lingnan region, was in fact one of the earliest places when Chinese first came into contact with Buddhism (Yang 2010, Zheng 2015). It is also where Chinese Buddhist communities first formed before larger communities came into existence in Chang'an and other central and north-western communities which were in contact with foreign Buddhists from the overland Silk Roads. Liang Qichao 梁啟超 was in the opinion that it was likely that the mission of Aśoka, being a contemporary of the first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang, did reach China via the Southeast Asian and the South China Sea; the southern coast of Guangdong would have been a likely point of contact.³⁷ Guangzhou was a productive centre for advanced Buddhist translation, as evinced by Paramārtha's translation of a large number of Mahāyāna sūtra during his ten-year stay in Guangxiao Temple 光孝寺 (558–569 CE). Chan Buddhism thrived in Guangdong with two patriarchs Bodhidharma and Huineng 惠能 both intimately connected to the region. The advancement of the local Buddhism in the Lingnan region is probably connected to the general prosperity and cosmopolitanism of Guangzhou. In terms of overseas movement, unlike its overland counterpart, the maritime network was in fact undisrupted for millennia. Rather than an alternative route to the overland Silk Roads, the maritime pathway was in fact at times both the preferred and the only viable route overseas when travel on the overland route became impossible.

In Daguang's notes on the Beidu Temple, the names of the three Indian monks were mentioned: Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Vinītaruci. Although I find the possibility of these monks all having lived and proselytized in Tuen Mun rather unlikely, what connected the biographies of these three characters is their association with the Lingnan region and the maritime route that they took from India through Southeast Asia between the fourth and sixth centuries. The current Guangxiao Temple in Guangzhou, reputed to be the oldest Buddhist temple in the Lingnan region, has a Buddhist history dating back to time of Sun Quan 孫權, Emperor of the Wu Kingdom (r. 222–229 CE).³⁸ Subsequently, many important foreign Buddhist monks such as Dharmayaśas, Paramārtha, Amoghavajra, etc., traveled in and out of China through Guangzhou, and some stayed in the region. Bodhidharma, the famed Chan patriarch from South India, who was said to have arrived in Guangzhou in 520 CE first passing through Nanyue on the burgeoning Maritime Silk Road.

The case of Amoghavajra (705–774 CE) is noteworthy. He arrived in Guangzhou in 719 CE with his master Vajrabodhi and the South Indian diplomatic corps before he developed a religious and political career in Chang'an. After the issuance of an imperial edict to repatriate all foreign monks in 741 CE, Amoghavajra left China via Guangzhou to Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, and India. He returned five years in 746 CE again via Guangzhou. During the An Lushan Rebellion (755–763 CE), Amoghavajra was in the Lingnan region, supported likely by the Buddhist community he became acquainted with decades before. In 759 CE, he composed the esoteric Buddhist astral manual *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 with his disciple Shi Yao 史瑤 in Duanzhou 端州 (now Zhaoqing 肇慶). Shi Yao's recension of this astral text reveals not only the author's knowledge of Indian languages and culture, but also the existence of a network of multilingual foreigners belonging to different religions, including the Christian Church of the East and possibly Manichaeism, whose members spoke and used Persian and Sogdian respectively. While it has been assumed that such network existed only in Chang'an, I am keen to believe that it did also in Guangzhou due to the location of composition of this recension of the text, Amoghavajra's connection to Guangzhou, as well as the origin of Shi Yao. Furthermore, there are further evidences to suggest that the variety of foreign astral knowledge was in fact propagated in the region, as illustrated by the case of the Perso-Chinese Christian astronomer Luqā aka Li Su 李素 and the ban of foreign astronomical instruments in Guangzhou in the ninth century (Mak 2014).

37 Luo 1977: 1–2, in Preface by Daguang, citing Liang.

38 See Luo (1952).

Concluding remarks

In our foregoing discussion, one may see that the geopolitical importance of the port of Tuen Mun was undermined by the lack of recognition in historical official, imperial records, which is not atypical of the treatment the peripheries received from a centric point of view. The canonical Buddhist sources provide us further understanding of the vibrant exchange that took place in Guangzhou and the Lingnan region, not available from the official sources. The non-canonical sources connected to Pui To and Tuen Mun, problematic as they might be, reflect the historical reality of a greater picture of transregional contact and movement. In that sense, Pui To was the most durable in the collective memory of the people of Lingnan region, where a great many travelers with valuable goods and knowledge alike, arrived at and departed from Tuen Mun without leaving a trace.

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Presentations connected to the theme of the research seminar were delivered by four scholars of different fields to an audience of local scholars and specialists of transcultural history.



學者們於弘立書院高錕廣場參觀「敦煌·世界」展覽，觀看「學者及弘立書院教師眼中的歐亞大陸與絲綢之路」地圖。

Scholars viewed the map of “Eurasia and Silk Road in the Eyes of Scholars and ISF Teachers” at the “Dunhuang and the World” exhibition at the Charles Kao Square of The ISF Academy.